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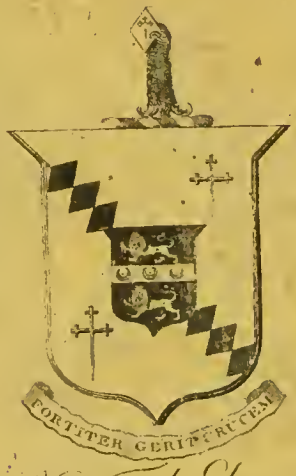

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ARE SELECTED BY J. NICHOLS,

IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF

AN EARLY FRIEND AND GENEROUS BENEFACTOR.

HIC CESTUS ARTEMQUE REPONIT.

1260597

TO

RICHARD GOUGH, ESQ.

THESE REMAINS OF MR. BOWYER,

WHOM HE VALUED AS A FRIEND,

AND RESPECTED AS A SCHOLAR,

ARE INSCRIBED BY THE EDITOR,

IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF MANY LITERARY FAVOURS

CONFERRED ON HIS PREDECESSOR AND HIMSELF.

PREFACE.

LITTLE is neceſſary to be ſaid to introduce a Collection of Miſcellanies which claim for their author the laſt of learned Printers.

The public have been ſufficiently apprized of Mr. BOWYER's early attention to every department of literature, and to every book which came under his father's or his own preſs, while finiſhing a learned education at the univerſity, and while applying the ſtore of knowlege there treaſured up, to improve the claſſic authors which he printed, or to criticize thoſe publiſhed by his friends.

Mr. Bowyer's Life is the beſt illuſtration of his Miſcellanies; and the Editor of them thinks he could not do him greater credit than in leaving him to ſpeak for himſelf in the various forms of Author, Commentator, Critic, and Correſpondent, on and with ſome of the firſt Literati of his age.

His Commentary on the New Teſtament is a copious memorial of his critical talents; and, though it needs not to be ſet off by any leſſer work, we truſt the looſe notes, from the margins of his interleaved claſſics, will not be deemed unworthy to follow it.

The Epitome of Selden's book "De Synedriis veterum Hebræ-" orum," and the other memoranda from that learned writer, were

the reſult of his ſuperintendance of the complete edition of Selden's works in his preſs, 1722—1726 [1].

His admirable Sketch of Mr. Baxter's Gloſſary of Roman Antiquities had the ſame origin [2].

His ſeaſonable correction of the Vicar of Dewſbury, may be ſeen in his "Remarks on Mr. Bowman's ſingular Sermon on the "Traditions of the Clergy [3]."

Though he bore no part in the brilliancy of the public act at Oxford in 1733, he attended it as a ſpectator; and, while he was printing ſome of the productions which it occaſioned, wrote an imitation of one of the ſprightlieſt of them.

The ſtrictures which he threw out anonymouſly in the newſpapers on the republication of "Stephens's Theſaurus [4]" were principally occaſioned by his friendſhip for Dr. Taylor, who of courſe ſupported him in the controverſy [5].

A Roman inſcription found at Bath, and illuſtrated by Mr. Roger Gale [6], gave riſe to much learned diſcuſſion between him and his friends. How much he ſhone in ſuch a walk may appear from his marginal notes on Mr. Chiſhull's Antiquitates Aſiaticæ [7]; as his Comment on the Saxon Feaſt of Yule [8] was a proper return for the honour conferred on him by the Society of Antiquaries [9] in appointing him their printer, who was before a member of their body.

His intimate acquaintance with the hiſtory and antiquities of Greece and Rome, as well as with their reſpective languages, will appear from his obſervations, though little more than marginal, on Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero [10]; on Kennet's Roman Antiquities [11]; on Colonel Bladen's Tranſlation of Cæſar's Commentaries [12], the latter making part of the edition of that tranſlation printed at his preſs [13]; and on the Life of Julian [14]; and from his Miſcellaneous Remarks on Roman Hiſtory [15].

[1] Life, p. 49. [2] Ibid. [3] Life, p. 69.
[4] P. 86—128. [5] Life, p. 63. [6] P. 133.
[7] P. 161—188. [8] P. 154. [9] Life, p. 75
[10] P. 281—363. [11] P. 377—420. [12] P. 189—231.
[13] Life, p. 217. [14] P. 493—496. [15] P. 364—376.

Nor

Nor had he beſtowed leſs attention on the controverſy concerning Grecian and Roman money, from his thoughts on which his friend Mr. Clarke's learned "Connexion" derived ſo much aſſiſtance [1]. Mr. Bowyer's ſtrictures received from the gentleman on whoſe opinion they were made that candid acknowlegement which is inſeparable from true politeneſs.

If the publication of marginal notes on books ſtand in need of any apology, the Editor cannot make a better than by referring to thoſe multifarious and learned notes which compoſe the two volumes of "Miſcellaneous Obſervations," by Dr. Jortin and his friends. Let it not be ſuppoſed, however, though this volume is profeſſedly a collection of fragments, that it contains the gleanings of Mr. Bowyer's library. An ample harveſt yet remains on the margins of many of his books, which, though they may be too minute perhaps for extraction in the preſent mode, would be of no ſmall utility to future editors; and they ſhall be communicated to any gentleman who may in future be engaged in the taſk of publication.

Were even the ſeveral indexes which Mr. Bowyer drew up to various books for his own uſe proper ſubjects for detached or collective publication, the Editor is perſuaded he ſhould obtain the thanks of the moſt ſuperficial, as well as of the moſt attentive, reader. How many books would be benefited by an index made out by ſuch an hand, which would at once be a gloſſary, a ſyllabus, and a table of corrections!

Nor was our learned Printer ſo devoted to the ancient claſſics as not to pay a proper regard to thoſe of his own country [2].

But, after all, ſhould the tribute of private gratitude be deemed unintereſting to the literary public, the Editor, while he indulges his own feelings, will not regret that he has introduced to the world the correſpondence with Mr. Bowyer's friends, and ſuch illuſtrious names in the republic of letters as cloſe this volume, and form at leaſt a third part of it.

[1] P. 259—280.

[2] P. 433—449, 496—498, 504—509.

Mr

*** Mr. Bowyer's own publications, which appeared during his life, beſides thoſe which are included in the preſent volume, are,

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Kuſter, de vero Uſu Verborum Mediorum, 1752	211
New edition of Pindar, 12mo, 1755	259
Verſes on the Coronation of King George II. 8vo, 1761	321
Thirteenth and Fourteenth Volumes of Swift's Works, 8vo, 1762	338
New Teſtament, 2 vols. 12mo, 1763	344
Notes and Index to Mr. Clarke's Connexion of Coins, 1767	383
Conjectures on the New Teſtament, 8vo, 1772	430
Select Diſcourſes concerning the Hebrew Months, &c. 8vo, 1773	446
New edition of Schrevelius' Lexicon, 8vo, 1774	449
Origin of Printing, 8vo, 1774, and again in 1776	450
New edition of Bentley againſt Boyle, 8vo, 1777	477
Apology for Mr. Hooke on the Roman Senate [poſthumous, 1782.]	

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MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

BY MR. BOWYER.

EPITOME OF PART OF SELDEN [a], "DE SYNEDRIIS VETERUM EBRÆORUM [b]."

Taken in haſte as he read the Proofs.

LIB. II. CAP. IX.

Qualifications of the Members of the Synedrium Magnum and Vigintitriumvirale.

I. IT was requiſite that all who were admitted members of the Synedrium Magnum, or of the Synedrium Vigintitriumvirale, ſhould have a thorough knowledge not only of the Law of Moſes, both oral and written, but of all kinds of arts and ſciences, even thoſe which related to witchcraft and conjuration. An exact knowlege of languages was particularly required, and that to the number of *ſeventy*. They fix upon this number, becauſe the P. 1412.

[a] The works of Selden were collected by Dr. Wilkins, and printed at London in three volumes, folio, under the following title, "Joannis Seldeni Juriſconſulti "Opera omnia, tam edita quam inedita, in tribus voluminibus collegit ac recen- "ſuit, Vitam Auctoris, Præfationes, & Indices adjecit David Wilkins, S. T. P. "Archidiaconus Suffolcienſis, Canonicus Cantuarienſis, Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri "ac Domino Domino Gulielmo Divinâ Providentiâ Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi, &c. &c. "a Sacris Domeſticis, 1726." The three volumes (the two firſt of which are his Latin works, and the third his Engliſh) conſiſt of 804 ſheets; and were publiſhed by ſubſcription, in a manner which would now be thought ſingular. The ſmall paper copies were paid for at the rate of two pence a ſheet, and amounted to 6 *l.* 14 *s.*; the large paper, at three pence a ſheet, coſt 10 *l.* 1 *s.* A *chronological* view of the whole works of Selden will be found in this Epitome. J. N.

[b] The ancient Jews had three kinds of Synedria, conſiſtories or courts of judicature, eſtabliſhed among them. The firſt, called *Synedrium Magnum*, conſiſted, according to ſome authors, of LXX, LXXI, or LXXII members. The ſecond, called *Synedrium Vigintitriumvirale*, conſiſted, as the term ſhews, of XXIII. And the third, or loweſt court, called *Synedrium Triumvirale*, was eſtabliſhed in the villages, and conſiſted of three perſons only. See Selden, vol. I. p. 1252, &c. J. N.

earth is ſaid (in Deut. xxxii. 8.) to have been divided according to the number of the children of Iſrael; and ſeventy is the number which, in Gen. xlvi. 27. is ſaid to have gone down into Egypt. Though this number was fixed upon as a round number to comprehend all languages; yet we can no more ſuppoſe that any one man actually underſtood ſo many
1414, languages, than that all Maſters of Arts are thoroughly verſed in the
1415. ſeven ſciences.

[A ſhort digreſſion [*a*], containing an account of ſome perſons, who have been famous for being great linguiſts.]

Were we to ſuppoſe that moſt of the Synedri came up to the character here required, it would be hard to reconcile Mordecai's being ſo particularly celebrated beyond all others.

II. But ſtill, how ſhall we reconcile that paſſage in Joſephus (lib. xx. c. 9.), where he ſays, that the *ſpeaking the dialect of ſeventy nations* was a thing not practiſed by his countrymen? this does not ſeem to relate to nations of different original and place, but only that it was not the
1416. cuſtom of the Jews to ſpend their time in examining nicely the different dialects of the Greek tongue, which, beſides thoſe five noted ones, were very numerous in Europe, Aſia, and Egypt. It is certain ſome ſuch interpretation muſt be given of the place, to make it agreeable to the ſenſe of the Talmudiſts, and the authority of abundance of other teſtimonies. The LXXII Interpreters, to omit Philo and Joſephus, are ſufficient evidences of the Jews ſkill in the Greek tongue. And as to the Grecian arts
1417. and ſciences, Origen indeed ſays, *that the Jews don't much concern themſelves in Grecian philoſophy*. But this muſt relate to the cuſtom of the Antient Jews. The quotations of St. Paul from Aratus, Epimenides, Menander, and his caution to the Coloſſians (ii. 8.) who were converted Jews, againſt being led by philoſophy, &c. ſufficiently ſhew that the Jews were not ſtrangers

[*a*] Mithridates (Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7.) is ſaid to have been maſter of twenty-two languages; and Apollonius Tyaneus (Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. i. c. 13.), not only "univerſas hominum voces ſeu linguas optime calluiſſe;" but even "quæ *tacebant* aut "*cogitabant* homines, imo & avium, aliorumque brutorum voces omnes intellexiſſe;" which, Selden gravely obſerves, "parilis eſt farinæ, pariterque credendum." Marcus Antoninus, after mentioning the induſtry and abilities of Livius Laurenſis (by others called Afteropæus), ſpeaks of his being ſkilled in Latin and Greek as ſomewhat uncommon; and Galen, who ſays it was formerly thought wonderful that a man ſhould ſpeak any language but his own, complains (de Diff. Pulſuum, l. ii. c. 5.) of innovations from other tongues, ſo barbarous that he confeſſed himſelf unable to comprehend them. J. N.

to the ſciences which the Grecians prided themſelves in *. [Authority from David Kimchi, ad Iſaiæ xi. 26, of their knowledge in mathematicks.] * Of Modern, ſee 1418, 1419.

It may be obſerved, as a farther explication of the paſſage in Joſephus, 1418,
that at the time that Titus beſieged the city, (which was about twenty-
five years before the writing this paſſage) they made a law *ne quis filium*
ſuum Græcè doceret. But this the Rabbies underſtand only of the Grecian
cuſtoms and religions. [A paſſage from the Miſna, tit. *Sota*, c. 7. Talmud
Babylon. fol. 32. 1. to ſhew what paſſages in the ſervice muſt be repeated
in their own language, what not.] A paſſage in the Gemara Hieroſolymi- 1419.
tana, tit. *Megilla*, c. i. fol. 71. tries to ſhew that there are but four languages
over all the world wherein Grecians are called *Barbari*.

III. Authors enumerated that have written about the number of differ-
ent languages, whether 70, 72, or 75.

IV. There are mentioned in Maimonides ſome farther qualifications neceſ- 1422.
ſary for all that were choſen into the Synedrium Magnum and the Vigintitriumvirale. An old man was particularly excluded, and an eunuch; and, by all that appears, as well he that is born ſo, as he that is made ſo. Whereas it is obſervable, that he who makes himſelf an eunuch is only excluded from orders by the apoſtolical canons; but he that is born ſo, or made ſo by others, is not excluded.

It has already been obſerved, that in the firſt ages *old men* were excluded. In the latter ages, ſome ſay any one could be admitted either into the Synedrium Magnum or XXIII. at twenty years, or even ſooner. But whether then they might be judges in capital caſes ſeems uncertain, ſince the authorities which are produced for this indulgence may refer to their being one of the Triumviri, and ſo judges only in pecuniary matters. However, the rule of admitting men 1424.
into the Synedrium at ſuch an age ſeems to have been overlooked when any one ſupplied what he wanted in age by the forwardneſs of his parts: this we learn from the example of Joſephus †, who, at the age of four- † In Vit.
teen, uſed to conſult with the high prieſts in knotty points of law. So Eleazar Ben Azaria was admitted into the Synedrium at the age of fourteen, or at fartheſt eighteen.

But as none were to be admitted too young, ſo neither thoſe who were worn out with age. But, in general, it was required that they ſhould be perſons of good appearance in their perſons, and of pretty plentiful eſtates.

1425. V. The Miſna mentions farther ſome certain cuſtoms of life, to which if any one gave himſelf up, he was to be excluded from the Synedrium. The diſqualifications are four: playing at dice; uſury, whether giving or taking; teaching doves to fly; and making gain of the fruits of the ſabbatical year. Before any perſon could be admitted who had been notoriouſly guilty of theſe things, he was to ſhew his repentance by ſome contrary acts. Thus they that had been guilty of gaining by the fruits of the ſabbatical year, were to ſtay till another ſeven years were paſt.

1426. Alcimus quotes Eccleſ. xxxviii. that tradeſmen were not admitted to the Synedrium, becauſe it is there ſaid, *ſuper ſellam Judicis non ſedebunt*. In the firſt place, it is very uncertain whether the paſſage be genuine; for though it is in the Complutenſian edition, it is not in ſeveral others. Beſides, it is only an oratorical flouriſh to ſhew that men of low births were not generally to be advanced to ſuch high poſts; but, if there was no other obſtacle but their trade, it does not appear that that excluded them.

1427. VI. A paſſage or two out of Maimonides, to ſhew that, among the members of the Synedrium and Vigintitriumvirale, deformity and illegitimacy were ſometimes overlooked.

VII. Of the king's being admitted into the Synedrium.

CAP. X.

Place and Time of the meeting of the Synedrium Magnum.

1430. I. The greateſt deference imaginable was paid to the preſident of the Synedrium.

II. As to the times of the Synedrium's ſitting, it muſt be obſerved that they met on the Sabbath-days, and other feſtivals; but then that was not in the *Liſgath-hagazith*, but only כתיל before the wall of the Temple: this too, not to paſs judgement, but only to conſult about any affairs, and converſe with one another. But when they met in their public court of judicature, they ſat from morning to the eighth hour and a half, *i. e.* about half an hour after two, the Leſſer Synedrium breaking up at about twelve. From judicature they went to their evening ſacrifice, which always began about that time, unleſs upon the preparation for the Paſſover, when they went to ſacrifice an hour ſooner; if that fell on the Sabbath, two hours. Theſe

1432. rules of their breaking-up at ſuch a time are not to be ſtrictly taken; for upon ſome emergent occaſions they could ſit up late at night; and in civil

civil cauſes, and thoſe that did not reach the life, they could paſs judgement in the night, though they never gave ſentence ſo late in capital caſes. However, it muſt be obſerved they never entered upon a new cauſe at ſuch an unſeaſonable time. And this circumſtance is agreeable to a maxim in the Roman laws. In relation to their days of ſitting, it muſt be obſerved, that in Ezra's time it was decreed that the Synedrium ſhould ſit on the ſecond and fifth common days, *i. e.* Mondays and Thurſdays. This was not to exclude them from ſitting on other days, but only to oblige them to ſit on thoſe two. So that it was lawful to hear any cauſes leſs than capital on any common day; but capital they could not on any day precéding a feſtival, or the Sabbath [*a*]; becauſe ſentence, in theſe caſes, was always to be given the day after the cauſe was heard. Now if a feſtival followed the day on which the cauſe was heard, ſentence could not be given on the following day. It may be obſerved, that in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, l. I. c. xlvii. there is a command which ſeems to have had its riſe from this practice of the Jews. Τὰ δικαστήρια ὑμῶν γενέσθω δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων, i. e. on Monday, *that if any diſpute ſhall ariſe afterwards upon that judgement, it may be re-examined without any interruption.*

III. All cauſes and all perſons whatſoever were ſubject to the determination of the Synedrium Magnum. Some there were which ſo peculiarly belonged to this, that they could not be heard before the inferior courts of judicature. Of theſe I ſhall treat in my third book. All thoſe cauſes, as well capital as civil, which are not there excepted, belonged to the XXIII. *Judicia de Homine & Beſtia coëuntibus, &c. De Bove petulco, &c.*

IV. The Triumviri were a ſort of a court of judicature below theſe. As the XXIII. determined capital and civil cauſes, ſo theſe determined civil cauſes, and all ſuch as were not capital. Here, it muſt be obſerved, there were two ſorts of Triumviri; the one appointed in towns and cities by authority; theſe could inflict whipping upon offenders: the other were ſuch as the parties diſagreeing pitched upon for arbitrators.

[*a*] This ſerves to explain a very perplexed paſſage in St. John's Goſpel, ch. xviii. 31. *Then ſaid Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews hereupon ſaid unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* That the Jews had power of inflicting capital puniſhments is evident from Pilate's propoſal. And it is no leſs evident from John xix. 7. that *by their law they thought Jeſus ought to die.* What therefore hindered them from laying hold of the conceſſion here granted, and judging him accordingly, but only the law mentioned by our author, which forbad them ἀποκτεῖναι, *to condemn* any man *to death* on the PREPARATION-DAY? H. O.

V. All

V. All perſons whatſoever were ſubject even to the Triumviri, except the king; though he, in civil cauſes, might be tried by XXIII. Nay, the Gemara Hieroſol. determines that the king was liable to the ſentence of being ſcourged. And as all perſons, ſo all cauſes, whether ſacred or profane (except ſome, which, as we ſaid, the Synedrium Magnum took cognizance of), were within their juriſdiction. For the reader muſt not imagine that there was any ſuch thing as an Eccleſiaſtical Court, becauſe there was
1438. ſomewhat like it among the Romans and the Grecians; for, even in their States, whatever power the college of the prieſts claimed, it was derived to them by the ſupreme ſecular power, and they received it intirely as a grant from thence. A remarkable paſſage [a] in Thucydides upon this ſubject.

1439. VI. As to what ſome learned men dream of a great power in the High Prieſt, we ſhall confute that opinion more largely by-and-by. In the mean time, there are expreſs teſtimonies from the Miſna, from Gemara Babylon.
1441. &c. that he was ſubject to the Court. In this ſenſe they expound Zeph. ii. 1. The Gemara Hieroſolym. mentions, that when the High Prieſt was to be tried, אנטלר *entoler*, i. e. a procurator, was to be aſſigned him.

VII. Hence an excurſion, whence this word ſhould be derived. Some expound it οἱ ἐν τέλει, i. e. *Magiſtratus*. Others from ἐνιελεῖς, i. e. οἱ ἄρχοντες. But both theſe conſtructions ſeem to favour too much of a ſuperiority and dignity in the word; and the latter οἱ ἐνιελεῖς is ſo very rarely uſed in the ſenſe alledged, that it is not probable the Jews ſhould borrow a word from the Greeks to uſe it in a different ſenſe from what they generally did. The moſt likely derivation, in ſhort, is from a word uſed among the Greek

[a] Huc ſane ſpectat illud Athenienſium caduceatoris ad Bœotos apud Thucydidem (lib. iv.) miſſi, qui a ſuis proculdubio recte edoctus, eorumque verbis uſus ad illud quod Bœotorum dixerat caduceator ad Athenienſes, nimirum, "juxta Græcorum jura omnibus eſſe conſtitutum, eos qui alienam terram invaderunt a locis ſacris quæ illic ſunt abſtinere;" reſpondit, "Jus apud Græcos hujuſmodi eſſe, ut penes quos imperium ſit cujuſcunque ſive magni ſive parvi territorii, penes eoſdem ſint ſemper templa & loca ſacra, ubi eiſdem modis aut ceremoniis fiant ſacra quibus more receptum ſit, & præterea etiam quibus quiſve poſſit." Adeoque penes eoſdem ipſos quibus *imperium* ſummum erat, idem erat parile, uti etiam apud Ebræos, tam circa ſacra quam profana tum apud Græcos tum Romanos; uti etiam penes Druidas (Cæſar, l. vi.) apud Gallos veteres, quales itidem apud alias olim gentes, tum mythicis tum hiſtoricis ſeculis, paſſim obtinuit.—The Athenian herald replies to the demand of the Bœotians, that places of worſhip ſhould be reſpected in their inroads; that it was the cuſtom of Greece, that the temples belonged to the party that was in poſſeſſion of the country. Τον δε νομον τοις Ελλησιν ειναι, ων αν η το κρατος της ἐκασης τστων και τα ἱερα αιει γιγνεσθαι. Thucyd. IV. c. 98. Ed. Dukeri. This does not ſeem to imply what Selden underſtands by it. R. G.

lawyers

lawyers ἐπίολεὺς, which is expreſly interpreted διοικητὴς, procurator. If any one ſhould object that the Greek ends with a ς, and the Hebrew with ר, we anſwer, that the changes in the derivation of words from Greek to Hebrew were frequent: thus from κεραμις, קרמיד, nay אפיפיר, from *Papa*, is a far greater change. 1444.

VIII. But further: as the word occurs but ſeldom, ſo the copyiſt might eaſily miſtake it, and from a worn-out ם write a ר. Or even the Greek word might be frequently wrote ἐπίολεὺς with a ς; for we know it was the dialect of ſeveral nations to change *es* into *s*: thus ἵππος, &c. * 1447. * Vide Caſ. Animadv. in Athen. lib. viii. c. 11.

CAP. XI.

Forms of proſecuting, of appeals, and of oaths.

I. It now remains that we ſhould ſhew the forms uſed in proſecuting, citing, and pleading in theſe ſeveral courts. There were ſome particular forms too, which were uſed in appealing from the XXIII. to the Synedrium. Thoſe we ſhall ſpeak of in the third book. But, before we enter upon the forms, it will be requiſite to premiſe ſomewhat about oaths, as being uſed in all courts whatever. 1449.

II. All lawful oaths, then, were made by the name of God. This they found upon Deut. vi. 13. Nor were they to add any other name to the name of God in their oath. If a man could not ſpeak the oath plain, it was ſtill valid. But if any one declares his aſſent to an oath, without repeating, he was not reckoned guilty of perjury if he did not keep it, though he was ſtill bound to the performance of it. Though the ſaying *Amen* was reckoned, to all intents and purpoſes, the ſame as repeating an oath. In all oaths there was an execration implied againſt the violator of them, beſides the guilt of perjury. It was thus in oaths which heathens made.

III. An excurſion upon heathen forms of oaths. What ſeems moſt remarkable is their ſwearing by common things which they could not eſteem as gods; ſuch as a gooſe, a dog, &c. The oath of the gods, by Styx. Mention made in Sophocles, of trying by ordeal. The league between the Carthaginians and Romans was confirmed by an oath *per Jovem Lapidem* *. Mention is made of the oath being cut upon pillars in the places where the Olympick and Pythian games were celebrated. The oath which all Athenians took after the expulſion of the thirty tyrants; and that which the Heliaſtæ, or chief judges, took. The gods, which the Ephebi called to witneſs. 1452. 1454. * Polyb. l. iii. 1455. 1456.

witneſs. [Q. Apollo in Pandis[a]?] The invocation which Plato, which Solon preſcribed. The Mountain Taurus ſworn by in the oath of the Cappadocians; as the Palus Mœotis and Tanais, by the Maſſagetæ*. The oath publiſhed from the Cretan Marble being pretty ſcarce: in it, remarkable, the title of Τελαιὸς ὁ Σεὺς, a title peculiar to Jupiter in Crete, according to Heſychius. Σεὺς *Laconicè & Doricè pro* Θεὺς.

* Maximus Tyrius, Diſſ. 38.

1457.

IV. The philoſophers had particular forms of oaths, by which they obliged their diſciples to ſecreſy. A paſſage in Julius Firmicus, collated with MS. in Lincoln Coll. Oxon.—Plato (Epiſt. vi.), in the oath he would have Hermias, &c. oblige themſelves by, deſcribes God in ſuch attributes as are agreeable to the true God. And Origen † accordingly applies it as if it was ſaid of the Son of God; though for ἡγεμόνα he reads ἡγεμονικῶ. The greateſt oath of the Pythagoreans was by ναὶ and ὄ[b]. Pythagoras called Τετρακτύς. A remarkable diſagreement ‡ between Cleanthes and Cryſippus, in their opinion of perjury. The firſt thought a man was not perjured if he did but intend to keep his oath when he took it; but if he broke it afterwards, it ſignified nothing. The other was orthodox in his opinion, and believed that then was the trial, whether a man was guilty of perjury, when he came to the performance of his oath. As all oaths implied an imprecation againſt the violators of them, ſo very rarely was there any human puniſhment inflicted upon the violators of them. It was thought, as appears from Heſiod, that every fifth day the Furies went about to puniſh the breach of oaths: ſuch a notion had they, that ſome remarkable judgement always followed perjury; though the graveſt of them, even Plato, thought that lovers falſe oaths were excuſable. It is obſervable, that in the Roman law, and even in Juſtinian's Code, though perjury was left wholly to the puniſhment of Heaven when they ſwore by the name of the true God yet when they had ſworn by the emperor, his genius, his health, &c. if they ſwore in a heat and paſſion, they were guilty of *treaſon*; or, if deliberately, fuſtigation was their puniſhment. Afterwards the cuſtom came of affixing a puniſhment to perjury. Remarkable teſtimonies of heathens againſt ſwearing in common converſation. [Q. This whole ſentence, and whether Mich. Attaliates' verſion ought to be blamed?]

† In Celſ. l. vi.

‡ From Stobæus.

1460.

1461.

[a] "Magnetes jurabant per Terram, Solem, Martem, Minervam Martiam, Dianam, Matrem Sipylenem, Apollinem in Pandis." Petit, Comm. ad Leg. Attic. p. 154. J. N.

[b] How conformable is this to our Saviour's precept, Matth. v. 37! H. O.

V. As to the Mahometans; ſome paſſages in the Alcoran compared with the Latin tranſlation of Robertus Retinenſis. They ſwore by other things as well as the name of God. Perjury not puniſhed in human courts by their law; but certain expiatory penances preſcribed by the Alcoran. 1462. 1464.

VI. As to Chriſtians; Matth. v. 33. examined and explained. The ſtory of Linacre [a] throwing away the Teſtament upon reading the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Matthew, the firſt time he ever took the Bible in his hands, though he was a Divine as well as Phyſician. The meaning of a corporal oath. Specimens of different forms of oaths uſed among Chriſtians. A remarkable way of ſwearing a Jew, about the year 980 after Chriſt. Particular ſeaſons in which oaths might not be taken, nor cauſes heard, even in the Chriſtian church. Hence the original of Terms. 1465. 1467. 1470. 1471.

VII. But to come at length to the Jews again. Though, as we ſaid before, p. 7, the moſt ſolemn and judicial oath of the Jews was to ſwear by the name of God; yet in converſation, and in ſolemn promiſes, they uſed to ſwear by other things; but took care that the name of God ſhould not be joined with them. See Gen. xlii. 15. 2 Sam. xi. 11. Matth. xxiii. 16. However, as theſe ſort of oaths were not eſteemed univerſally obligatory, when a Jew was ſtrictly to be bound, they had a very emphatical form of adjuration, *per* א, ד, &c. through each letter in Adonai. Our Saviour refers to this diſtinction (in Matth. xxiii. 16.) of the Phariſees, who did not think themſelves obliged, if they ſwore only by the Temple, if the name of God was not mentioned. So Martial, Epigr. 95, l. xi. *jura, verpe, per Anchialum.* Steph. Forcatulus obſerves, that Anchialus was the moſt ſacred Name of God, according to the Romans; and Joſeph Scaliger * has obſerved that it came from *Chi allah*, by the Living God. Two or three paſſages out of Philo relating to ſwearing, and his notion of the *Word* of God not diſagreeable from that of us Chriſtians. Theſe paſſages ill tranſlated. Swearing in common converſation to be avoided, according to the precepts of Jewiſh Rabbies. Certain ceremonies uſed, to add to the ſolemnity of an oath in courts of judicature; ſuch as producing a bladder blown up, and which ſhould blow out a candle, at the ſame time uttering 1472. 1473. 1474. 1476. 1477. 1478.

* Prol. de Emend. Temp.

[a] It appears from Sir John Cheke, "de pronunciatione Græcæ Linguæ," p. 282, that Linacre did not begin the ſtudy of Divinity till he was broken by age and infirmities.—It was after this change in his ſtudies that he projected the College of Phyſicians, where he preſided till his death, which happened Oct. 20, 1524, at the age of 64. J. N.

1479. tering imprecations, &c. Expreſs caution, that he that was ſworn did not take the oath in any private ſenſe of his own, but in that of the impoſer.

1480. VIII. Four nice diſtinctions of oaths.—Exod. xx. 7. Different tranſlations of it.

1482. IX. There was a ſort of abſolution uſed, if any one had taken a raſh oath. The abſolution was to be pronounced by one wiſe man, or by three of the vulgar when ſuch an one could not be had.

1486. X. Cuſtomary to put the oath upon which they examined any one in ſeveral lights; changing the form, and urging the words with all the ways of emphaſis they could think of. To this ſort of examination the Chriſtian, in St. Chryſoſtom *, brought a noble lady. " A Chryſoſtomo " rogatus cauſam ob quam, eccleſia relicta, eam in Ebræorum ſynedria " traxiſſet; reſpondet multos ei dixiſſe formidabiliora eſſe juramenta ibi " adhibita."

* Orat. adv. Jud. 1.

CAP. XII.

The Mode of Judicial Proceedings in the Synedrium Triumvirale.

1487. I. In what caſes oaths were required to be taken.

1490. II. Forms of proceſs on debt.

1491. III. The expreſſion *judicare ſeipſum* aroſe from a mode of ſelf-exculpation peculiar to this judicature. Hence ſeveral paſſages of St. Paul may be illuſtrated. See particularly Rom. xiv. 22. 1 Cor. iv. 3. xi. 28.

1492. IV. In what caſes appeals were allowable. In caſe of diſagreement in this court more members were called in from amongſt their *pares*, to the amount ſometimes of LXXI.

CAP. XIII.

Capital Puniſhments. Scourging.

1494. I.—VIII. On capital puniſhments amongſt the ancient Jews.

1515. IX. Scourging, however infamous eſteemed among the weſtern nations, was not ſo in the eaſtern parts of the world. It was ſometimes uſed as a fore-runner of ſome greater puniſhment, either condemnation to the mines, or even death itſelf. Thus Antigonus *, king of the Haſmonæans, was firſt ſcourged, and then put to death by Antony, out of reſpect to Herod; though his puniſhment is not to be reckoned as inflicted upon him after the Jewiſh manner, but purely Roman. That this nation anciently made

* Joſeph. l. xv. c. 1. Plutarch. in Anton.

uſe of ſcourging appears from Suetonius in Neron. c. xlvii. Pet. Faber in Semeſtr. l. ii. c. 12. Valer. Max. l. ii. c. 7. § 4. From this Roman cuſtom of ſcourging thoſe who were not citizens, it was thought, our Saviour was ſcourged: for the inflicting of that puniſhment upon a perſon condemned to death was contrary to the Jewiſh law. Among the Greeks this was ſo far from being infamous, that he who had undergone it was thought to have expiated for his crime, and to be ſet right again in the eye of the world. As well citizens as foreigners underwent it: even Lichas, the ſon of Archeſilaus, for violating ſome rule in the public games, was ſcourged. Thucyd. lib. 5. It was a cuſtom among the 1517.
Lacedæmonians to laſh their children once a year, at the altar of Diana Orthia, for a whole day together.

X. Two witneſſes required to the atteſtation of every fact.

XI. Ten ſorts of perſons diſqualified from being witneſſes. Women, 1520.
ſervants, minors, idiots, the deaf and dumb, the blind, the impious, the *impudentiores*, thoſe of the ſame kindred, and thoſe who have been before convicted of falſe evidence.

XII. Some various lections from a MS. of Philo's book τὰ περὶ δικαςῶν. 1522.
A caution againſt taking a particular paſſage in Philo as if it mentioned a tribunal of the prieſts alone.

CAP. XIV.

Extraordinary Courts of Judicature.

Having given ſome account of the Synedrium Magnum, it now 1524.
follows that we ſhould treat of the extraordinary courts: ſuch were the *Royal Tribunal*, and the determination of a ſingle judge; the Zelotes; the Synedria of ſome particular ſects, and thoſe belonging to one tribe, or diviſions of that tribe; and, laſtly, the prieſt's determination * in the caſe of leproſy. * *Notio.*

Ezra x. 8. The power of confiſcation, there threatened to be per- 1527.
formed *according to the counſel of the princes and the elders*, is not to be taken as a power inherent in the king by virtue of his regality, but as a power flowing to him from the Synedrium Magnum, which he and his collegues at that time repreſented.

II. Though, as we have before ſhewn, the members of the Synedria were to be either III, or XXIII (*a*), or LXXI, in every caſe conſiſting of

[*a*] Grotius, on Deut. xvii. 5. ſpeaks "de numero XXIII. aut *minimum* XXI."

an odd number; yet ſince all the numbers were arbitrary, except the LXXI, which was determined by Scripture, it was allowed that *one* alone might determine in ſome plain civil caſes, but never two, or any *even* number.

1529. III. We have before ſpoken of the caſe of the Zelotes (*a*). A remarkable paſſage from Philo adduced. The Jews ſeem to have pretended ignorance of the power allowed theſe Zelotes, when they accuſed Herod, the ſon of Antipater before Hyrcanus, for killing Ezekias an idolater *. Something like this caſe of the Zelotes in heathen laws. An *outlawed* perſon given over to the power of every one that would kill him. Some thought that they who incurred a præmunire were liable to the ſame fate; but this expreſly guarded againſt in Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 1.

* Joſeph. Orig. l. xiv. c. 17.

1530. *Utlagatus* and *caput lupini* ſynonymous. *Wolfes hede* uſed for *outlaw* by Chaucer †; whoſe deſcription of an unthrifty 'prentice is but a prologue to the Coke's Tale of Gamelyn, which immediately follows it. The four lines which Selden quotes from his MS. as the beginning of this tale, are different from the printed edition [*b*], both in the words themſelves and the meaſure of the feet, though they are the ſame in ſenſe:

† P. 46. ver. 1431.

" Lithen and liſtneth and harkneth aright,
" And ye ſhall heren of a doughti knight,
" Sire John of Boundis was his name,
" He cowde of nurture and mochel of game."

Selden ſays, that as this deſcription is part of the Coke's Prologue, ſo thoſe two lines at the concluſion of ver. 34,

" And therewithall he lougt, and made chear,
" And ſaid his tale, as ye ſhallen after hear,"

ſhould be printed at the end of it (according to his MS.) as an introduction to the following ſtory. The ſuppoſition of this *Deſcription* being part of the Coke's Tale, and ſo left imperfect, he ſays, is *Hallucinatio ſumma, ac præſtantiſſimo poetæ fraus non toleranda.*

1532. IV. As to the Synedria of particular ſects, ſomething of their authority may be ſeen in Joſephus, Haloſeos II. c. xii. or vii.

1533. V. According to the Law of God, Lev. xiii. 2. xiv. 3. the prieſt, I mean any prieſt, was to judge of leproſy, &c. Deut. xxi. 5. *And by their*

[*a*] De Jure Nat. & Gent. lib. iv. c. 3, 4, 5.

[*b*] Urry's edition, p. 36, is here referred to by Mr. Bowyer. Whatever relates to the Father of Engliſh Poetry has been ſince ſo admirably elucidated by Mr. Tyrwhitt, that it is ſufficient to refer the reader to the Preface of that gentleman's edition, p. xix. J. N.

word

word ſhall every controverſy and every ſtroke be tried, not to be taken as if all manner of power was in the prieſts, but only in relation to the caſe of leproſy; as it is particularly expreſſed in Deut. xxiv. 8.

CAP. XV.

Where the Synedrium ſat; their migrations; decay of their juriſdiction; power of the prieſthood, &c.

I. Of their ordinary ſittings before the time of Chriſt, taken from writers not Talmudical. 1536.

II. Of their continuance after Chriſt, from the ſame authorities. 1540.

III. Some ſlight interruptions to their ſitting, particularly in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes and of Herod the Great. 1541.

IV. The *ſtone-chamber*, where the Synedrium Magnum aſſembled, why ſo called. 1544.

V. In what particulars the Nazarene Synedria reſembled thoſe at Jeruſalem. 1550.

VI. As to the place where the Synedrium Magnum uſed to ſit, the Liſketh Hagazith; it muſt be obſerved, that, according to the original inſtitution, no other place was allowed for the Synedrium; and the Talmuds ſay, they had no power to judge in capital caſes but there. And as this ſupreme court, to which the others appealed, was of no force except in this place, ſo the inferior courts ceaſed in like manner in their ſeveral migrations. 1552.

VII. Now the migrations were three; from the Liſketh Hagazith to Hanoth, *i. e.* the *ſhops* [tabernæ] ſituate on the mountain of the Temple; from thence to Jeruſalem, *i. e.* other places in Jeruſalem; from Jeruſalem to Jabne. 1553.

VIII. As to the time; the firſt happened about forty years before the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple, which happened in the ſecond of Veſpaſian, and ſeventieth after Chriſt. Of this the Chaldee Paraphraſt interprets the 60th Pſalm.

Lebanon, uſed ſometimes for the Temple, ſometimes for the city of Jeruſalem, and even for the whole land of Iſrael. 1555.

A meeting of the wiſe men at Jericho and Jabne, where Samuel, in the preſence of Rabban Gamaliel, firſt formed that curſe againſt heretics, in the ancient copies of which the Chriſtians are curſed by the name of מינים. But afterwards, as Buxtorf obſerves, it being notorious that the Chriſtians

were

were meant by that word, they changed it into *Epicurioſin*; which comes either from *Epicurus*, or from פקר, *to profane, and deſecrate.*

IX. Of Jabne, which of the two cities of that name the migration was made to.

1557. It ſeems probable, from Joſephus, in his own Life, that the Synedrium Magnum remained, even at Jeruſalem, till the time of the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple. When he was præfect of Galilee, he wrote, he ſays, τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμίτων. It may be obſerved too, that Joſephus himſelf eſtabliſhed there a ſort of Synedrium Magnum.

1558. X. As to the reaſons of making theſe migrations. The cauſe of the firſt, the Talmud ſays, was owing to the frequent murders which happened, while the perſons guilty of them were proſecuted by the Roman præfects, who were now their conquerors, and carried on the proſecutions in the Jewiſh courts. The Jews were not driven away by force, but choſe to go to ſome other place to avoid theſe inconveniences. Poſtellus, therefore, is miſtaken in ſaying the Jews were *driven* away forty years before the deſtruction of the Temple. Petrus Galatinus is ſtill more miſtaken in ſaying "about forty years, &c. they were driven out, on account of the falſe "judgement they gave of Chriſt;" as their migration forty years before the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple muſt have happened two or three years before they paſſed their judgement.

1560. XI. So much for the place where the Synedrium Magnum uſed to ſit, and its ſeveral migrations. We now come to treat of the decay of its juriſdiction. Here abundance of teſtimonies mention the ceaſing of all capital cauſes about forty years before the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple, *i. e.* at their firſt migration. Though, as we ſaid before, ſeveral Chriſtian writers, ſuch as Galatinus and Poſtellus, are to blame in thinking that the power of ſitting was wholly taken away by the Romans. There is a great deal of difference between being deprived of a power, and the perſons in whom it reſides voluntarily ceaſing to exerciſe that power, which was the caſe of the Jews. The word בטל in the Talmud, on which

1561. they found the former interpretation, may very well ſignify *intermittere.* Nay, even after the overthrow of the Temple, the Synedrium does not ſeem to be wholly extinguiſhed; but to have been of force, in ſome parts of the Holy Land, for ſeveral years after. This aſſertion confirmed from

* Tit. *Aboda Zara.* Thoſiptha*; and it will be farther confirmed from the New Teſtament in the

the third book. For the preſent, that the Synedrium had a power of in- 1564.
flicting ſtripes a conſiderable time after our Saviour's Paſſion, and therefore within the forty years before the deſtruction of the Temple, appears from St. Paul's receiving forty ſtripes ſave one, 2 Cor. xi. 24; where it is obſervable, that though as a Roman citizen by the Portian law he could not be ſcourged at all, yet as a Jew he underwent the law inflicted by his countrymen.

XII. We come now to ſpeak of the power which the prieſts had in the Synedrium. Here we have before ſhewn, that as Prieſts and Levites were more particularly addicted to the ſtudy of the law, ſo they were more frequently choſen as members of the Synedrium; *but this only by accident, not as prieſts.* However, in the time of the Haſmonæans, or Maccabees, *i. e.* one hundred and ſeventy years before Chriſt, a revolution was made, and the power of the State was fixed in the prieſthood. After the Haſmonæans had thus begun, Julius Cæſar put Hyrcanus the ſon of 1565.
Alexander in poſſeſſion of the high prieſthood, as Pompey had before in that of the kingdom. See the Decree in Joſ. l. xiv. c. 17. From this 1566.
full extent of power fixed in the prieſthood, the ſucceeding Roman princes took the hint of joining the ſupreme power to that title, which they themſelves affected to join to theirs. But before this of the Haſmonæans, it does not appear that the prieſts were choſen on account of their office to preſide in the State. If we are to give credit to the Excerpts out of Diodorus Siculus* in Photius, we muſt believe that Moſes himſelf appointed * Lib. xl.
prieſts to preſide, in the firſt inſtitution of the Jewiſh government. That paſſage particularly examined. As it was written at a time when the prieſthood came into greater power in governing the State, about the time of the building the ſecond Temple, hence the error might ariſe, and the writer might be apt to think the firſt was like that under which he lived. And hence Trogus Pompeius, who lived about the ſame time with 1568.
Diodorus, has propagated the ſame error, and it is preſerved to us by Juſtin *. Joſephus, adv. Apionem, l. ii. magnifies the power of the prieſthood * Hiſ. 36.
to the ſame height. Euſebius † has tranſcribed a paſſage from him, im- † Precep. Evang. l. viii.
porting that the power at firſt was wholly in the prieſts; but, as Scaliger obſerves, what he there aſſerts may be eaſily confuted.

A paſſage

1569. A paſſage from Syneſius of Cyrene. An obſervation on excommunication. Joſephus, l. xi. c. 8. ſays, that Manaſſes was forbid by the elders of Jeruſalem (*i. e.* the Synedrium) to come to the altar. This is not to be taken as if he was excommunicated from partaking of the ſacrifices, but only put out from officiating in the prieſthood. Sal. Ben Wirga runs into another error, by ſaying it was an aſſembly of prieſts that degraded him.

XIII. Concerning the obſervation of the phaſes of the moon.

1570. XIV. A great miſtake of ſeveral learned men, who give out that there was a particular convention of the prieſts to judge in eccleſiaſtical matters. Nor is it any more to be believed that the *high prieſt was head of the Synedrium* as high prieſt. From the time, indeed, of the Haſmonæans the high prieſts preſided in the Synedrium; but that was only becauſe the chief power of the State happened to fall into their hands.

1571. XV. As to thoſe heads of the Synedrium, whether prieſts or not, it cannot be denied but that, in the latter times eſpecially, they were frequently changed, and others put into their government. On this account it

1573. happened that one was put in by the Romans, while another was head according to their own laws. Thus St. Paul, Acts xxiii. 5, did not know that Ananias was high prieſt when he pleaded before him: where it may be obſerved, that St. Paul ſuppoſes him a ruler of the people as well as high prieſt; *Thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the ruler of my people.* Ananias was the prince put in by the Romans; whereas by the hereditary rule Rabban Gamaliel the elder (who is ſaid to be St. Paul's tutor), or his ſon Simeon, was the high prieſt.

CAP. XVI.

Traditions in reſpect to their Laws.

1574. I. The traditions of their oral law. That Moſes wrote thirteen books of the law. That he gave one to every tribe, and laid one up in the Ark. But as for precept (or oral law), which they diſtinguiſh from the written law, that Moſes gave it to the LXX. in the Synedrium, eſpecially to Eleazer, Phineas, and Joſhua.

1576. II. Joſhua, the chief of the Synedrium, delivered it to Phineas, Phineas to Eli; though there are three hundred years between Joſhua and Eli: all the reſt which come between are not taken notice of.

III.

III. But others have given a more particular account of the tradition, and mentioned throughout the ſeveral princes of the Synedrium. They account with ſome difficulty for Deborah * being the preſident of the Synedrium. 1577.

* Judges iv. 4.

IV. The prince of the people and of the Synedrium, as far as David, were the ſame perſon. Saul the prince and Jonathan the father of the Synedrium. 1578.

V. Jerem. xxxviii. 5. *Therefore the princes ſaid unto the king*, is taken for the Synedrium. 2 Sam. viii. 18. *And David's ſons were chief rulers.* The Vulgate Latin renders it wrong; *Filii David ſacerdotes erant*, led to it by כהן, which ſignifies properly λειτουργεῖν. Thence the participle λειτουργὸν, if applied to God; and αὐλάρχην, if applied to a king. See Grotius.—2 Sam. xx. 26. explained. 1582.

VI. Different opinions about the Synedrium. In the viſion of Ezek. viii. 11, Grotius thinks that Jezonias Ben Saphan was the chief of the LXX there named: others, as Vorſtius, take them to be all prieſts of the tribe of Levi, as if none but prieſts could perform thoſe rites to idols there mentioned. How the Synedrium ſtood under Ezra at the Reſtoration, may be learnt from Artaxerxes's mandate †. From thence it appears, that Ezra was probably prince of the Synedrium. Mention indeed is made of CXX, inſtead of LXXI. But this number probably includes ſuch new members as were elected to fill up all the vacancies occaſioned by death in the whole of Ezra's time. 1586.

† Ezra vii. 25.

VII. Mention made of the oral law, which Ezra is ſaid to have put into writing at this time. Joannes Pica mentions three of theſe books being tranſcribed into Latin by order of Sixtus Quintus. Though he is in ſuch raptures upon the ſight of this Cabala, it is probably no other than what was printed at Venice by Dan. Bomberg, A. D. 1523, and quoted by ſeveral others. 1587. 1589.

VIII. A liſt of thoſe who preſided in the great Synedrium, till the overthrow of it. An explanation of the Catena. From this it appears that ſometimes the high prieſt was chief of the Synedrium: ſometimes their kings were ſo, according to the will of their conquerors. Thus, when James the Juſt is condemned *, Ananus is ſaid to have preſided in the Synedrium; though, according to our Catena, either Rabban Jochanan Ben Zacai or Rabban Gamaliel ought to have preſided. Upon this it may be 1590. 1592.

* Joſeph. l. xx. c. 8.

obſerved, by the way, that Joſephus only ſays that Ananus condemned St.
1593. James to be ſtoned, which was a Jewiſh puniſhment inflicted upon blaſphemers. From whence ſome have invented a ſtory of his being thrown down from the pinnacle of the Temple. The caſting a perſon headlong, indeed, from ſome eminent place, was agreeable enough to the Jewiſh manner of ſtoning ſometimes; but it never uſed to be from the Temple. But to return: Joſephus tells us, that Ananus was put out from the high prieſthood by Agrippa. In the ſame place of Joſephus
1594. there is another inſtance of the power of the Romans over the Synedrium.

IX. That Joſhua Ben Peralkiah could not be our Saviour's præceptor, as
* Gemar. Babylon. Abraham Ben Dior. & Zacut. ſome * ridiculouſly pretend.

X. A farther account of the perſons mentioned in the Catena: whence the exiſtence of the Synedrium is traced to A. D. 430, the time of Valentinian III. The whole hiſtory clearly treated of in the obſervations of Sam. Petit, l. iii. c. 3. It has been obſerved by ſome writers, that
1595. as the Areopagus at Athens and the Synedrium had a beginning about the ſame time, ſo had they their end nearly together. Veſpaſian overthrew the Temple, and by that means put an end to all capital cauſes in the Synedrium, and in a great meaſure may be ſaid to have extinguiſhed it: Veſpaſian reduced Achaia, wherein Athens was, into a province, and ſo took away the power of the Areopagus. The Jews never ſo far ſubmitted to their conquerors as to give up their right to the Holy Land, &c.

1598. XI. From what has been ſaid of the Synedria and of their preſidents, ſome light will be given to determine when the ſceptre departed from Judah. Grotius, de Jure Belli & Pacis, in the Paris edition of 1625, and that of Amſterdam 1731, ſays that the ſceptre remained till the confirmation of Archelaus. But he afterwards, ed. Amſt. 1642, corrects the paſſage, and ſays "remained *after the confiſcation*." The confiſcation happened a few years before the birth of Chriſt.

1600. A reflection on Sigonius, who repreſents the ſtate of the Jewiſh Synedrium intirely wrong.

1601. On Thomas Aquinas and ſeveral others, who magnify the authority of the prieſthood, as if all the power lay there.

1602. On Rabbi Eliazer; and upon all thoſe who give the high prieſt a place in the Synedrium on account of his prieſthood.

LIB. III. CAP. VI.

On Prophets, true and falſe. The Synedrium judged of a falſe Prophet.

I. Of falſe prophets, the Synedrium Magnum alone had cognizance. 1650.

II. Of the credit to be given to prophets in tranſactions paſt or preſent. 1651.

III. And in their predictions of future events. 1652.

IV. An example of the power which the Synedrium Magnum had in judging a falſe prophet, is ſhewn in the ſtory of Jeremiah, xxvi. 8. Some think too, that our Saviour's being tried as a falſe prophet was an inſtance of the ſame power; and upon this depends what our Saviour ſays, that it is impoſſible that a prophet ſhould be condemned to death out of Jeruſalem, ſince there it was the Synedrium ſate. As for the ſacerdotal degrees which St. Jerom talks of, I can find nothing like it in the Jewiſh writers. But Baronius agrees in the opinion I am now ſpeaking of, that our Saviour was tried as a falſe prophet. Thus too, our Saviour * exclaims, *O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, thou that killeſt the prophets, and ſtoneſt*, &c.; *killeſt*, that is, by ſtrangling, the puniſhment due by law to falſe prophets; *ſtoneſt*, which was the puniſhment of thoſe who did not pretend to propheſy, but only to lead the people into ſome new doctrine. 1653.

* Matth. xxiii. 3.

CAP. VII.

Expiation of uncertain Murder.

I. The law concerning the expiation of an uncertain murder, Deut. xxi. 1. This affair under the direction of the Synedrium Magnum. Joſephus, Ant. Jud. l. iv. c. 8. ſeems to have deſcribed this law with leſs exactneſs than he ſhould have done. He makes the Prieſts, the Levites, and the whole Synedrium of the neighbouring cities, pronounce the expiatory ſentence; whereas, according to the Jewiſh writers, it was to be pronounced by the prieſts alone. According to him, the Prieſts and Levites, with their friends; according to others, only the Synedrium LXXIII. and the reſt of the elders [*a*]. 1655.

[*a*] "The moſt natural and religious courſe in making laws is, that the matter of them "be taken from the judgement of the wiſeſt in thoſe things which they are to concern." Hooker, p. 159 ——"It cannot in any reaſon ſeem otherwiſe than moſt fit, that unto "eccleſiaſtical perſons the care of deviſing eccleſiaſtical laws be committed, even as the "care of civil unto them which are in thoſe affairs moſt ſkilful." *Ibid.* W. B.

1660. VII. The doctrine of expiation in the caſe of murder imitated in ſome meaſure by heathen nations.

1661. VIII. This naturally puts us in mind of the ancient cuſtom among the Engliſh: when any perſon was found, and it was not known by what means he died, the body was reckoned as ſome foreigner's; and the county in which it was found was fined on account of the murder, unleſs they came and ſwore publickly in court that it was no foreigner, but an Eng-

1662. liſhman that was killed. Hence, anciently, the word *murdrum* ſignified not only *murder* in the preſent ſenſe, but the fine that was the conſequence of it. This proof, which was offered to ſhew he was no foreigner, was called *Engleſcheria*. There was the ſame thing in Wales, which was called *Walleſheria*. But this was aboliſhed in the fourteenth of Edw. III. A. D. 1339. Bracton has a particular account of the riſe of this, though I cannot find from what authority he gathered it *. He tells us, that the Barons of England deſired Canute the Dane, after his conqueſt here, to ſend back his army, which was a grievous burden to them, to Denmark; and, on engagement that he ſhould ſuffer nothing by the diminution of his power here, they promiſed that if any Dane, of the number he retained with him, ſhould be found dead, and the perſon accuſed of his death could not clear himſelf by the ordeal, he ſhould ſuffer juſtice; and if he fled from it, the pariſh wherein the dead man was found ſhould pay ſixty marks; if the pariſh could not pay, the fine was to be laid on the hundred, and paid into the royal treaſury.

* There is much the ſame ſtory told of William the Conqueror, by the author of Dial. de Scaccario. See Sax. Laws, p. 212. W. B.

CAP. VIII.

Privileges of the Prieſthood.

1663. I. That capital cauſes of the high prieſt were to be judged only by the Synedrium Magnum.

1664. II. The ſame circumſtances in proceeding againſt a high prieſt as againſt others; only, in civil cauſes, he was allowed to appear by his proctor, as * we have already ſhewn in the ſecond book, c. x. § 6, 7. *

* See p. 6.

1665. III. Something particular relating to the Aſylum. Others (according to the Law, Num. xxxv. 24. Exod. xxi. 13.) in caſe of chance murder, flew to the City of Refuge, and there ſtaid till the death of the high prieſt. But

if

if the high prieſt had killed a man, or any man had killed the high prieſt, they were to ſtay in the City of Refuge all their life. In caſe of the high prieſt's flying to the altar, ſome ſay he might be dragged from thence, though he had begun to ſacrifice; others ſay not.

IV. Of the particular honour and dignity of the high prieſt. He was not obliged to be a witneſs in any caſe; no, not in the Synedrium. The ſame privilege was allowed to the Flamen Dialis among the Romans. 1667.

V. That it was the Synedrium that excommunicated, already ſhewn in another work *. It was the Synedrium that determined all cauſes againſt the ſucceſſion to the prieſthood. 1668.

* Lib. ii. de Succeſſ. in Pontif. c. x.

VI. Whomſoever the Synedrium choſe to be made high prieſt, if he was poorer than his brethren, care was taken to make him richer. And they always choſe one that excelled in other qualifications. Out of the prieſthood there was choſe סגן, *ſegen*, as vicarius to him; and to the ſegeni they choſe two or more *cathicoli*, who were as vicarii to them. 1669.

CAP. IX.

Kings ſubject to the Synedrium.

I. Some caſes which the Synedrium had a power of judging, and the king had not; particularly caſes about the determination of the tribe any one belonged to; caſes concerning the high prieſt and prophet. Grotius inſtances in Jer. xxxviii. 5. He farther adds the ſtory of Herod's being called before the Synedrium, though Hyrcanus was ſtrongly againſt it †; and at laſt Hyrcanus was forced upon a ſtratagem to ſecure him from their power. Petit makes a wrong concluſion from this ſtory. 1670. 1671.

† Joſeph. Ant. l. xiv. c. 17.

II. Various opinions whether the Synedrium had a power of paſſing judgement on the king's perſon: Baronius for it; Caſaubon againſt it. 1673.

III. The Rabbies different; the Fathers againſt it. 1675.

IV. V. Grotius would reconcile the different opinions of the Jews, by ſuppoſing that where they ſay that the king was ſubject to ſtripes from the Synedrium, it was to be meant only of ſome voluntary penance which the king underwent for his ſins; but that they had not power of inflicting it by way of puniſhment. Againſt this, Maimonides has a paſſage which can hardly be got over. The opinions of Petit, Caſaubon, and Salmaſius, given in their own words. 1676.

VI.

1679. VI. That the Synedrium conſtituted kings. They looked into their family, to guard againſt the violation of the law * of chuſing one that was of their brotherhood. In determining on this queſtion, they 1680. had always the greateſt regard to the mother's ſide. This notion agreeable to other nations. So Virgil, de Drance, Æn. xi. A ſentence from Julian brought to favour this notion. [Qu. If not wreſted to this purpoſe?]

* Deut. xvii. 15.

CAP. X.

Tributes for the Sacrifices.

1681. I. As to the tributes uſually paid towards the ſacrifices; we muſt conſider ſacrifices in two reſpects. One ſort * were ſuch as were duly and regularly performed on the Sabbath, new moons, &c. for the ſake of all the people in general. The other †, an expiatory ſacrifice, which was performed in caſe *the whole congregation of Iſrael had ſinned through ignorance.* Towards the firſt, every man was to pay the half ſhekel of the ſanctuary ‡; that is, 1682. a whole common ſhekel, equal to the Attic didrachma. This tribute was increaſed for a while to a [*a*] third part of a ſhekel, under the beginning of the ſecond Temple §. After the overthrow of the ſecond Temple, the Jews were compelled to pay their half ſhekel ſtill to the Capitol.

* Numb. xxviii. 2, &c.

† Lev. iv. 13.

‡ Exod. xxx. 13.

§ Nehem. x. 32.

1683. II. This tribute was to be paid ſomewhat before the beginning of the year; that is, before the month Niſan, which anſwers almoſt to our March *. Thoſe that gathered it ſtood ready to receive it the 15th of that month; but if any by the 25th refuſed it, they took it from them by force. From all, I ſay, except prieſts; who though they were obliged to pay, yet were never ſeized on, out of reſpect to their order. Women, ſervants, and minors, were exempt from the tribute.

* They put out a proclamation, at the beginning of the preceding month, Adar, that they ſhould get ready their ſhekels.

III. The power of the collectors allowed by the Synedrium Magnum.

(*a*) It is ſo expreſſed in Nehemiah. Qu. If it ſhould not be three parts of a ſhekel? How elſe can a third part of a ſhekel be more than half a ſhekel? Half a ſhekel was the uſual tribute. But, proviſions for the ſacrifices being dearer, they were forced to increaſe the tribute to a third part (he ſays) of a ſhekel. W. B.——The words of Selden are, "Tertia pars ſicli—edicto temporario adjecta eſt;" whence it ſhould ſeem that *both* tributes were to be paid, the *half-ſhekel* as originally directed, and a *third part* in addition to it. The paſſage of Nehemiah, however, does no way countenance this conjecture. J. N.

IV. If there was any thing remaining at the year's end of the ſhekels which had been gathered, the number of ſacrifices was diſcretionally increaſed, which were then called *ſacrificia altaris ſecunda*. If any beaſts were remaining, bought with the former year's money, they returned them to the owners who ſold them, taking care always to begin the new year with ſacrifices bought with the new year's money. 1684.

CAP. XI.

Ceremonious regulations of the Prieſthood, their dreſs, &c.

I. Under the ſecond Temple it was a cuſtom, that, ſeven days before the Feaſt of Expiation *, which was the 10th of the month Tizri, the prieſt ſhould keep within the veil of the Temple; and the Synedrium deputed ſome one to read over to him every day the whole office he was to perform, that he might be the more expert at it. And the night before the feaſt they ſuffered him to eat but little, and not to ſleep at all, for fear of pollution. 1686. * Lev. xvi. 16.

II. As the prieſt was to offer incenſe within the veil, ſo that nobody could ſee him †, they made him ſwear that he would innovate nothing in the ceremony. The Sadducees did not allow burning the incenſe within the veil. 1687. † Lev. xvi. 12.

III. Sheringham had objected to Selden, that the prieſts were not diſtinguiſhed, out of the Temple, from the common people by their habit. This Selden here maintains, and proves that the girdle, which was an heterogeneous garment, *i. e.* made of wool and linen both, might not be worn, except at the very time of officiating. As for the other garments, they might be worn all day within the Temple, but never out. Beſides teſtimony from Jewiſh tradition, he ſays, the Scripture itſelf confirms it, in Exod. xxviii. 43. Two derivations of the word *Hieruſalem*. Every thing great and eminent in its kind called by the name of ἱερὸς, or *ſacer*. So the *falling ſickneſs* is called ἡ νόσος ἱερὴ, *morbus ſacer*, and alſo *Herculeus* [*a*]. Hence the *Os Sacrum*. So to ſeveral medicines is given the name of *hiera*; ſo *Unguentum Apoſtolorum*. A vindication of Avicenna, from the aſperſion caſt upon him [*b*], that he did know the number of the apoſtles. The epiſtles between him and St. Auguſtine a moſt ridiculous fragment; as Avicenna was born 1689. 1693. 1696. 1697. 1698.

[*a*] Vid. Galen. ad Hippocr. l. vi. de Morb. Epidem. c. 7; Aretæum de Cauſis & Notis diuturnorum Affectuum, l. i. c. 4 & H. Caſaub. in Athen. l. vii. c. 10. J. N.

[*b*] By John Renodæus, Inſtitut. Pharmaceuticarum, lib. v. c. 20. Antidotarium Meſſanenſe, p. 251. J. N.

A. D.

A. D. 980, and St. Auguſtine flouriſhed about the end of the *third* and beginning of the *fourth* century [*a*].

1700. Galen, treating of three different ſorts of Lemnian Lutum, ſays, "una an-
"tedicta illa terræ ſacræ, quam nemo alius præter ſacerdotem fœminam
"tangebat; *i. e.* Dianæ ſacerdotem."

1712. IV. Some farther circumſtances relating to the uſe of the prieſt's habit.
The manner of caſting lots who ſhould officiate, in caſe any one of the
1713. prieſts did not thoroughly underſtand his office. A tradition among them, that it was not lawful to number the children of Iſrael by their perſons, but by ſome appendages or other. To this Joſephus * is ſuppoſed to refer, when, being deſired by Ceſtius to give in the number of the Jews, he deſired the high prieſts to reckon them. They accordingly counted them, not by their perſons, but by the Paſchal Lambs, &c. the number of meſſes [*comedentium contubernia.*] To this purpoſe may be explained ſeveral texts of Scripture; as 1 Rom. iii. 8. Hoſ. i. 10. Joſh. xv. 24. 1 Sam. xi. 8, &c.

* Haloſeos, l. vii. c. 45. ſeu 17. in parte libri priore.

CAP. XI[†].

Where the power of making war was veſted.

1720. I. That war which depended on the command of God, of deſtroying ſeven nations and the Amalekites, &c. might be undertaken at the prince's pleaſure, without conſulting the Synedrium. But an arbitrary war againſt other nations, not contained in thoſe ſeven, could not be began without conſent of the Synedrium. A reflection on Petrus Galatinus, that he ſtole all from Raymundus Martinus [*b*]; and upon Carolus Sigonius not understanding Hebrew ✠.

† The ſame reflection occurs again in p. 1725.

II. Under the declenſion of the Roman State a like law made, that generals ſhould not undertake a war without conſent of the ſenate.

1721. III. Joſephus, Antiq. lib. iv. c. 8, ſeems to ſay, that, from the original inſtitution of Moſes, it was not lawful to wage war without conſulting the high prieſt and ſenate. Selden blames him, as he often does, for aſcribing ſuch a power to the high prieſt.

[*a*] He ſhould have ſaid end of the *fourth* and beginning of the *fifth*. W. B.

[*b*] Galatinus's Book is ſo impudent a plagiariſm as is not, I believe, to be paralleled again in the world. There is, if I remember right, an edition of it in *Sion* College Library, wherein references are continually made to *Raym. Martin's* original. H. O.

IV.

IV. An examination of Numb. xxvii. 21. according to the Vulgate. It 1722.
is ſuppoſed, from the Jewiſh traditions, that, both here and in Joſephus,
the conſulting of the high prieſt was not conſulting the oracle, the ſtones in
the breaſt-plate, whether they ſhould go forth to war. A ſhort digreſſion 1723.
how long this oracle laſted. A book aſcribed to Epiphanius ſeems to
make it laſt to the time of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptiſt: but
in another copy of his book it ended with Zacharias, mentioned in 2 1724.
Chron. c. xv. A reflection on a book publiſhed by John Friſch-
muth [a], a German profeſſor.

CAP. XIII.

On what conditions the City permitted to be enlarged; mode of dedicating the Temple; Feaſts, &c.

I. That the city was not to be enlarged without the conſent of the 1725.
Synedrium Magnum.

II. Nor yet with that alone; but the authority of the king, the pro- 1726.
phet, and the oracle, was requiſite. This reſtriction is founded on Exod.
xxv. 8, 9. where God commanded Moſes to make every part of the Ta-
bernacle according to the inſtructions he had given him; and though the
Synedrium was not founded ſooner than a year after this, as is ſhewn in
a former paſſage *; yet in Moſes and Aaron, they ſay, all the characters of * Seld. de Synedriis, l. ii. c. 4.
king, prophet, high prieſt, and Synedrium, were united.

III. Accordingly the Temple, they ſay, was built by the authority of 1727.
all theſe. The Mountain of Moriah was pointed out by God to David for
the place where his Temple ſhould ſtand. This, though performed by his 1728.
ſon Solomon, yet the twenty-ninth Pſalm is by many (by others the thir-
tieth) interpreted to be the dedication-pſalm compoſed by David. This 1729.
pſalm was uſed not only at the Feaſt of Dedication, but alſo at the bringing-
in and offering their Firſt Fruits *. An account of their proceſſion when * Deut. xxvi. 2.
they made this offering.

As to the dedication of the Temple, the whole form is ſet down in 1730.
1 Kings c. viii. and 2 Chron. vii. And here it is to be obſerved, that the
firſt dedication or conſecration is called ἐγκαίνια, as well as thoſe conſecra-

[a] De Rege eligendo & deponendo diſcurſus, Jenæ, 1653, 4to.

tions which were performed anew upon ſome profanation. Here, by the way, it may be obſerved, that ſeveral commentators have ill interpreted that of John x. 22. to belong to the feaſt in memory of Solomon's dedication: in St. John, the time is expreſly ſaid to be in winter; and therefore was not in memory of the dedication of either the firſt or ſecond Temple, but of the conſecration of the ſecond, after the profanation of
1731. it by Antiochus. Whereas the dedication of Solomon's Temple was in
* 1 Reg. viii. 2. the month *Ethanim* *, which is the ſeventh month from Niſan, *i. e.* Tizri, anſwering to our September.

IV. The ceremony uſed when the city was to be enlarged.

V. And when any thing was added to the court of the Temple.

1732. VI. Under Ezra, Nehemiah, &c. we have ſeveral expreſs examples of
† Nehem. xii. 27. the rites uſed upon theſe occaſions †. The Rabbies ſay, however, that they could not at this time confer any new holineſs to the place, becauſe the king and oracle were both wanting. In 2 Macc. i. 9 and 18, there is a letter to the Jews, to invite them to keep the feaſt of purification of the
1733. Temple on the xxvth of the month Caſleu. The ſecond book of Maccabeus rejected by many as not genuine; and many difficulties have ariſen upon this very place. Here is mention made of the ſacrifice being lighted with water found in the place where fire from the altar was had. And this feaſt of Fire (τὰ πυρὸς) many interpret to be in memory of the
‡ Ill printed xxxi. fire Nehemiah found when he purified the city. Nehem. xii. 31 ‡, *conſtitui δύο τοὺς περὶ ἀνέσεως μεγάλας*, appointed two great companies of them that give thanks, ſhould be rendered *two euchariſtical ſacrifices.*

VII. This feaſt of purification, or dedication of the Temple, which
* I. iv. 52. was kept on the 25th of Caſleu, or 9th, according to the Maccabees * and
† L. xii. c. 11. Joſephus †, was obſerved, and is ſtill, with the commemoration of the xxxth Pſalm. This feaſt was held for eight days; and is the ſame men-
1734. tioned in St. John x. 22; though ſeveral Fathers have been miſtaken upon that paſſage; St. Chryſoſtom referring it to the dedication of the ſecond Temple under Zorobabel. So Theophylact, Nonnus, Euthymius, Zygabenus, Eraſmus. Others referring it to the renewing the city; ſo Theodorus, biſhop of Mopſa. Whereas it certainly refers to the dedication under the Haſmonæans; for the time of Solomon's dedication was in Tizri, which is about Autumn; and the dedication of Zorobabel's Temple

Temple was in Adar, which is a little before the Vernal Equinox. Whether there was any anniverſary feaſt in commemoration of the dedication before the Haſmonæi, I have not yet found. Part of the ſervice uſed upon this occaſion. Druſius has confounded what is brought out of the 1737.
Jewiſh Ritualiſts, and makes the purgation to be in the time of Matthias, whereas he died two years before it; and it was performed under Judas Maccabeus.—A late writer (Guil. Vorſtius) thinks that this feaſt of dedication mentioned in 1 Macc. iv. 59. was not to be kept yearly, but only for eight days that year. But the words plainly prove the contrary; ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν ἐνιαυτὸν κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν, &c.

VIII. It muſt be obſerved that Zorobabel's Temple was always called 1738.
the ſecond Temple, as well that which was before Antiochus's profanation as that which was altered by Herod. Some were offended at Joſephus's ſaying that Herod new-built the Temple, as if it had overthrown the prophecy, "that the glory of the ſecond Temple ſhould be greater than the firſt." But this was a fruitleſs fear; for, notwithſtanding Herod's addition to it, the Temple continued the ſame.

IX. In the feaſt of the Maccabaical dedication, it was cuſtomary to 1740.
light up candles and torches in abundance, like the feſtum πυρσῶν among the Argives, or λαμπάδος among the Athenians, as there were three which bore that name, in Panathenæis, Hephæſtiis, and Promethiis. So among the Chriſtians, with the feaſt in memory of Simeon's meeting our Saviour in the Temple called Ὑπαπαντή, was joined the purification of the Virgin Mary, and was ordered to be kept February 2, by Pope Sergius, A.D. 690. On this feaſt, I ſay, wax-lights were ſet up, thence called Candlemaſs-day.—The Jewiſh writers give a particular reaſon for burning lamps 1741.
at the feaſt of conſecration. As there were in the Tabernacle ſeven lamps *, which were always kept burning †; ſo in the firſt Temple there were ten, and likewiſe in the ſecond ‡. Now, when Antiochus profaned the Temple, he took away the oil; and the Jews being at a loſs for ſome, found at laſt one drop which he had not polluted, but was preſerved under the ſeal of the high prieſt. This, they tell you, increaſed to a miracle, and laſted burning eight days, during which time they got more. In memory of this, they have always ſince burnt lamps at the feaſt of dedication or purification, Others differ about the origin of the cuſtom.

* Ex. xxv. 31.
† Lev. xxiv. 2.
‡ Kings vii. 49.

1743. X. Some have thought that this feaſt was kept in memory of Judith's victory, and which of the Judiths is ſtill farther diſputed; whether ſhe that killed Holophernes, or ſhe that killed Nicanor. For the firſt, St. Jerom's Latin verſion is alledged: it concludes the book Judith with a paſſage which mentions a day kept in memory of her victory. But this paſſage is not in the Greek.

1747, & *ſeq.* XI. A Jewiſh Kalendar, publiſhed from a very ſcarce book called Megillath Thainiſh, not taken notice of by Buxtorf the father in his Rabbinical Bibliotheque, nor by the ſon in his Review of it; though it is plain he had made uſe of the book.

CAP. XIV.

Methods of Dedication.

1759. I. Two ſenſes of the words חנך and חנוכה, ἐγκαινίζειν and ἐγκαίνια, &c. One as they ſignify to dedicate, or re-conſecrate, after pollution; the other, as they ſignify to *begin*, to *hanſel*, without any reſpect to conſecration. So there is a law *, that the man who had built a houſe, and *had not taken hanſel of it*, as ſome tranſlate it, ἐκ ἐνεκαίνισεν αὐτήν, was excuſed from going to war the firſt year. So he that had married a wife †. Suetonius uſes the word *dedico* in the ſame ſenſe, de Nerone, c. 31; and de Vitellio, c. 13.

* Deut. xx. 6.

† Ibid. xxiv. 5.

1761. II. The Targum of Uzielides is ſomewhat ſingular in the explication of dedicating a houſe: it is there ſaid, that fixing up the poſts is dedicating it, *i. e.* the mezuzæ or parchment upon the poſts, containing 4, 5, 6—9 verſes of Deut. vi.

1763. III. From the Jews came the cuſtom among the heathens of dedicating their houſes, altars, temples, &c. with coſtly curioſities. But they who were more ſparing made uſe of χύτραι, pots only; which, being filled with all ſorts of herbs, were carried about upon their heads. Ariſtophanes ‡ referred to upon this head.

‡ Plut. Act. v. Sc. 3.

* * * * *

MEMO-

MEMORANDA FROM SELDEN'S PRIVILEGES OF THE BARONAGE.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, temp. Ed. III. pleads his peerage when going to be queſtioned in the King's Bench, vol. III. p. 1538.

The biſhop of London, under the ſame king, pleaded to iſſue, and the defendant could not have a day of grace, ibid.

Biſhop of Norwich, temp. R. II. expreſly allowed to be a peer, ibid.

Stratford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, temp. Ed. III. challenges his ſeat in the parliament-houſe as a peer, p. 1538, 1539.

Adam, biſhop of Hereford, temp. Ed. II. tried for treaſon by a common jury, though the whole clergy endeavoured to have kept him from conviction, p. 1539, 1540.

Thomas L'Iſle, biſhop of Ely, temp. Ed. III. his caſe with the lady Wake, p. 1540.—tried by a common jury, ibid.

Tho. Merks, biſhop of Carliſle, temp. Hen. IV. indicted for treaſon, and tried by a common jury, p. 1540, 1541.

Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, temp. Hen. VIII. and Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, under Q. Mary, tried by a common jury, p. 1541.

Cromwell, under Q. Elizabeth, attached contrary to the privilege of peers, p. 1543.

Northumberland, earl of, temp. Hen. VI. amerced by his peers, p. 1545.

Crowland, abbot of, temp. Ed. II. not amerced as a baron, becauſe he did not hold by barony, ibid.

Ormond, counteſs of, temp. R. II. a *capias* awarded againſt her, being only an Iriſh baroneſs, p. 1546.

Lord Sanchar indicted only by the name of Robert Creighton, being a Scotch peer, ibid.

Duke of Bretagne, temp. Ed. I. and Sir John Douglaſs, temp. Ed. IV. not named in the proceedings againſt them by the dignities they bore in their own country, p. 1546.

Caſe of an Engliſh prebend's becoming void by the poſſeſſor's being biſhop of Utrecht (not *Urton*, as miſprinted in the State Trials, 19 Ed. III.), p. 1547.

Archbp.

Archbp. of Raguſe, temp. John, having a benefice in the biſhopriek of Carliſle, to be accounted in England an archbiſhop for dignity, though not for juriſdiction, p. 1547.

The earl of Rutland allowed, in the caſe of the earl of Shrewſbury, 8 James I. to exerciſe the office of ſtewardſhip by deputy, though he received the office from Q. Elizabeth without that power, p. 1586. *

FROM SELDEN'S JUDICATURE IN PARLIAMENT.

The reaſon of the Judges opinion in Thorp's caſe, 31 Hen. VI. p. 1587.

Simon de Bereford, judgement given upon him by the Lords, 4 Ed. III. for the murder of Ed. II. ibid.

Alice Peirce, 1 R. II. the Lords command a jury to be impaneled for trial of the facts, p. 1588.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, 15 Ed. III. and Biſhop of Norwich, 7 R. II. tried in Parliament, for miſdemeanors, by their peers, ibid.

Biſhops of York and Norwich, 11 Rich. II. tried by their peers for treaſon, ibid.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, 21 Rich. II. accuſed by the Commons of treaſon, and adjudged a traitor by the Temporal Lords, p. 1589.

Duke of Clarence, temp. Ed. IV. the only precedent of execution upon life and death being ſtayed at the requeſt of the Commons, when the Lords had adjudged the perſon, ibid.

Spencers, 5 Ed. II. the Lords judgement againſt them erroneous, and why, p. 1591.

John de Worſenham and Walter de Chairton, 49 Ed. III. though accuſed only in general, exhibit petitions in their own defence, p. 1593.

Lord Stanley, accuſed, 38 Hen. VI. of being confederated with the duke of York, p. 1593.

Gomeniz and Weſton, 7 Rich. II. put to their anſwer, though complained of only in the general, p. 1593. 1610.—The manner of their arraignment, p. 1603.

* In the edition of Selden, 1726, the numbering of the pages between 1547 and 1586 is accidentally omitted. J. N.

Biſhop

Biſhop of Norwich, 7 R. II. called to account for money received for the king's ſervice, p. 1593.

Richard Lyons, merchant, 50 Ed. III. impeached for procuring patents to tranſport wools beyond ſeas, p. 1594.

William lord Latimer, 50 Ed. III. impeached, ibid.

William Ellis, of Great Yarmouth, 50 Ed. III. impeached, ibid.

John Peach and Richard Lyons, merchants, impeached, 50 Ed. III for procuring the monopoly of ſelling ſweet wines, p. 1595.

John Nevil, 50 Ed. III. for buying the King's debts, p. 1595.

Alice Peirce, probably impeached 50 Ed. III. though it be not entered, ibid.—cited before the Lords, p. 1610.

Adam de Bury, mayor of Calais, 50 Ed. III. impeached, p. 1595.

Michael de la Poole, earl of Suffolk, and chancellor of England, 10 Rich. II. accuſed by the Commons on ſeveral articles, p. 1596.

John Tidman poſſeſſed of an annuity under Ed. III. p. 1597.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, 21 Rich. II. impeached of treaſon by the Commons, ibid.

Sir Thomas Mortymer and John de Cobham, impeached of treaſon, 21 Rich. II. ibid.

Duke of Suffolk, 28 Hen. VI. proteſts his innocence, to clear himſelf of public reports, and is committed upon it, 1597-8.

Sir Giles Mompeſſon and Sir Francis Michell, knights, impeached by the Commons, 19 James I. p. 1598.

Francis lord viſcount St. Albans, chancellor under James I. accuſed of bribery, p. 1599.

John Bennet, judge of the Prerogative Court, accuſed of bribery, 19 James I. ibid.

Lionel earl of Middleſex, and lord treaſurer, accuſed of bribery, 21 James I. ibid.

Biſhop of Norwich, 21 James I. impeached of miſdemeanors by word of mouth, ibid.

George duke of Buckingham impeached, 1 Car. I. ibid.

Roger Mortimer, 4 Ed. III. accuſed *ex parte Domini Regis*, ibid.

Sir Ralph Ferrers, knight, 4 Rich. II. accuſed *ex parte Domini Regis*, ibid.

Earl

Earl of Briſtol, 1 Car. I. accuſed by a formal information exhibited in parliament, ibid.

Henry earl of Northumberland, and Thomas lord Bardolph, 7 Hen. IV. accuſed by the king's command, upon former proceedings againſt them in Chancery, ibid.—how proceeded againſt, p. 1608.

Sir John Mortimer, 2 Hen. VI. accuſed upon requeſt of the Commons, ibid.—Indicted firſt in London, and the indictment returned into Chancery, p. 1604.—His caſe falſely made uſe of as a precedent, p. 1606.—The ſubſtance of the proceedings againſt him, p. 1609, 1610.

Alice Pierce, 1 Rich. II. Gomeniz, Weſton, and the biſhop of Norwich, 7 Rich. II. accuſed *ex parte Domini Regis*, p. 1600.

Edmund earl of Kent condemned 4 Ed. III. and executed for treaſon, p. 1600.—The next year that judgement repealed, ibid.

Simon de Bereford, knight, an aſſiſtant of Roger de Mortimer, ibid.

John Mautravers, Thomas de Guerney, and William de Ogle, 4 Ed. III. condemned, p. 1601.

Spencers, Lords join with the Commons in their accuſation againſt them, ibid.

Lord Berkley arraigned for the death of Ed. II. and waives his right of being tried by his peers, p. 1602.—Tried by a common jury, and why, p. 1634.—The manner of his arraignment repreſented, p. 1603.

Sir Ralph Ferrers, knight, 4 Rich. II. arraigned for ſuſpicion of treaſon, p. 1603.—Two queſtions reſolved relating to his caſe, p. 1604.

Thomas Holland earl of Kent, John Holland earl of Huntingdon, John Montague earl of Saliſbury, lord de Spencer, and Ralph Lumley, 2 Hen. IV. beheaded for rebellion, p. 1605.—Judgement againſt them entered, but not the information *ex parte Domini Regis*, though it is neceſſarily underſtood, ibid.

John earl of Briſtol, 1 & 2 Car. I. the method of proceeding againſt him, p. 1605.—Objections anſwered in relation to the legality of his indictment, p. 1606.

Duke of Clarence, 18 Ed. IV. arraigned in Parliament, p. 1607.

Northumberland, earl of, 5 Hen. IV. the manner of his trial, p. 1607, 1608.

Mompeſſon, lord chancellor and treaſurer, the proceedings of the Lords againſt him examined, p. 1611.

John at Lee, ſteward of the king's houſe, 42 Ed. III. proceeded againſt upon the complaint of William Latimer, p. 1612.

William Ellis, 50 Ed. III. bills exhibited againſt him by John Botild and William Cooper, p. 1613.

Sir William Cogan, knight, accuſed by R. Clynedon, 5 R. II. p. 1614.

Cambridge, mayor and commonalty of that town, accuſed of outrages againſt the ſcholars, p. 1614. 1625. 1632.—The liberties of the town ſeized by the king, and the aſſiſe of bread, &c. granted to the ſcholars, p. 1628.

Michael de la Pole, chancellor, and John Otrey his clerk, 7 R. II. complained of by John Cavendiſh fiſhmonger, p. 1614. 1649.

10 Rich. II. the Commons accuſe the chancellor openly before the Lords and King, p. 1617. 1619.

Thomas Philips complains againſt the biſhop of London, for his long impriſonment on ſuſpicion of hereſy, ibid.

Duke of Glouceſter proteſts to Richard II. his innocence of deſigning to dethrone him, p. 1618.

Nicholas Brembre, 11 Rich. II. his caſe, p. 1619.

Sir Roger Belknap lord chief juſtice, and Sir John Carey chief baron, 11 Rich. II. accuſed for untrue anſwers made before the King, ibid.

The duke of Glouceſter, Richard earl of Arundel, and the earl of Warwick, 21 Rich. II. an appeal drawn up in writing againſt them by the Lords, p. 1619, 1620.—Theſe appeals afterwards aboliſhed by Hen. IV. p. 1620.

Thomas Mortimer, 21 Rich. II. ſummoned to appear, and judgement paſſed againſt him for not appearing, p. 1620.

Earl of Northampton and lord Bardolph, 7 Hen. IV. ſummoned by proclamation to anſwer in parliament, p. 1621.

Duke of Glouceſter, 21 Rich. II. ſummoned to anſwer in parliament, though the lords appellants knew he was dead, p. 1621.—The method of proceeding againſt him, p. 1622.

Richill, juſtice of the Common Pleas, 1 Hen. IV. deſerved to die for not declaring that the duke of Glouceſter's confeſſion was altered after he had returned the commiſſion to examine the duke, ibid.

Duke of Ireland, archbiſhop of York, and Michael de la Pole, acquitted by Richard the Second's proclamation, p. 1622.

Mompeſſon, 18 Jac. condemned, without a proclamation citing him to appear, p. 1623.

Sir John Mortimer, 2 Hen. VI. made anſwer to his indictment of eſcape out of priſon, though not recorded, ibid.

Sir Thomas Talbot, 17 R. II. to be convicted of treaſon, if he do not appear upon proclamation, ibid.

Duke of Suffolk, 28 Hen. VI. not committed before he was accuſed of particular treaſon, p. 1624.

Michael de la Pole, 10 Rich. II. after his anſwer committed, and then bailed, p. 1624.—Not denied counſel when tried for miſdemeanors only, as the parliament under Charles I. thought he was, p. 1626, 1627.

William lord Latimer, and John lord Nevil, 50 Ed. III. anſwered in their places, p. 1624.

Biſhop of Norwich and lord chancellor, 7 Rich. II. anſwered in their places, ibid.

Lord chancellor, 10 Rich. II. anſwered in his place, ibid.

Richard Lyons, William Ellis, and John Peach, 5 Ed. III. anſwered as freemen, ibid.

Adam de Bury, 50 Ed. III. his goods put in arreſt, for not appearing before the Commons, ibid.

Earl of Middleſex, lord treaſurer, 21 Jac. I. accuſed of miſdemeanors, p. 1625.—Does himſelf the firſt wrong, by abſenting himſelf from the Parliament, ibid.

Sir Ralph Ferrers, 4 Rich. II. refuſed counſel, being accuſed of treaſon, p. 1625.

Sir Richard Cogan, 5 Rich. II. refuſed counſel, when tried for extorting money from the prior of St. John's of Jeruſalem, p. 1626.

Duke of Suffolk, 28 Hen. VI. anſwered to his accuſation of treaſon, without counſel, ibid.

Earl of Middleſex wrongfully denied to anſwer by counſel, touching miſdemeanors only, 21 Jac. I. p. 1628.

Earl

Earl of Briſtol, 1 Car. I. allowed counſel by a miſtake, though tried for treaſon, p. 1628.—Two queſtions ariſing from his caſe forbidden by the King to be determined, p. 1635.

Biſhop of Norwich, 7 Rich. II. refuſed counſel, p. 1627.

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Thomas Haxey, 20 Rich. II. arraigned by the lord ſteward of England, ibid.

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Earl of Briſtol, 1 Car. I. lord keeper kept his place while articles were read againſt him, but did not arraign him, ibid.

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Lord Latimer, 50 Ed. III. committed; afterwards, upon mainprife of divers perſons, ſuffered to go at large, p. 1656*.

William Fitzhugh, 1 Rich. II. committed to the Tower, ibid.

Earl of Berks, 18 Jac. I. why ſent to the Fleet, ibid.

Earl of Middleſex, 21 Jac. I. committed to the Tower, ibid.

Earl of Briſtol, 1 Car. I. brought before the houſe of Lords by the gentleman-uſher, ibid.

James Wright, 18 Jac. I. his puniſhment, for arreſting a ſervant of the Parliament, ibid.

Botheil and Cooper, 50 Ed. III. 20 *l.* damages allowed them; but not mentioned how to be recovered, ibid.

John Nevil, the ſame year, awarded to make reſtitution, but not mentioned how nor when, ibid.

Alice Pieree, 1 Rich. II. The Lords determined that the party aggrieved by her ſhould have remedy by proceſs in Chancery, ibid.

John Cavendiſh, 7 Rich. II. to pay 1000 marks to the Chancellor, ibid.

John Talbot †, 32 Hen. VI. why exception taken to a writ againſt him, p. 1725.

* Miſprinted, in Selden, 1659 and 1660. J. N.

† This inſtance is taken from the "Argument concerning the Baronies of Grey and Ruthin." J. N.

OPERUM SELDENIANORUM

Ordo Chronologicus *.

		A. D.
Analecta Anglo-Britannica. Script. An. Ætat. 22.		1606
England's Epinomis.		1610
Janus Anglorum.		ibid.
The Duellum.		ibid.
Notes on Drayton.		1612
Titles of Honour,	An. Ætat. 30 } 1	1614
	An. Ætat. 47 } 2	1631
Notæ in Forteſcue de Laud. Leg. & in Sum. D. Rad. de Hengham.		1616
De Diis Syriis.		1617
Of the Jews in England.		ibid.
Hiſtory of Tithes.		1618
The Privilege of the Baronage, ſcript. A. D.		1621
Notæ in Eadmerum. An. Ætat. 38.		1622
Letter to Mr. Vincent.		ibid.
Commentaries on the Arundelian Marbles.		1627
De Succeſſionibus in Bona Defuncti, ſecundum Leges Hebræorum.		1629
De Jure Naturali & Gentium.	About	1634
Mare Clauſum.		1636
De Anno Civili & Calendario Judaico.		1644
Uxor Hebraica.		1646
Diſſertatio ad Fletam.		1647

* " I moſt heartily thank you," ſays Dr. *Wotton*, in a letter to Mr. *Bowyer*, dated *St. Luke*, 1726, " for the truſt you have repoſed in me, in lending me the new *Selden*. " Aſſure yourſelf it ſhall be particularly taken care of."—To which Mr. *Clarke* ſubjoins, " I can only add my thanks to the Doctor's, for the great treaſure you have " ſent us. They came down ſafe; and I will take as much care as poſſible that they re- " ceive no damage. I have already put new coats upon them, that change of air and " other like accidents might not affect them. I ſhall not think of returning them till " the roads are fair again; nor ſhall I forget your directions about hay, though I hope " you do not take me to have *foenum in cornu*."—This Chronological View, drawn up by Mr. *Clarke*, accompanied the volumes on their return. J. N.

	A. D.
De Synedriis & Præfecturias Hebræorum, lib. I.	1650
Judicium de X Scriptor.	1652
De Synedriis, &c. lib. II.	1653
Vindiciæ ſecundum Integritatem Exiſtimationis ſuæ.	ibid.

OPERA POSTHUMA.

A Review of the Hiſtory of Tithes.	1661
Birth-day of our Saviour.	ibid.
Office of Lord Chancellor.	1671
Of the Judicature in Parliament (an imperfect piece, MS. loſt).	1681
Of the Original of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of Teſtaments; written about the year 1628.	1683
Table-Talk.	1689

Publiſhed by Dr. Wilkins.

1. Anſwer to Sir James Sempill.
2. — — to Dr. Tilſeley.
3. Of the Number 666.
4. Of Calvin's Judgement of the Revelations.
5. Of his purpoſe in writing the Hiſtory of Tithes.
6. Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham.
7. Argument concerning the Barony of Grey and Ruthin.
8. Speeches.
9. Letters and Poems *.

* In 1671, came out, under his name, a "Diſcourſe of the Office of Lord Chancellor "of England:" in 1675, "Joannis Seldeni Liber de Nummis;" but this latter was written, before he was born, by Alexander Sardo of Ferrara. In 1683, Dr. Adam Littleman publiſhed his Engliſh tranſlation of "Jani Anglorum Facies altera;" with "The Original of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of Teſtaments;" and "The Diſ-"poſition or Adminiſtration of Inteſtate Goods." And "The Table-Talk" was publiſhed by his amanuenſis R. Milward in 1689. Some of theſe, however, were thought not genuine, and unworthy of Selden's learning and judgement. See ſome particulars of him, and of his editor Dr. Wilkins, in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer." J. N.

A VIEW

OF A BOOK, INTITULED,

RELIQUIÆ BAXTERIANÆ.

IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

KIND SIR,

IT is with a double pleaſure I now look into the various occurrences of the learned world, ſince you are not diſpleaſed with my accounts of them: while I am deprived of your company, it is ſome ſatisfaction I can give you an entertainment at a diſtance; and I am ſure, where you make one of the gueſts, I can never enjoy pleaſure without advantage. At preſent I ſend you a ſmall hiſtory of "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ;" which you ſhould have received among the "Memoirs of Literature," if the author of them had not rejected it: but, ſince his repreſentation of this book has not wholly ſuperſeded mine, I now addreſs myſelf to you, inſtead of ſpeaking unknown to I know not whom, the gentle reader.

Theſe Remains of Mr. Baxter contain a fragment of his own Life written by himſelf, a gloſſary of Roman antiquities, as much as he had digeſted under the letter *A*, and four familiar epiſtles.

The perſon to whom we are indebted for the publication of them is the reverend Mr. Moſes Williams; the ſame who, during the author's life-time, obliged us with Mr. Baxter's "Gloſſary of Britiſh Antiquities." As the deſign of that work was to ſettle the ſituation of the ancient towns in England, and to give the true etymology of their names, it was chiefly uſeful to an Engliſh antiquary: as this is formed upon a more general plan, and takes-in a greater compaſs of antiquities, every ſcholar may find ſomething peculiar to his taſte. In both the author proceeds much in the ſame method, and ſearches out the meaning of each word by tracing it to its original. By this means at once the memory is relieved, at the ſame

time the judgement is informed, new obſervations are made on the change of languages, the analogy between them, and the original of them.

As to this laſt particular, Mr. Baxter's hypotheſis is the ſame through both works; his proofs of it you may ſee in his "Britiſh Antiquities" under the word BRIGANTES; in his "Roman Antiquities" under ARABES, ARAMÆI, ARMENII.

The moſt ancient people, according to the concurrent teſtimony of profane hiſtory, were the Scythians. "Scytharum gens ſemper antiquiſſima," is a maxim aſſerted by Juſtin, l. ii. and confirmed by a multitude of other hiſtorians. They ſpread themſelves, Mr. Baxter obſerves, over the greateſt part of Aſia and Europe, under the name of *Scythians*, *Phrygians*, or *Thracians*. Σκύθαι, he derives from Σκεύω, or Ἐσκεύθω, *occulto*; importing the ſame with *Troglodytæ*, the common epithet given to them and the ſeveral nations deſcended from them. The Scythians having paſſed into Thrace, and ſeated themſelves among the cold mountains of that country, a colony of them, upon their return into Aſia, were called *Phrygians*, either from the Greek Φρύγω, *Frigus*, or from the tops of the mountains, called by the ancients Πέργαι, Βέργαι, or Βρέγαι. From hence, according to different dialects, the people were named Βρίγες, Βρύγες, Γρύγες, Φρύγες *, or by changing Φ into Θ, Θρῆικες, Θρᾷκες. From whence *Brigantes*, *Frixi*, *Frigones*, *Friſones*, *Britones*, *Britanni*. See Ant. Brit. p. 48. Ant. Rom. p. 248.

As they received different names according to their different plantations, ſo Mr. Baxter reduces them all to much the ſame ſignification. Γέται from Γέα, *Terra*. *Arabes*, *Armenii*, *Erembi*, from εἰς τὴν Ἔρεμ βαίνειν, or ἐμβαίνειν. So in Perſic Τὧρκ, and Britiſh *Turch*, is the ſame with the Greek Πόρκω, *Sus*, whence came the name of *Turks*; *Hunni* from Ὄχεν, in Tartary ſignifying *Sues*, p. 281.

What the language of theſe ancient Scythians was has been matter of enquiry among the learned. Salmaſius † ſuppoſes that from thence great numbers

* Βέλγες ἔθνος Θρακικόν. Ἡρώδοτος.—Οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακέδονες λέγουσι, καλέονται Βέλγες. Steph. Byz.

† Salm. De Helleniſticâ, p. 378. "Non dico eandem omnino fuiſſe linguam Græcorum, Getarum ſive Thracum, & Teutonum ſive Germanorum; ſed multa has tres gentes habuiſſe vocabula communia, & ab eadem origine venientia. Perſica quoque ſive Parthica, quæ & ipſa auctores originis habuit Scythas, infinitas præfert voces quæ eædem reperiuntur in Græca pariter dialecto & Teutonica.—Crediderim tamen ab

numbers of words were received into the Greek, the Perſic, and the Teutonic or German; that the Teutonic in particular ſprang from it. Before him Goropius Becanus ſpent two folios to prove that the German was the Scythian dialect; that Japhet and his progeny, having no concern in the Tower of Babel, preſerved this original language from being loſt in the confuſion which followed that undertaking.

Mr. Baxter at length (with what ſucceſs I leave you to determine) ſets up the Armenian. In this he finds thoſe old Scythian words, preſerved in Herodotus, and other Greek writers, which Salmaſius owns himſelf at a loſs to explain. "Ἀριμα (ſays Salm. p. 394) Scythis apud Herodotum "idem eſt quod *unus*, σπῶ quod *oculus*. Quod nulla Scythica lingua "earum quas prædiximus agnoſcit." Euſtathius makes Ἀρι *unus*, and Μώσσων *oculus*. "Sed falſus eſt doctiſſimus Grammaticus (ſays Baxter, "p. 238) ſiquidem Armenis, qui hodie veteri Scytharum lingua loquuntur, Αἰὴρ eſt *Vir*, quæ vox hæret in Græcarum vocum terminationibus, ut "ἀνὴρ, πατὴρ, &c. Latinis integra vox *Vir* eſt, Sax. ꝑeꝛ, Brit. *Our* (ipſi "ſcribunt *Wr*), Hebræis liquefacto R איש *Ais* & אנוש *Anos* pro Αἰὴρ & Ἀνὴρ

"ab ipſis principiis diverſas fuiſſe linguas Geticam, à qua Germanica, & Græcam; ſed "propter vicinitatem Getarum, Thraicum & antiquorum Hellenum, qui Macedones "erant, quaſi in agris collimitantibus, radices ab uno in alterum tranſiſſe." Ibid. p. 380.——"Regionem, quam poſtea Getæ tenuerunt, niſi iidem Getæ & Scythæ hoc "modo vetuſtioribus Græcis nuncupati, illo recentioribus," p. 381. I chuſe to give you Salmaſius's opinion in his own words, becauſe in the learned biſhop Nicholſon's Diſcourſe at the end of Chamberlayne's Lord's Prayer, through ſome typographical error I ſuppoſe, it is not very intelligibly repreſented. "Boxhornius & Salmaſius Græcam, "*Latinam*, & Perſicam, non niſi *quatuor* veteris Linguæ Scythicæ dialectos fuiſſe exiſtimârunt," p. 13. BOWYER.

"I am glad that Tract concerning the original of languages was capable of giving "you any amuſement, but am afraid it was too much at my coſt. What I wrote I gave "Chamberlayne in Engliſh; and he, without acquainting me at all with it, got ſome "*Proletarian Tything-man* or other to turn it into Latin: who it was I never inquired, "and to this day don't know. There are groſs faults in the tranſlation, as I find by an "Engliſh copy which I have by me. I ſhould be glad if it was forgot, becauſe I can't "own it for mine. Baxter's whim of בהן *Cohen* to anſwer to Συμπρεσβύτερος is his "own. *Cohen* is an original Hebrew, conſiſting of three radical letters which are eſ-"ſential to the roots of that tongue. To make הן *hen* an intire root, it muſt be a "contraction from *hanan*, of which there is *nec vola nec veſtigium* in Hebrew; and "whatever W. B. might have thought, the Jewiſh prieſt *Cohen* can have no analogy "with the Greek πρεσβύτερος, becauſe *Cohen* is as old as Aaron, who was ſole prieſt; "*i. e.* had no compreſbyter; I can't bring Hebrew from Armenian." *Dr. Wotton, Letter to Mr. Bowyer, dated St. Luke*, 1726.

" vel Ἀνὴρ proferuntur. Iiſdem Armenis Μῖ eſt *Unum*, quod plane Græ-
" cum eſt, natumque de Fœminino Μία, unde Μόν-ος. Denique Ἄζκ dici-
" tur *Oculus*, uti veteribus Græcis Ὄσκ-ος, unde Ὄσσ-ος & Ὄκκα & Ὄππα,
" & Latinum *Oculus*. Et ab Ἄζκ Arm. eſt Ἀζκὰπ *Oculis intente ſpectans*
" & per hoc *Faſcinator*, ut ex Rivolæ Armeniaco Lexico comparet: quo
" & Græca Σκέπ-ω & Σκόπ-ος referenda eſſe manifeſtum eſt."

Again. Do Salmaſius* and Becanus both require, that the original tongue ſhould abound in monoſyllables, which other languages† have ſince improved

* " Nemo dixerit Parthicum, ſive Scythicum *Deh* ex Græco Δῆκα effictum. Contra
" eſt. Quæcunque enim illæ linguæ orientalium ex Græco mutuantur vocabula, integra
" ea repræſentant, non contracta nec abbreviata per Apocopen. Certum quippe eſt,
" linguas omnes, quæ monoſyllabis conſtant, eſſe cæteris antiquiores." *Salm. de Hellen.* p. 390.

† " I don't remember what I ſaid about Mr. Baxter's Armenian grandmother, that
" could injure either of their reputations; but it is ſuch a doctrine as will never go
" down either with Jews or Chriſtians. The antiquity of very ancient languages can-
" never be eſtabliſhed by the languages themſelves; at the diſtance we are ſpeaking of,
" we can never be able to diſtinguiſh the Mother from the Daughter without ſome other
" evidence than the relicks which are left of them: as, in your inſtance (if we knew
" nothing of the antiquity of Greece and Rome), κοίνη might as well be ſuppoſed to
" come from *cœna*, becauſe many eat together, as *vice verſa*; for eating in every coun-
" try is certainly of as ancient date as its inhabitants; and the Welſh *bara* has as much
" antiquity in its ſound and ſignification as the Hebrew: it is therefore from the hiſtory
" and progreſs of nations that we muſt learn the progreſs of languages. Colonies muſt
" not be ſuppoſed, but ſettled firſt, and then we may have leave to ſuppoſe afterwards;
" not but that I think we may ſafely ſay that this or that word could not be borrowed
" from another language, becauſe we find it under ſuch reſtrictions as are peculiar to
" its own: general rules in grammar, that are drawn from the genius of a language,
" muſt be as old as the language itſelf; though general rules, as to writing or teaching
" it, may be of any later date; but without hiſtory, etymology would be a very uſeleſs
" amuſement. קֶרֶן, Gr. κέρας, Lat. *cornu*, Wallice *corn*, Angl. *horn*: how would it
" be poſſible to know which was the Mother of theſe words without knowing the hiſtory
" of the language; though, by knowing the rules, I could ſafely ſay that קֶרֶן did not
" come from *horn*, becauſe in that language ק is never put before any word, unleſs it
" was originally a part of it. From *horn* the Jews would have made הרן or רנן,
" *haran*, or *rannan*, but never *keren*. I don't know how much weight there may be
" in this way of reaſoning, but I think enough to overbalance ſuch colonies as have
" been planted only in the imagination; and כהן therefore has as fair a plea at leaſt
" for antiquity as *hén*; it is certainly the firſt word that ever we know of to have been
" uſed for prieſt, i. e. *ſacerdos publicus*: it is applied to Melchiſedeck; and Will. Baxter
" had read of few prieſts much older, even in his Hieroglyphicks.

" I have

improved into a greater length? Mr. Baxter appeals to the ſame teſtimony, and produces words which appear in Armenian in their ſimple form, but in other tongues only as compounds, or with prefixes and affixes joined to them. So *Sus* in Latin, from the Greek Ὗς, that from *Arm.* Χοῖρος, whence the Hebrews, adding the Armenian maſculine termination, which I mentioned juſt now, made חזיר *Chazir, Porcus.* *Hên* in Arm. and Brit. is *Senex*, for which the ancient Greeks ſaid Γέρων. *Cohên* in Arm. and Brit. is *Conſenex*, Συμπρεσβύτερος; hence the Hebrews borrowed what is ſuppoſed to be their radix, כהן *Cohen*, ſignifying *ſenator* and *ſacerdos*. See Antiq. Brit. p. 11. Ant. Rom. p. 19.

Mr. Baxter mentions nothing of the difficulties which occur concerning the confuſion of tongues; but concludes (as I ſuppoſe) with Becanus, that the country where the ark reſted was firſt peopled, and the original language there preſerved. The ark ſtopt (according to his and the moſt received opinion ‡) at the top of Mount Taurus in Armenia Major; from whence Japhet's progeny, having paſſed into Scythia and Thrace, ſpread themſelves over Aſia and Europe. I might go farther back, and obſerve to you, that Mr. Baxter makes mankind to have been firſt planted, where it was afterwards renewed; and as the Tygris and Euphrates were agreed upon to be two of the rivers of Paradiſe, he firſt diſcovers the Araxes and Phaſis to be the other two, p. 281.

" I have one thing to obſerve further, though, as it is againſt very great authors, I " do it with great diffidence. Salmaſius aſſerts, as you quote him, " Linguas omnes, " quæ monoſyllabis conſtant, eſſe cæteris antiquiores;" now I take the very reverſe of " that aſſertion for truth. Time has uſed languages as Procruſtes did legs; and I think " in etymology you oftener find words ſhortened than extended. It would be endleſs " to pretend to inſtances, and the controverſy would at laſt be decided only by the beſt " arithmetician. But I muſt give you a few: calamus, *calav*; τέρμα, terminus, *tervyn*; " βανὸς, bann; arvum, *ar*; γλαυκὸς, *glâs* in *Welſh*; κλώθω, cloth; κάπη, cnæpp; *moth*, " atomus; ordior, ορθ; vinum, vin, wine; tempus, temps; ſeptimana, ſemaine; vado, " Ital. vo; dicere, *dire*; loro, from illorum. I have not ſkill enough in languages to " prove this point; and I don't care to trouble the Doctor with it at preſent, though I " can't tell whether he is of my opinion." *Mr. Clarke, Letter to Mr. B.* 1726.

‡ The two chief who have oppoſed this opinion are Becanus and Sir Walter Rawleigh, who plead for Mount Caucaſus or Paropamiſus, becauſe that lies eaſt of the plains of Shinaar; and in Gen. xi. 2. it is ſaid, *as they journeyed* FROM *the Eaſt, they found a plain in the land of Shinaar.* But ſince the original may be tranſlated as well *in* the Eaſt as *from* the Eaſt, little can be founded on this their main argument.

This

This conjecture he endeavours to confirm from etymology; but as that cannot afford much certainty on ſo obſcure a ſubject, I ſhall rather give you an inſtance of the uſe it may be of, in ſettling the true meaning of common words. How groſsly is Ovid miſtaken, when (in his Faſti, lib. ii. ver. 569) he derives *feralia* from *fero*, "quia juſta FERUNT," a word which is as applicable to all ſacrifices, as to thoſe which are offered for the dead! But we have ſome foundation for the ſignification of it, if we derive it from Ἔρα, *Æol.* Γέρα, *Terra*, *unde* Ἔνεροι, *Inferi*, *Inferia*, p. 217.

Another uſe Mr. Baxter makes of etymology, is to unravel the myſteries of the heathen mythology, and ſhew how they multiplied their gods under different names of the ſame ſignification; whereas, when that obſcurity is once removed, the ſun, moon, or ſtars, generally appear to have been the foundation of their fables, and the original objects of their worſhip.

He has ſhewn likewiſe the conformity of the heathen religion among different people, and how they borrowed from each other the ſame deities, though they gave them new appellations. He has farther illuſtrated the heathen theology from the writings of the Oneirocritics, whoſe obſervations being founded on the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, let us into a reaſon why particular honours were paid to ordinary creatures, inſtead of the things they once repreſented. *Adonis* may be an inſtance of all theſe particulars, p. 37, 38. "Phrygibus. *Attin*, Gr. Ἄττωνευς, Ἄϊδης, Ἄδης, "Teutonibus Odin vel Wodin, Cilicibus, teſte Steph. de Urbibus, "Ἄδανα.—Idem Numen quod cornutus tibicen *Pan*, h. e. & *Primus Sol* "& *Deus Lunus*, ſive *Attis Menotyrannus*, qui Sol erat lunari ſcapha circumvectus, Latinis *Virbius*, quod ſæpius interiret & reviviſceret.—*Aper* "igitur, qui Deum dente ſuo interfecit, nihil aliud erat quam *Hybernum* "*tempus*: ſiquidem Hyemis Genium & porcis & capris ineſſe credebatur. "Quare Deæ Syriæ cultores abſtinebant ſuilla. Σύαγρος ὑετόν τε σημαίνει καὶ "χειμῶνα βίαιον, inquit Oneirocrites Artemidorus."

In a gloſſary of this nature you will eaſily imagine Feſtus is often cited and illuſtrated; the emendations of Scaliger upon that author are frequently confirmed, and ſometimes new ones propoſed; and ſince other authors, both ſacred and profane, receive light from Mr. Baxter in abundance of inſtances, I ſhall juſt give a ſpecimen or two of his illuſtration in each particular.

In

In p. 33, we have a new interpretation of Pſalm lxviii. 13, 14. He tranſlates the original thus, "Si requieveritis ſub oris alarum columbæ "deargentatæ, cujus alarum terga ſunt de fulgore auri; hæc, ubi diſper- "ſerit Saddai reges per eam, nivea comparebit in vexillo." It was the cuſtom, he tells us, for the Hebrew armies, as well as the Syrians and Aſſyrians, to have a dove for their ſtandard; to which the Pſalmiſt alluding ſays, "If you ſhall abide by your ſtandard the ſilver-coloured dove, "whoſe wings are gilt with gold, when the Almighty by its means has "ſcattered the kings, the marks of victory ſhall be diſplayed in your en- "ſign, and your dove appear as white as ſnow." All interpreters have blindly followed the LXXII in this place, who either ignorantly, or perhaps wilfully, rendered it obſcure; for, being unwilling to gratify the Syrians, who worſhiped a dove, with ſo honourable a mention of their deity, inſtead of tranſlating the Hebrew word *a ſtandard*, as they ought to have done, they made a proper name of it, and rendered it Mount *Selmon*. On this head he obſerves, there was a ſect of Samaritans among the Jews, who corrupted Judaiſm with heathen notions, and confounded the true God with the Syrian Pantheus, who is the ſame with *Deus Lunus*, *Adonis* or *Bacchus*, *Dea Luna*, or *Semiramis*. Theſe worſhiped a dove, to ſpeak in the terms of their groſs idolatry, as the bird of God. By one of this ſect he thinks the 4th book of Eſdras was writ, which was juſtly condemned as uncanonical by the Council of Trent, though cited by Clemens Romanus. Accordingly he endeavours to ſhew evident marks of the forger's principles in that book.—But the proofs being too long to inſert here, I refer you to them, and ſeveral other curious obſervations, under the Article Atossa, p. 330.

To come now to profane authors: in the ſixth Æneid, where the poet repreſents his hero in Elyſium, the commentators are miſerably upon the rack to explain one particular in the deſcription. Ver. 658, Æneas ſees,

— — *lætum choro Pæana canentes*
Inter odoratum lauri nemus: unde ſuperne
Plurimus Eridani per ſylvam volvitur amnis.

"— — ſome the choir maintain
"Beneath a laurel ſhade, where mighty Po
"Mounts up to woods above, and hides his head below." *Dryden.*

The

The difficulty in the original I chuſe to repreſent in the words of the judicious Mr. Trapp. " Servius, and after him Ruæus, interpret *ſuperne* " as of running from Elyſium to the upper world. But I wiſh either of " them had given us an inſtance, in any good author, in which *ſuperne* is " uſed for *ſurſum*, *upwards*. I imagine it is always uſed for *deſuper*, " *from above*. But, taking it in the ſenſe which I chuſe, they know not " how to account for *unde*, juſt before it. Why not? The river runs " from the wood, becauſe it runs beyond it one way; and comes from " above, becauſe it is beyond it another way; the wood being ſituated in " a declivity." Accordingly he tranſlates the paſſage thus:

— — " In the fragrant grove
" Of laurel; whence deſcending through the wood
" Eridanus abundant rolls his waves."

Though this tranſlation may poſſibly be juſt, the comment upon it, I fear, will hardly hold. That *ſuperne* does not *always* ſignify *deſuper* is plain from Hor. lib. II. od. 20. " Album mutor in alitem ſuperne." So again, De Art. Poet. ver. 4. " Deſinat in piſcem, mulier formoſa *ſu-*" *perne*." And, notwithſtanding rhe authority of Lexicographers and Grammarians *, I much queſtion whether it is *ever* uſed in that ſignification; and much more, whether it is ever ſo uſed, without being joined to ſome other word that neceſſarily betokens *deſcent*. *Volvitur ſuperne* can never ſignify *rolls from on high*, if *ſuperne devolvitur* poſſibly may do ſo. The words then in Virgil, if they are ſo to be connected, can ſignify no more than *from whence the river rolls on high*, not *ſurſum*, but *in ſupero loco*. But if *unde ſuperne* joined together will expreſs the ſame as *ex quo ſupero loco*, the ſenſe will then be *from which aſcent the river rolls*. Either of theſe conſtructions (and theſe are the only ones the words can poſſibly admit) are a confirmation of Mr. Baxter's explication, viz. That we have no occaſion to conſider this Eridanus in Elyſium as deſcending from earth, no not of coming from *beyond the wood* where Æneas views it (for you

* I add *Grammarians*, becauſe they place this adverb only among thoſe which expreſs *motum à loco*; whereas, with equal right at leaſt, it ought to be ranked among the *Adverbia in loco*; juſt as *intus* is placed under both claſſes, being uſed to expreſs *from within*, when joined to *exit*, *evocat*, *prodit*, or a verb compounded with ſome ſuch prepoſition.

may, if you pleaſe, ſuppoſe it to take its riſe there), ſince as the ancients divided the world into three parts, ſo they gave the ſame names to rivers and places in each of them, and they had a diſtinct Eridanus in heaven, in earth, and the ſhades below; as they had three ſuns, &c. p. 284.

To give one ſpecimen more of Mr. Baxter's illuſtrations, I ſhall mention that of the famous paſſage in Martial, lib. xi. Epigr. 95. "Jura, Verpe, "per Anchialum *." Anchialus he ſuppoſes to be made from a Hebrew word אנחיאל *Anchiel*, h. e. *Rudens Deus*, or Ὀνόθεος, a word compounded of אנח and אל, as אריאל *Ariel*, *Leoninus Deus*, is of ארי and אל. You know it was a common ſcandal caſt upon the Jews, and afterwards on the Chriſtians, that they worſhiped an aſs. Theodorus, a Latin Jewiſh poet, to clear himſelf of the crime he was taxed with, ſwears by Jupiter Tonans, an oath which Martial knew he took in vain, how ſacred ſoever it was among the heathens, who eſteemed that God as the more eſpecial revenger of perjury. The heathen poet then thus retorts the ſneer upon the Jewiſh:

"No, by thy long-ear'd braying godhead ſwear,
"Such is thy Jove, thy dreadful thunderer."

The foundation of this falſe report concerning the Jews has been matter of as much enquiry as the paſſage before us. Fuller ſuppoſes it to have taken its riſe from what Moſes relates of Anah the Horite, Gen. xxxvi. 24. "This was that Anah that found the mules in the wilderneſs, "as he fed the aſſes of Zibeon his father." He might with as much reaſon have pitched upon any other paſſage in the books of Moſes, where an aſs is ſo much as mentioned. Tanaquil Faber, therefore, having juſtly wondered that ſo great a man as Fuller † ſhould invent or Voſſius ‡ ſubſcribe to ſuch a poor ſolution, propoſes another of his own, in Ep. vi. Vol. I. "Joſephus, ſays he, gives us an account of Onias's building a Jewiſh temple near Heliopolis, from whom the city where the temple ſtood was called Ὀνιεῖον, and the country thereabouts ἡ χώρα Ὀνίου. The people of Alexandria, and other Grecians, hearing the Jews often talk of going up εἰς τὴν Ὀνίου, wilfully miſtook it for Ὄνου; and from hence propagated the ſtory, as if they had it from the Jews' own mouths, that they went up to the temple of an aſs.

* See above, p. 9.
† Miſcell. Sacr. l. iii. c. 8.
‡ De Idololatr. l. iii. c. 75. p. 565.

Without examining into the probability of this conjecture, I proceed to Mr. Baxter's; and, to prepare the way for your reception of it, be pleaſed to reflect on the oppoſition between the Jews and Egyptians in their religious cuſtoms. It is remarkable (as Origen * obſerves) that the ceremonial law appointed thoſe beaſts in particular to be unclean, by which the Egyptians and other nations uſed to make their divinations, and allowed the Jews the free uſe of moſt others. On the other hand, the Egyptians increaſed the oppoſition, and would not ſuffer the Jews to ſlay thoſe creatures which they themſelves worſhiped †; and on this account their ſacrifices are ſaid in Scripture to be "an abomination to the Egyptians." Now Plutarch tells us, that an aſs and a hog were the uſual victims of the Egyptians to their god Typhon, who was ſaid to be the father of Hieroſolymus and Judæus. The Jews then (ſays Mr. Baxter) might perhaps purpoſely avoid putting thoſe two creatures to death, in oppoſition to the Egyptians, who ſo frequently ſacrificed them, and from hence might occaſion the ſtory of their paying divine worſhip to them. I will only add, that as they were forbidden by their law the uſe of ſwine's fleſh, ſo were they commanded to redeem every firſtling of an aſs with a lamb ‡. Their obſervance of theſe precepts, Selden § thinks might occaſion the report. But the difficulty is, why their abſtinence from ſwine's fleſh ſhould be more notorious than that from ſeveral other creatures, eſpecially ſince the Egyptians ||, and many other nations, in like manner uſually abſtained from it. Mr. Baxter's ſolution will hardly account for this notoriety, if what Dr. Prideaux ¶ obſerves be true, that the ancient Egyptians made uſe of no bloody ſacrifices at all; and though in Herodotus's time they offered ſome animals, yet but very few, before the Ptolemies brought in the Grecian way of worſhip among them **.

As

* Cont. Celſ. l. iv. p. 225. † See Bochart, Hieroz. Par. I. l. ii. c. 34, 35. Prid. Connect. Part II. Book I. p. 11. Ed. Fol.

‡ Exod. xiii. 13. Numb. xxxiv. 18. § De Synedr. l. ii. cap. 1.

|| See Jenkin's Truth of the Chriſtian Rel. c. xv. ſect. 2.

¶ Connect. vol. II. l. i. p. m. ii.

** "I don't like Will Baxter's interpretation of the paſſage in Martial, though I "had not thought of thoſe reaſons you give for rejecting it. But, notwithſtanding "that, you acted rightly not to omit it in the account of the book. You had no "thoughts of defending all Baxter's notions; but to ſhew what noſtrums and how much "variety there was in it, and how agreeable an entertainment it might be for a man of "let-

As to the letters at the end of this book, the firſt of them to Mr. Llwyd begins with an obſervation concerning the Iriſh anciently uſing the letter *C* for *P*, as among the Ionians *K* for Π, ſo Πέμπε *quinque*, Ἵππος *equus*, Ἐπὰν δὴ *quando*. Πείρω *quæro*, Κῶς for Πῶς. [See Gloſſ. p. 136. and 156.] From hence he takes occaſion to mention a new notion of his own concerning the origin of letters, which he ſuppoſes to have received their ſeveral forms from particular creatures from whence their ſounds were borrowed. Thus *A* wide, ſays he, is the voice of a bull, called by the Syrians Ἄλφα, i. e. Ἀὶλ ἄππα; in Phrygian Ἄττης ἄττης; in Latin *Liber Pater*, who is called in the hymns Ταυροβόας. The figure therefore of this letter firſt repreſented a bull's head, to which the Hebrew *Aleph* is not much unlike. *Baita* is *Litera ovina*, &c. He obſerves, the ancient alphabets are but different hands of one and the ſame character, and therefore refers for the ſhape of each letter to that alphabet which beſt ſuits the name of it. His obſerving that the Greeks corruptly ſaid *Tſanpi* for *Tſanti*, or *Tſadde*, gives me an occaſion of ſubmitting to your judgement a correction of thoſe writers, who (and I think there are none who do not) ſuppoſe that the character which the Greeks put for 900 was compounded of the letters σίγμα (which the *Dorians* called σᾶν) and πῖ, and that therefore it had its name Ἐπίσημον σάνπι. But ſince both the other ſupplemental characters in the Greek alphabet are put for Hebrew ones, is it not

" letters. The true ſenſe of *per Anchialum* was undoubtedly firſt owing to Joſ. Scaliger, " חי אלה. *Vivit Deus* was the Jewiſh oath: whatever has been done ſince, has been, " I believe, upon that plan; and they that have come neareſt the ſound of *Anchial*, " think they have ſucceeded beſt: Mr. Farnaby's *am*, *chi*, *ala*, *ſi vivit Deus*, ſeems to be " as good as any of them. Mr. Chappellow thought the true ſenſe of this place ſo " conſiderable a diſcovery, that he gave us notice of it in his Propoſals for the new " *Spencer de Legg.* &c. I don't know what he there ſays of it; but I think Scaliger " deſerves all the honour of the diſcovery. He firſt ſhewed that *Anchiale* (urbs), which " honeſt Brodæus embraced, was nonſenſe. To talk as well as live in a manner pecu- " liar to himſelf, was a privilege Will Baxter always claimed: it is now too late either " to correct it, or complain of it. It was great pity that his executor did not bury him " in his beaver. That exact editor of his works has let the world know that the ori- " ginal W. Baxter could never be without it: there muſt be ſomething odd in a lay- " man's head, that would always be under ſuch hat.—And I can't imagine who Cadmus " the Carian was, unleſs he was his hatter.—Will Baxter perhaps diſcovered this third " gentleman in ſome corner, where I ſhall never find him." *Mr. Clarke to Mr. B. Jan.* 31, 1726-7.—See ſome ſevere ſtrictures on Baxter's etymological reveries by Dr. Davies, in the " Origines Diviſianæ, 1754;" reprinted in " The Repoſitory, a ſelect " collection of fugitive pieces of Wit and Humour, in proſe and verſe, by the moſt " eminent hands, 1777." *J. N.*

probable this was ſo likewiſe, eſpecially when no reaſon can be aſſigned why Sigma and Pi, either joined or ſeparately, ſhould ſignify DCCCC? In whatever form therefore this character was firſt expreſſed, little doubt, I think, is to be made but that it was called Ἐπίσημον; i. e. *Signum*, τῷ Τσαδδὲ or Τσᾶϛι; as it expreſſed the ſame number among the Greeks which the final Tſadde did among the Hebrews; and perhaps received its ſhape from a ſmall variation of that letter inverted, as the Ἐπίσημον Βαῦ came probably from a reverſion of the Hebrew Vau.

The ſecond Letter is no more than a congratulatory epiſtle to Mr. Llwyd, on his publiſhing his Archæologia Britannica.

In the third, to a perſon of quality, he obſerves, that before the invention of letters they uſed to count by the heads of nails, and for a great while afterwards kept memorandums of years that way. Livy and Feſtus mention the cuſtom, and the officer appointed *pangendo clavo*. Hence likewiſe (p. 11) ACCENSI *numerati a* κεντέω, *pungo*. Without the knowledge of this, ſays he, how unintelligible is Eccleſ. xii. 11!

The fourth letter to Mr. Gardiner is concerning the ancients writing *per notas*.

The author's Life * is rather a ſhort account of his family than of himſelf. The name *Baxter* he derives from the Saxon Bæcerter, a *Baker*; for which reaſon he writes himſelf, from a word of the ſame ſignification in Welſh, *Popidius*. He begins with John Baxter under Hen. VI. Ed. IV. and Hen. VII. who received an addition to his arms for his ſtrict adhering to the York faction. He mentions, by the way, the original of the Welſh proverb, "Howel is equal to Heylin;" and the reaſon why among the burgeſſes of Shrewſbury the right of burgeſſhip deſcends to all their poſterity. He introduces an old compoſition, under Henry VII. between the vicars of St. Chadde and John Baxter in com. Salop. By all that appears, the father of this John Baxter had left to the vicars, for certain *obits* in St. Chadde's for ever, an annuity of eight ſhillings. The ſon conteſts the vicar's right to it. The arbitrators compromiſe the matter, and award that the vicars ſhould enjoy the annuity left them, but ſhould pay to the ſaid John Baxter 4 *s.* yearly out of it, during his natural life. I mention this ſtory, becauſe I cannot ſee any reaſon for that reflection with which

* See ſome particulars of him in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 46. J. N.

the

the author prefaces it, " unde licet æſtimare & egregiam vicariorum " Sancti Ceaddæ impudentiam & gentis noſtræ ἐπιείκειαν, ne dicam ἐνήθειαν." I wiſh he had ſhewn a little more of this family-diſpoſition in the exalted character he gives his great-uncle the famous Richard Baxter. " Vir ex- " temporanea dicendi facultate incredibili, zelo plane Apoſtolico (quem " ſcurræ noſtrorum temporum *cantum* dicunt) morum etiam ſimplicitate " nimis Britannica, contemptuque rerum humanarum incognito ſuo " ſeculo.—Non ferens provincialium ſui temporis ſacerdotum inſcitiam " atque impuros mores ſponte quadam indolis ſuæ ad Calvinianos, Puri- " tatis eo tempore damnatos deflexit, etſi ab epiſcopo tunc temporis " Brennogenienſi in ſacerdotem Anglicanum evectus." If in this paſſage you think him guided by too much heat, in the deference he pays to his own dreams * and to the heathen † divinations ‡, you'll condemn him of too much ſuperſtition. But you may eaſily indulge the old man in his dreaming faculty, if you don't find him guilty of it waking; you may ſhare with him in his knowledge of the Oneirocriticks, in explaining the heathen mythology, as well as with the learned Daubuz in unfolding the Revelations.

Upon the whole, whatever imperfections may be found in this work, the Gloſſary muſt be confeſſed to be a ſpecimen of a noble undertaking, which, if it had met with the encouragement it deſerved §, would have remained a laſting repoſitory of all ſorts of antiquities. However, unfiniſhed as it is, all thanks are due to the learned editor, who has rendered the

* Vitæ, p. penult.

† P. 267.

‡ " Antequam ſtantes reputat paludes
" Imbrium divina avis imminentum,
" Oſcinem corvum prece ſuſcitabo
" Solis ab ortu." Hor. Carm. III. xxvii.

Aruſpices non fuiſſe ex IV Sacerdotiorum Collegiis cenſent adverſus Gutherium Giſb. Cuperus, lib. iv. Obſ. c. 13. & Noriſius Cenotaph. Piſan. Diſſ. II. c. v.

§ Huic operi ut hic addatur neceſſe eſt. Plura enim D. BAXTERUS ſuper hac materia chartæ non commiſit. Totum Alphabetum percurrere in animo habuiſſe probe novi, id quod manifeſtum eſt vel ex vocibus quamplurimis ad quas Lectorem ſubinde refert. Quod vero non ultra proceſſerit, Bibliopolarum vafritiei tribuendum eſt, qui GLOSSARIUM ANTIQUITATUM BRITANNICARUM ab hoc autore prelo paratum ipſiſque imprimendum oblatum improbârunt. Intempeſtivam operis tanto labore elimati, nunc quovis pretio comparandi rejectionem ſumma cum indignatione (cum par erat) ferens autor manum de tabula ſubduxit non ſine immani literato orbi detrimento. MOSES WILLIAMS.

The firſt edition of the Gloſſ. Antiq. Brit. was publiſhed by ſubſcription: only 350 copies were printed; and more than 250 were ſubſcribed for. *J. N.*

work

work as uſeful as poſſible, by adding an Index of all the words occaſionally explained in it, as was done (I ſuppoſe by the ſame hand) in the former Gloſſary; I ſhould firſt have ſaid, who has preſerved theſe remains from oblivion, to his own and the author's honour, and to the diſgrace of thoſe who, by rejecting his former Gloſſary, diſcouraged him from compleating this. I am, Sir, with very great reſpect, yours, &c.

W. B.

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ADDI-

ADDITIONAL REMARKS,

FROM MR. BOWYER'S MSS.

P. 402, &c. Bellarmini, & Caninii & Chevalerii interpretationem literarum nominum addidi ex Hermanni Hugonis libro de prima ſcribendi origene, c. vi. " Significationes alias longe adfert Euſeb. lib. ix. & x. " de Præp. Evang. & ex eo D. Hieron. Comm. ad Threnos & Epiſtola " ad Paulam; quos aberraſſe quidem demonſtrat egregie Goropius, Hiero- " glyph. l. i. ſed ipſe multo certè miſerabilius lapſus, cum totius alpha- " beti Hebraici literis omnibus, miram quandam orationem ad Spir. " Sanctum docet contineri; ſecutus, ut opinor, Martini Gilberti commen- " tum, qui Hebraicum alphabetum in ſeptem ſententias literis Hebraicis " ſignificatas diſperſit; de quibus nihil habeo dicere ſimplicius, quam " quod—*Turpe eſt difficiles habere nugas.*" ibid.

א *Aleph*. Ita Plut. in Sympoſ. p. ... Caninius in Inſt. Ling. Syr. & Joſ. Scalig. in Euſebii notis. Ac Bellarm. in Gram. Hebræa *Aleph*, q. *Aluph*, i. e. Princeps, dict. putat.

ב *Beth*, *Domus*. Chevalerius, Caninius, Bellarminus.

ג *Gimel*; q. Gamal, i. e. *Camelus* à gibbo. Cheval. Canin. Bellarm. Græci Γάμμα, παρὰ τὸ ἀμᾶν, quod ſit ſimilis falci.

ד *Daleth*, q. *Doleth*, Porta, à ſimilitudine. Cheval. Canin. Bellarm.

ה *He*, nomen à ſono fictum, inquit Bellarm. Caninius Vermem punici interpr.

ו *Vau*, i. e. *Uncinus*, à forma.

ז *Zaijn*, q. *Zen*, *Arma*, exprimit enim clavam.

ח *Cheth*. Sic Canin. à ſono inq. Bellarm.

ט *Tetha*. Ita Canin. *Involucrum*.

י *Ioda*. Sic Canin. ſed Bellarm. & Chevalerius quaſi *Jad*, i. e. *ſpatium*, quod ob exilitatem ſuam vacuum relinquit.

כ *Cappha*. Sic Bellarm. a כפף incurvare. Canin. *Palmam* interp.

ל *Lamda*. Ita cæteri.

מ *Mem*, Macula, Canin. A ſono, Bellarm.

נ *Nun*. Sic Canin. A ſono, Bellarm.

ס *Samech*, *Baſis*, Canin. continuum & in ſe ductum, ait Bellarm.

ע *Aijn*,

ע *Aijn*, *Fons*. Canin. *Oculus*, Bellarm.
פ *Pe*. Ita cæteri.
צ *Tſaddi*, or *Tſanpi*, Celtſpear, Alii *Venabulum* & *Hamus*.
ק *Quopha*. Sic Canin. Alii a *Cuph*, *circulus*.
ר *Reſch*, q. *Reſh*, caput.
ש *Shin*. Sic alii.
ת *Tau*, *Signum* ſive *Terminus*, quia claudit alphabetum.

Eupolemus (ut refert Euſebius, de Præpar. Evang. l. ix. c. 26), Moſem ſapientiſſimum fuiſſe virum prodidit & literas Judæis primum tradidiſſe, & a Judæis Phœnices, Græcos autem a Phœnicibus accepiſſe.

Europæa vocabula in America, p. 6.

Short Remarks on Baxter's Glossarium Antiq. Britann.

P. 6 & 138, in *Folc* valdè errat Baxter.

P. 7, Q. Senecio & Palma Coſſ. ſub Domit.

Legimus in Faſtis Conſul. A. D. 99. { *A. Cornel. Palma I.* / *C. Soſſius Senecio II.*

Nonius vero Senecio nondum mihi occurrit.

P. 19, *Pen* & *Caput* & *Finis* vel extremitas rei cujuſpiam. Sic Ἀρχή, Act. Apoſt. x. 11.

P. 41. Billericay in Eſſeria. Unde nomen ductum inter doctos non convenit. An *Villa-ericeti*, an *Villa-regia*, an *Villa-kaeſaris*. Suet. in Aug. c. 60. *Reges amici atque ſocii & ſinguli in ſuo quique regno* CÆSAREAS *urbes condiderunt*.

Ptolemæi Geogr.	p. iii.	
Antonini Itinerar.	p. iii.	auctorem ejus Itinerar. fuiſſe
Ravennas Monachus,	p. iii.	Baſſianum cenſet Galæus.
Numeri in Notitia, / Præpoſitus numeri,	p. 2	
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Scoti 7^to^ fæc. vix noti in Valentia,	p. 95, 97	
Wic,	p. 157	
Imperii Notitia,	p. 190	
Picti,	p. 195, 218	

NOTÆ

NOTÆ breves, per Virum Reverendum GUL. STUKELEY *, S. R. S.

AD PONTEM. Propè Bridgford, in comitatu Nottinghamienſi, ſuper Viam Foſſam (ut vulgò dicitur) ubi rudera antiqua, & Antonini milliaria, locum quaſi digito commonſtrant.

AQUAE. Aukborough ad ripam amnis Troventionis & Abontri æſtuarii, in comitatu Lincolnienſi, ubi caſtrum Romanum adhuc manet.

Inſere BENAVONA, Weedon, Caput Aufonæ.

CALEVA ATREBATUM. Farnham, vel Tangham quod juxta eſt, ubi immanes antiquitatum reliquiæ effoſſæ.

CANTENNIS. Rectius CAUSENNIS, apud Paunton magnam, ubi pavimenta teſſelata quotidiè eruuntur.

CROCOLANUM. Juxta Collingham apud Brough, ad viam regiam Foſſe vocatam, in agro Nottinghamienſi, ut rudera antiquitatis, nummi Romani, & Antonini milliaria oſtendunt.

DANNAVANTRIA. Omnia immeritò, reſtet BENAVONA .... Caput Aufonæ amnis ad Weedon.

DUROBRIVAE. Apud Chefterton ad auſtralem Ninæ fluvii ripam, ubi Hermenſtreet fluvium tranſit, hic enim ingentia caſtri ſive oppidi rudera profundiſſimâ foſsâ muniti.

DUROCOBRIVIS. Berghamſted omninò, ubi Antonini milliaria ex omni parte conveniunt.

DUROLEVUM. Rectius DUROLENUM, Charin juxta Lenham.

DUROLICUM. Rectius DUROLITUM, Rumford, i. e. Trajectus Romanus.

DUROTUOBRIGA. Immeritò cuncta, rectius enim ſcribitur PUNTUOBICE, quod apud Deviſes ſtatuendum eſt †.

DUROVERNUM. Inſert the Engliſh name Canterbury.

CAESAROMAGUS. Proculdubio apud Chelmsford.

EBURACUM. Put the Engliſh name York.

* Theſe obſervations were inſerted in the ſecond edition of the Britiſh Antiquities. As they are not in the *firſt* edition, it was thought proper to tranſcribe them here. J. N.

† On this etymology, ſee Dr. Davies' "Origines Diviſianæ, Lond. 1754, 8vo." reprinted by Dilly, in "The Repoſitory," vol. II. p. 217. J. N.

ELTABON. The Engliſh name Northampton.

ETOCETUM. Cheſterfield wall, propè Lichfield, ubi magna antiquæ urbis rudera ad viam Watlinſtreet.

IBELNIUM. Rectè IBERNIUM, Bere in Durotrigibus.

p. 137. Icanhoe, place the preſent name Boſton.

ISCALIS. The Engliſh name Ilcheſter.

LACTORODUM. Apud Old Stratford juxta Stony Stratford, ut nemini dubium.

LEUCOMAGUS. Great Bedwin.

LINDUM COLONIA. The Engliſh name Lincoln.

MARGIDUNUM. Juxta Willughby on the Wolds ad viam Foſſe.

NAINA. Engliſh word Neen.

REGENTIUM. Ringwood.

TRIPONTIUM. Ad Dovebridg.

TUNNOCENUM. Scribo ITUNOCENUM, ſc. Itunæ fluvii oſtium, ad Boulneſs.

The

The Traditions of the Clergy NOT *deſtructive of Religion.*

BEING REMARKS ON

MR. BOWMAN'S VISITATION SERMON*.

Expoſing that Gentleman's Deficiency in Latin and Greek, in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and true Reaſoning.

BY A GENTLEMAN OF CAMBRIDGE.

"Now I praiſe you, brethren, that you remember me in all things, and keep the TRADITIONS, as I delivered them to you." 1 Cor. xi. 2.

"Therefore, brethren, ſtand faſt, and hold the TRADITIONS which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epiſtle." 2 Theſſ. ii. 15.

WITH humble ſubmiſſion to our learned Preacher, I cannot but think he opens his Sermon too much like an Empirick in Divinity, in endeavouring to gain the eſteem of the populace by depreciating that of his own order. The upſtart retailer of Phyſick never fails to tell you, that the reſt of the Faculty only make fools of others to enrich themſelves; that they pick your pockets, even at the expence of your conſtitution: "But I, ſays he, am come purely to undeceive you; and were I "as ſure of loſing an eſtate, as by my ſucceſs I am likely of getting one, "would ſtill perſevere in this glorious attempt."

In like manner our preacher introduces the weakneſs of the people, and the knavery of the prieſts, in his ſecond paragraph: "Prieſtcraft has ge-"nerally been reputed the parent of Superſtition; and as it is the un-"doubted intereſt, ſo has it been the great deſign, of Prieſts of all Reli-"gions to inculcate this profitable deluſion." The dangers to which

* See an account of this Sermon, and ſome particulars of its anſwerers, in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," under the year 1731.

Prieſtcraft (as he calls it) expoſes our civil *conſtitution*, the reader will ſee urged in the ſequel of the Sermon *, and the exalted character of a diſintereſted preacher in the Preface to it; where, if the author has rejected the commiſſion of an apoſtle, he has glorioufly aſſerted to himſelf the ſpirit of one: "For the ſake of truth I am content to face an inquiſition, "or to ſtarve in a dungeon; to be deſtitute, afflicted, tormented; to "wander about in goat-ſkins and ſheep-ſkins; to be flayed with ſcourges, "or broken on racks."

* P. 13.

I beg leave to carry on the compariſon between the Mountebank and Divine one ſtep farther, becauſe I intend afterwards to follow the reaſoning of the latter without interruption. The itinerant Phyſician (the Divine, I confeſs, is too well fixed to deſerve that epithet), before he comes to the end of his ſpeech, too often betrays his ignorance in the language of his faculty. A hard word miſapplied, or wrong tranſlated, lays him open to the ſcoff perhaps of ſome ſauntering ſchool-boy. This unluckily proves to be Mr. Bowman's caſe. He happens to have one Greek citation in his Sermon: *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes.* Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν †, *i. e.* "Let no one do any thing be-"longing to the Church without the *conſent* of the Biſhop." Mr. B. tranſlates it thus, "Let no one meddle with any thing, though ever ſo "convenient for the Church, without the Biſhop." How he comes to render τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, *though ever ſo convenient*, &c. is the ſecret I am now going to account for.

Upon peeping into the Latin tranſlation, he finds it, "Nullus ſine "Epiſcopo aliquid operetur eorum quæ CONVENIUNT in Eccleſiam." Puzzled at the Latin, and ignorant of the Greek, he firſt tries the ſentence thus: "Let no one meddle with any thing that is *convenient* for the "Church." But, being a great reaſoner, he ſoon perceived the nonſenſe of what he thought the literal interpretation of a prohibition againſt meddling with any thing CONVENIENT to another. Well, a ſanguine writer requires a ſanguine tranſlator: he throws in two ſmall words, and out comes the ſentence wonderfully emphatical: "Let no one meddle with "any thing, THOUGH EVER ſo convenient," &c. Poor gentleman! I cannot but ſmile to ſee the great *Enquirer into the nature of a Chriſtian Church*

† Ign. Ep. ad Smyrn. c. viii.

thus

thus puzzled to conſtrue a ſentence plain in Latin, and ſtill plainer in Greek. Let me adviſe him, before he proceeds farther in his ſtudies about Church-affairs, to undergo a little longer School-diſcipline.

The following citation from St. Cyprian * gives us too evident proofs that his former maſter did not do him juſtice: "*Actum eſt de Epiſcopatûs* "*vigore, & de Eccleſiæ gubernandæ* SUBLIME *& divinâ poteſtate.*" I was always taught at ſchool, that adjectives that make *is* and *e* in the Nominative, make *i* only in the Ablative. Accordingly, I find it *ſublimi* in the Oxford edition; I ſuppoſe it is ſo in all others. I ſhould have imputed this miſtake to the Printer; but, after *five* † impreſſions, printed, as I underſtand, under the noſe of the Author, I leave the Reader to judge which of the two are culpable.

* Ep. ad Corn. 59.

† This was corrected in the *ſixth* edition. J. N.

When I reflect upon the ignorance the Author has here betrayed in the only two ſpecimens he has given us of his learning, and remember the Apoſtolical colours he puts on in the Preface, it reminds me of a ſtory, which, I think, is attributed to Eraſmus; who, hearing an inſignificant Preacher deſcribing the Apoſtles as ſimple illiterate men, in a ſtyle that ſhewed too much his own ſimplicity, broke out into this exclamation, *En virum vere Apoſtolicum!*

From this Author's learning, let us proceed to his reaſoning. The deſign of his diſcourſe is, "to ſhew wherein the Clergy of this nation oppoſe "their vain and human Traditions to the divine Word of God. And firſt "with relation to their miſſion." Under this head, he goes ſo far hand in hand with all the Divines of our Church, that it is pity he ſhould leave good company with ſo much warmth at laſt. He allows, that "ſome "miſſion is abſolutely neceſſary ‖:" that "the Apoſtles, after our Sa- "viour's death, by authority committed to them, conſtituted an order of "men, to govern and take care of the Church, and to ordain inferior "miniſters in every place ‡:" that "this order has been continued down "in a long uninterrupted ſucceſſion to the preſent time, and in all proba- "bility may be continued down till time ſhall be no more:" Laſtly, that "epiſcopacy is an inſtitution laudable and excellent in itſelf, and ad- "mirably adapted for the conſervation of peace, decency, and order." What would any of us wiſh for more? Oh, the young gentleman will ſhew you, that, how high ſoever he lets Epiſcopacy ſoar, he holds it, like his

‖ P. 3.

‡ P. 9.

his kite, by a ſtring, and will level it for you preſently. For (it ſeems) to conclude from theſe ſpecious premiſſes, that this ordinance "is to be obſerved even when circumſtances are ſuch, that it is the worſt and moſt detrimental ordinance the Church can have, is an argument only worthy of the *Hickes's* * and *Leſlies* † of the age." A ſudden fall indeed! Does

* Dr. George Hickes, born June 20, 1642, was entered of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1659. After the Reſtoration, he removed to Magdalen College, and thence to Magdalen Hall; and at length, in 1664, was choſen fellow of Lincoln College. He was made chaplain to the duke of Lauderdale in 1676; who took him next year into Scotland, where he received the degree of D. D. in a manner particularly honourable to him. He was promoted to a prebend of Worceſter in March, 1679-80; made chaplain to the King in 1681; and dean of Worceſter in Auguſt 1683. At the Revolution, refuſing with many others to take the oaths, he fell under ſuſpenſion in Auguſt 1689, and was deprived in February following. He continued in poſſeſſion, however, till May; when, reading in the Gazette that his deaury was granted to Mr. William Talbot (afterwards ſucceſſively biſhop of Oxford, Saliſbury, and Durham), he immediately drew up, in his own hand-writing, a claim of right to it, directed to all the members of that church, and in 1691 affixed it over the entrance into the choir. The earl of Nottingham, then ſecretary of ſtate, called this "Dr. Hickes's Manifeſto againſt Government." From this time he was under the neceſſity of abſconding till May 18, 1699, when lord Somers obtained an act of council for a *Noli proſequi*. He was in the mean time conſecrated, Feb. 4, 1693-4, among the Nonjurors, ſuffragan biſhop of Thetford. Some years before he died, he was grievouſly tormented with the ſtone; and at length his conſtitution, though naturally very ſtrong, gave way to that diſtemper, Dec. 15, 1715.—He was a man of univerſal learning, and particularly ſkilful in the old Northern languages and antiquities ‡; and has given us ſome writings ‖ in this way, which will be valued when all his other works (conſiſting principally of controverſial pieces on politicks and religion) are forgotten. He was alſo deeply read in the primitive Fathers of the Church, whom he conſidered as the beſt expoſitors of Scripture. J. N.

† Dr. Charles Leſlie, a famous Nonjuring Divine, ſecond ſon of John Leſlie, biſhop of Clogher. At the Revolution, he was chancellor of the cathedral of Connor; but left that and his other eccleſiaſtical preferments to follow king James's fortunes, and after his death his ſon's, and made ſeveral viſits to the courts of St. Germain and Bar le Duc; which, with his writings, having rendered him obnoxious to the government, in the

‡ See his recommendation of Mr. Elſtob to the lord treaſurer Harley, in the "Anecdotes," p. 48.

‖ 1. "Inſtitutiones grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ et Mæſo-Gothicæ. Grammatica Iſlandica Runolphi Jonæ. Catalogus librorum Septentrionalium. Accedit Edwardi Bernardi Etymologicum Britannicum. Oxon. 1689." 4to.

2. "Antiquæ literaturæ Septentrionalis libri duo: quorum primus G. Hickeſii S. T. P. Linguarum veterum Septentrionalium theſaurum grammatico-criticum et archæologicum, ejuſdem de antiquæ literaturæ Septentrionalis utilitate diſſertationem epiſtolarem, et Andreæ Fountaine equitis aurati numiſmata Saxonica et Dano-Saxonica, complectitur: alter continet Humfredi Wanleii librorum veterum Septentrionalium, qui in Angliæ bibliothecis extant, catalogum hiſtorico-criticum, necnon multorum veterum codicum Septentrionalium alibi extantium notitiam, cum totius operis ſex indicibus. Oxon. 1705." 2 vols. folio.

3. A letter in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 302, p. 2076, intituled, "Epiſtola viri Reverendi D. G. Hickeſii S. T. P. ad D. Hans Sloane, M. D. et S. R. Secr. de varia lectione inſcriptionis quæ in ſtatua Tagis exaratur per quatuor alphabeta Hetruſca."

year

Does this Author infinuate that circumſtances *are now* ſuch that they have been, or that they may be ſuch? If he diſputes only about a poſſibility, it is a little unjuſt to fall ſo hard upon two gentlemen who cannot now appear for themſelves, on account of a caſe that in all probability will never appear againſt them. For ſurely, if Epiſcopacy is "admirably adapted "for the conſervation of Peace," and has been found by experience to agree with all forms of governments from the firſt inſtitution of a Church, we may ſtill hope it will never deſerve this character of being the "worſt "and moſt detrimental ordinance" that can be.

We deny not but animoſities and tumults have ariſen among Biſhops; but we ſay, they were owing to the faults of the men, not of the inſtitution. And we have reaſon to think ſo, becauſe all forms of government are ſubject to them. Dr. Maurice* has ſhewn, that, whatever calamities have befallen Epiſcopal Churches, the Diſſenting ones have been equally liable to the ſame. This Author knows that it has been often urged, that the prudential reaſons for which our Saviour or his Apoſtles inſtituted Epiſcopacy will always ſubſiſt, and plead for the neceſſity of its perpetuity. But, it ſeems, the perpetuity of it is frequently eſtabliſhed upon a wrong foundation. For "from this Apoſtolical inſtitution our Clergy, deſirous "to perſuade the world that they have ſomething in them of ſo divine a "nature as in an eſpecial manner diſtinguiſhes them from the reſt of "mankind, draw this pleaſant inference in favour of themſelves, viz. That "Epiſcopal ordination is eſſential to the Church of Chriſt; that without "it the pure word of God cannot be preached, nor the ſacraments duly "adminiſtered, and conſequently that there are no true Churches upon "earth but thoſe of England and Rome †." † P. 9;

year 1713 he found himſelf under a neceſſity of leaving the kingdom, and retiring to the Pretender's court; where he was allowed to officiate in a private chapel after the manner of the church of England. He went with the Chevalier into Italy, and about a year before his death returned to England; where having prepared for the preſs a collection of his Theological works (of which a large impreſſion was printed by Mr. Bowyer, in two volumes, folio, 1721) he went into the North of Ireland, his native country; and died, ſoon after his arrival, April 13, 1722. He defended the Biſhop of Exeter againſt Mr. Hoadly, in "The beſt Anſwer that ever was made," &c. and was author of "The "Rehearſals," and many other political tracts. J. N.

* Anſwer to Mr. Baxter's Church Hiſtory, p. 367, &c.

From

From this laſt conſequence one more *inference* will be drawn, not ſo *pleaſant* as ſome others to this Author, viz. that the Enquirer into the nature of a Chriſtian Church knows leſs of the hiſtory of it than he would have the world imagine. I will prove it in the words of an Author, whom he has made free with by name, but whom he likewiſe is leſs acquainted with than he would make us believe he is. The paſſage being ſomewhat remarkable, I will give it at length *. " The whole Chriſtian world, as " it always has been, ſo at this preſent is, epiſcopal, except a few Diſ- " ſenters, who, in leſs than two hundred years laſt paſt, have ariſen like " a wart upon the face of the Weſtern Church: for little more proportion " do our Diſſenters here, the Hugonots in France, the Preſbyterians in " Holland, Geneva, and thereabouts, bear to the whole body of the Latin " Church, which is all Epiſcopal. But if you compare them with the " Catholic Church all over the world, which is all Epiſcopal, they will not " appear ſo big as a mole. 2. If our Diſſenters think it much that the " Church of Rome ſhould be reckoned in the liſt againſt them, we will " be content to leave them out: nay more, if we ſhould give them all " thoſe Churches which own the ſupremacy of Rome to be joined with " them (as they are the neareſt to them), it will be ſo far from caſting " the balance on their ſide, that the other Epiſcopal Churches will by far " out-number them both. Let us then to theſe Diſſenters againſt Epiſ- " copacy add the Churches of Italy and Spain entire, with the popiſh " part of Germany, France, Poland, and Hungary (I think they have no " more to reckon upon). Againſt theſe we produce the vaſt empire of " Ruſſia (which is greater in extent than all theſe Popiſh countries before- " named), England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and all the Lutheran " Churches in Germany, which will out-number both the Papiſts and " Preſbyterians before mentioned. And this compariſon is only made as " to the Latin Church: but then we have all the reſt of the Chriſtian " world wholly on the Epiſcopal ſide, againſt both the ſupremacy of " Rome and parity of the Preſbyterians; the whole Greek Church, the " Armenians, Georgians, Mingrelians, Jacobites, the Chriſtians of St. " Thomas and St. John in the Eaſt Indies, and other Oriental Churches.

* Leſlie's Diſcourſe, ſhewing who they are that are now qualified to adminiſter baptiſm, &c. § iv.

" Then in Africa, the Cophties in Egypt and great empire of the Abyſſins " in Ethiopia. Theſe are all Epiſcopal, and never owned the ſupremacy " of Rome, and over-reckon, out of ſight, all that diſown epiſcopacy, " and all that own the ſupremacy of Rome with them."

As to our want of Chriſtian charity *, for thoſe who do not enjoy the * P. 10.
benefit of an epiſcopal miniſtry, it has been often anſwered, that we *judge them* not; to their own Maſter they muſt ſtand or fall. We doubt not but a merciful God will make allowances for caſes of neceſſity, and even invincible prejudices. Theſe are proofs of our Charity, " which believeth all " things, hopeth all things." But Charity does not, cannot, make me diſbelieve my own title to an eſtate, becauſe my neighbour cannot produce as good an one; nor can I think a good title *leſs* requiſite, becauſe *he* wants it.

The author proceeds to confute this *pleaſant inference*, that Epiſcopal ordination is eſſential to the Church, becauſe it is an Apoſtolical inſtitution. He argues thus: if it is eſſential becauſe an Apoſtolical inſtitution, then it muſt be ſo, becauſe it is an Apoſtolical inſtitution deſigned to be *poſitive and perpetual* †. But this is what he denies. So that you ſee the † P. 11.
diſpute at laſt turns upon *principles*, not upon *inferences*, which this gentleman is ſo deſirous of being *pleaſant* with; for all allow that there were ſome Apoſtolical inſtitutions which were only temporary. That Epiſcopacy was not deſigned to be perpetual, the author argues, becauſe " a God " full of mercy and compaſſion cannot but make every thing that con- " cerns the everlaſting happineſs of our ſouls clear, obvious, and indiſputable. " But that this [*thing!*] concerning Epiſcopal ordination is not ſo, I leave its " bigoted patrons to judge. The preſent ſtate of the Church of Scot- " land, of the Reformed Churches abroad, and of the modern Diſſenters " in England, is an inconteſtable evidence of this."

This is Des Cartes' proof of his own exiſtence ſomewhat inverted: " I " doubt; therefore I am." But this author ſays, " The truth of a pro- " poſition is called in queſtion; therefore it is not true." If we muſt diſbelieve all religious principles till mankind are agreed in them, we have nothing to do but to turn Atheiſts.

As Charity before obliged us to think that mankind *had not* erred in any of the eſſentials of Religion, ſo now from God's *mercy* we are to con-

clude that they *cannot* err. "He cannot but make every thing that con-
"cerns the everlaſting happineſs of our ſouls clear, obvious, and IN-
"DISPUTABLE." Objects appear plain, according to the different tex-
ture of men's eyes. The neceſſity of Infant Baptiſm is not clearly enough
revealed to the Anabaptiſts, of neither Sacraments to the Quakers; and
Revelation in general is diſbelieved by thoſe gentlemen who have fur-
niſhed our author with this argument. Will he therefore arraign God's
mercy? or will he conclude, as his teachers have done, that becauſe there
are diſputes about the ſenſe of a Revelation, therefore God has made none?
One of theſe are the inevitable conſequences of his aſſertion. I, for my
part, tremble at theſe truths, which appear in ſo *amiable a light* to
others.

But I am ſurprized to think this gentleman ſhould not ſee the weakneſs
of this whole argument from his own conceſſions. He allows Epiſcopacy
to be an Apoſtolical inſtitution, becauſe it appears to him "evident from
* See p. 9, & 12. "Scripture" to be ſo *. Now this very point not one in ſix hundred of
the Reformed Churches abroad, or the modern Diſſenters in England, will
allow him, moſt of whom maintain that NO Biſhop is deſcribed in Scrip-
ture but Antichriſt. Now where are the effects of our author's great Cha-
rity, I am ſorry I muſt add, God's Mercy; neither of which, we ſee, have
wrought between him and his brethren a coalition?

There is nothing more in the Author's argument, unleſs he expects I
ſhould anſwer his appeal to the moſt *bigoted patrons* of Epiſcopacy, and
determine whether the perpetuity of it is clearly expreſſed in Scripture. I
anſwer, that, though it is not expreſſed, it is ſufficiently implied in it.
And I think our Author's conceſſions go a great way to prove it ſo. If
ſome kind of *miſſion* is abſolutely neceſſary, it is highly probable our
Saviour or his Apoſtles appointed one: if Epiſcopacy in particular is
† Ch. Gov. c. iii. clearly deſcribed in Scripture, as Biſhop Potter † has excellently proved,
and this gentleman does not deny; if no good reaſon can be produced why
it ſhould not be perpetual, as this gentleman has not produced one; if
thoſe who were contemporary with the Apoſtles have mentioned it as de-
ſigned to be perpetual; and the Chriſtian Church in all places for fifteen
hundred years has thought herſelf obliged to adhere to it; this to me is
argument ſufficient for the neceſſity of its continuance. However, I beg
leave

leave to confirm this concurrent proof in the words of the preſent Archbiſhop of Tuam*. He lays down this rule †; "That *the poſitive laws and* "*inſtitutions of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt are always to be interpreted according* "*to the univerſal and received practice of the Apoſtles.* Nor is this any "more than what for ever takes place in all kingdoms, commonwealths, "and communities, throughout the world. Let us ſuppoſe, for example, "that a caſe ariſes upon a ſtatute of the land (as many needs muſt) that "the *expreſs letter of the law* does not reach to, and therefore alone cannot determine: if, in ſuch a caſe as this, it ſufficiently appears that, "immediately from and after the making of that law, the *univerſal and* "*allowed practice*, and that *in purſuance of the law itſelf*, has conſtantly "been in ſuch a certain manner; this *ſame practice* ſhall be reckoned as an "authentic interpretation, or rather as a *part* of the law, and equally "obligatory with the *letter* of it. And this with all the reaſon that may "be: for, whenever a law is made (eſpecially by a legiſlator that is wiſe "and good), it is always to be ſuppoſed, that they with whom the execution of this law is firſt intruſted (and who therefore are to be an "example to thoſe that are to come after) have ſufficient inſtruction and "information given them concerning the full import and deſign of what "is enacted; and if they in any thing relating to that law ſhould act "otherwiſe than was intended by the law itſelf, it is not to be imagined "but the law-maker would immediately interpoſe, and not ſuffer his intention in making the law to be from the very beginning ſo abuſed or "perverted. Thus, I ſay, the matter ſtands with relation to all worldly "communities; and that the ſame rule will even much more ſtrongly "hold in the Chriſtian Church, will, I think, eaſily be granted, if we "conſider that the Apoſtles not only were, as judges and magiſtrates in a "Civil ſtate, entruſted with the execution of the laws and inſtitutions of "our bleſſed Saviour; but alſo had herein ſuch conſtant, certain, and "even infallible aſſiſtance from the Holy Ghoſt, who *guided them into* "*all truth* ‡, *taught them all things, and brought all things to their remem-* "*brance, whatſoever Chriſt had ſaid unto them* ||, as put them beyond all

† John xvi. 13.

|| Ch. b. 26.

* Dr. Edward Synge, author of many valuable religious treatiſes. J. N.

† Divine Authority of Church Government, &c. in a ſermon preached at the conſecration of Dr. Peter Browne, p. 26.

" poſſibility of error; to which even the beſt magiſtrates, and moſt learned
" judges, in worldly communities, are often ſubject."

The learned Author proceeds to confirm this proof, by obſerving that in many other inſtances we can only learn the intention of the Apoſtles from the practice of the primitive Church. Thus there is no expreſs command for abrogating the Jewiſh Sabbath, and ſetting apart the Chriſtian Sunday inſtead of it: for the Laity, at leaſt for the women's partaking of the Euchariſt. Dr. Hickes * has likewiſe obſerved theſe and other particulars. But I would not trouble this gentleman too much with invidious names.

* Chriſtian Prieſthood, P. 7.

Another reaſon alledged, why Epiſcopacy was not deſigned for a perpetual ordinance, is, becauſe, " from the ſuppoſed perpetuity of it, a conſequence will naturally reſult, which will overturn the foundation of all " Civil governments; the deſtruction of which, we are ſure, the Apoſtles " could never deſign: for, as IT implies an entire independence of the " ſtate, and is a diſcretionary ACT of the Biſhop, independent too himſelf " (for a divine inſtitution is not cognizable by the Civil power), it follows " that the government can exact no legal ſecurity for the behaviour of the " clergy, but what they themſelves are pleaſed to give †."

† P. 13.

The Author here deſigned, I ſuppoſe, to repreſent a confuſion between the Church and the State, and the words moſt elegantly echo to the ſenſe. The *inſtitution* of Epiſcopacy is ſaid to be a diſcretionary ACT of a Biſhop, who is ſaid to be *independent* in his perſon; and the PERSON is ſaid to be *independent*, becauſe the INSTITUTION of his office " is not cognizable by " the Civil Power." The conſequence the Author draws from hence, that the government can impoſe " no oaths, ſubſcriptions, nor declarations," is confuted by every day's experience. The objection, I ſuppoſe, that the Author aimed at is, that Biſhops having in themſelves an inherent power of ordaining, they may carry on, if they pleaſe, a ſucceſſion of their own order in oppoſition to the ſtate. Allow this objection all the force imaginable, it makes no more againſt the perpetuity of Epiſcopacy than of Preſbytery, or any other miſſion whatſoever, or even of Chriſtianity itſelf. Fix a Church under what form of government you pleaſe, the ſincere members of it will think themſelves obliged to continue that Church, though the State ſhould uſe its utmoſt endeavours to deſtroy it. In ordi-

nary

nary cafes the Church may, for prudential reafons, reftrain herfelf from exercifing many of her inherent powers: or (if this gentleman will infift upon my fo fpeaking) the Supreme Magiftrate has a *right* to impofe fuch a reftraint. Thus in England the power of nominating Bifhops, of ratifying canons, &c. belongs to the King. But no one can be fo abfurd as to think that the Church (be it what or where you will, any religious fociety whatfoever) would not exercife thefe powers independently of the Prince, when fhe found he made ufe of them to her deftruction. Difputes may have arifen about the limits within which fhe *is* ordinarily reftrained, or *ought* to be fo; and men have differed about the circumftances that oblige her to break through them, and to act according to her original independency: but ftill, I fay, all allow independency is at laft the Church's eflential prerogative; and I therefore urge, that this argument againft the perpetuity of Epifcopacy, drawn from a poffible inconvenience to the State, may as well be urged againft the perpetuity of any Church, any Religion, even of Chriftianity in general: "No civil deprivation [*no reftraint*] can ftop its "mouth, its character extends over all *its members*, and to all nations, and "fubmits [*to be confined*] *by* no authority upon earth."

"Another reafon why Epifcopal ordination is fuppofed an eflential call "to the miniftry is, that it conveys to thofe upon whom it is conferred "fome neceffary requifite for the work of the miniftry." I pafs over the abfurdity of reckoning ordination a *call*. The author's anfwer to this is, "That he knows no other requifite for the work of the Miniftry, than "piety and learning." I thought he had allowed, "That fome kind of "MISSION was abfolutely neceffary*." Yes, he will tell me, "for the "fake of order, and to avoid confufion." On whatever account it is allowed, I know not how to reconcile the difference between *abfolutely neceffary* which it is granted to be in one place, and a *neceffary requifite*, which it is denied to be in the other.

* P. 8.

To proceed: This gentleman, I cannot but obferve, is a mighty *prudential* interpreter. If he can but difcover the reafon of an inftitution, it prefently removes the divinity of it: he feems to invert the poet's maxim, and reads in his manufcript,

"Nullum Numen *adeft*, fi fit PRUDENTIA."

It

‡ Heb. v. 4, 5.

It is ſufficient for me that we are told in expreſs terms, in Scripture ‡, *That no man taketh this honour* of being an officer in God's Church *to himſelf*; but only he can claim it, *who is called* and commiſſioned *by God, as was Aaron.* Nay, that even our Lord, who was God as well as Man, *glorified not himſelf to be made an High-prieſt, but he who ſaid unto him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* Accordingly we find in the Goſpels, that he lived privately, and aſſumed no part of that office, which he came into the world to execute, till he had firſt been ſolemnly anointed to it by the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt *. I ſhould think, after ſo great an example, our Author might allow ſome other requiſite for the work of the miniſtry, beſides piety and learning. He plumes himſelf, no doubt, upon his imagined poſſeſſion of both theſe qualifications, and he reaſonably thinks there is only wanting the will of the State to make the vicar of *Dewſbury* equal to any Spiritual Vicar in Chriſtendom. You ſhall preſently ſee him diſplay his gifts: "The firſt diſpoſes us to be ſerious, de-"vout, and conſcientious, in the diſcharge of our duty; the ſecond ſtores "our minds with uſeful knowledge, furniſhes us with materials to dictate, "with elocution to perſuade, and with examples to propoſe.—But, *my "brethren*, does Epiſcopal ordination confer either of theſe?" Allow him *materials to dictate* in the Church (according to his own beautiful expreſſion), he needs no authority for that purpoſe. But, as large as this gentleman's principles are, I don't know any Church that would unite with him upon them. The Quakers, to whom he comes the neareſt upon this head, though they would allow his *piety* a neceſſary requiſite for *the work of the miniſtry* (as he and they both call it), yet would reject his *learning*. Mr. Henley †, who ſets up for a Church himſelf, and is the next moſt likely to join him, though he is charmed with "materials to dictate, elo-"cution

* See Potter on Church Government, p. 216, & 136.

† John Henley, ſon of the vicar of Melton Mowbray, in Leiceſterſhire, was born Aug. 3, 1692. From the free-ſchool in that town, he was removed to that of Oakham, where he became a proficient in the graces of poetry. At the age of 17, he was entered of St. John's College, Cambridge; and, after taking the degree of batchelor of arts, became maſter of Melton ſchool in 1715; M. A. in 1716; was ordained deacon by biſhop Wake, and prieſt by biſhop Gibſon, and began his "Univerſal Grammar" in 1719. Reſigning the ſchool, he came to London, ſtrongly recommended by the moſt conſiderable perſons in his native country; had a benefice given him by the earl of Macclesfield, was appointed chaplain to lord Moleſworth, had a lecture in the city, was an aſſiſtant to Dr. Burſcough, afterward biſhop of Limerick, and became

" cution to perſuade," &c. yet inſiſts not on *piety* without ſome terms of abatement. I muſt leave our Author then to ſtand alone, unleſs he is pleaſed to join with thoſe gentlemen from whom he has borrowed ſome hints in the proſecution of this argument. With the Reader's leave, I will once more return to it.

The Author was to ſhew that no *neceſſary requiſite*, &c. was conveyed by ordination. How does he do this? Why, by alleging that it conveys no " extraordinary helps and aſſiſtances *." Has the Church of England, or any one of her members, ever ſaid or thought it did? Was his deſign then to dreſs up her principles in odious colours, only to make her contemptible to her enemies? Well, but how does he prove that it does not convey even *extraordinary aſſiſtances?* Becauſe the Clergy find themſelves " men of like paſſions with their lay-brethren, ſubject to all the frailties " and infirmities of human nature." But, if this Author would look into his good friend Dr. Hickes's Sermon, called " The Spirit of Enthuſiaſm " exorciſed," he will there ſee that even ſupernatural gifts did not, in the

* P. 16.

became a popular preacher. He publiſhed, among other pieces, a tranſlation of Pliny's Epiſtles, 2 vols. 8vo, 1714; of ſeveral works of Vertot; of Montfaucon's Italian Travels, fol. 1725, &c. Theſe particulars are taken from his " Oratory Tranſactions," which were publiſhed under the diſguiſed name of Welſtede.—Mr. Henley preached on Sundays upon theological matters, and on Wedneſdays upon all other ſciences. Each auditor paid one ſhilling. This wonderful perſon ſtruck medals, which he diſperſed as tickets to his ſubſcribers; a ſtar riſing to the meridian, with this motto, AD SUMMA; and below, INVENIAM VIAM, AUT FACIAM. He was author of a weekly paper called " The Hyp Doctor," for which he had a hundred pounds a year given him. See notes on the Dunciad, III. 199, where is a fuller account of him. He died Oct. 14, 1756.—Henley uſed, every Saturday, to print an advertiſement in The Daily Advertiſer, containing an account of the ſubjects * he intended to diſcourſe on the enſuing evening, at his Oratory near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, with a ſort of motto before it, which was generally a ſneer at ſome public tranſaction of the preceding week: and Dr. Croſell †, one of George the Second's chaplains, having preached a ſermon at St. James's from theſe words, " Take away the wicked from before the king, and his throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed " in righteouſneſs;" it gave ſo much diſpleaſure, that the doctor was ſtruck out of the liſt of chaplains; and the next Saturday the following parody of the Doctor's text appeared as a motto to Henley's advertiſement:

" Away with the wicked before the king,
" And away with the wicked behind him;
" His throne it will bleſs
" With righteouſneſs,
" And we ſhall know where to find him." J. N.

* His Library, including his Diſcourſes in MS. was ſo'd at Eſſex-Houſe by Mr. Paterſon in 1759: and ſeveral more of Mr. Henley's Diſcourſes were ſold in two different auctions by Mr. Paterſon in 1779.

† *Not* Dr. Cobden, as printed by miſtake in the " Supplement to Swift."

Apoſto-

Apoſtolical age, exempt the poſſeſſors of them from human paſſions or frailties, but often made them more liable to both, by laying them under temptations to pride, envy, contention, and the like; that wicked inſtruments often had them in great abundance; and that therefore "diſcerning "of ſpirits *," as it was neceſſary for the Primitive Church, ſo is expreſſly ſaid to be one of the gifts granted to it.

* 1 Cor. xii. 4.

Laſtly, If the Author intends to prove that ordination conveys no ordinary grace, ſuch as is requiſite *for an ordinary, though important work*, I may venture to ſay he has proved nothing to the contrary; for he only argues, as the Quakers and Infidels do, againſt both Sacraments, from the effects not being always viſible. But the wit is applicable, if not the argument; and that receives a double ſting from the character of the ſpeaker. Hear then how—*Truths*, not DIVINE! *come mended from his tongue*. "Does "piety or learning," ſays he, "follow the impoſition of hands? Does "either ignorance or immorality flee at the Biſhop's approach?" No; and much leſs, I ſuppoſe, at an Archdeacon's viſitation!

But, becauſe I am deſirous not only of ſilencing this gentleman, but convincing him, I will anſwer all the cavils he or his ſhop of eloquence can furniſh out upon this head, in the words of the *judicious* Author of Eccleſiaſtical Polity †; a title, which I wiſh this writer may merit by the work he is engaged in of a like nature.

† Book V. § 77.

"A thing much ſtumbled at in the manner of giving orders is our uſing "thoſe memorable words of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, *Receive the "Holy Ghoſt*. The Holy Ghoſt, they ſay, we cannot give, and therefore "we *fooliſhly* bid them receive it.—The Holy Ghoſt may be uſed to ſignify "not the perſon alone, but the gift of the Holy Ghoſt; and we know "that ſpiritual gifts are not only abilities to do things miraculous, as to "ſpeak with tongues which were never taught us, to cure diſeaſes without art, and ſuch like; but alſo that the very AUTHORITY and POWER "which is given men in the Church to be Miniſters of holy things, "this is contained within the number of thoſe gifts whereof the Holy "Ghoſt is author; and therefore he which giveth this power may ſay, "without abſurdity or folly, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt*, ſuch power as the "Spirit of Chriſt hath endued his Church withal, ſuch power as neither "Prince nor Potentate, King nor Cæſar, on earth can give.—Our Saviour, "after his reſurrection from the dead, gave his Apoſtles their commiſſion, "ſaying,

" ſaying, *All power is given me in heaven and in earth: go therefore and*
" *teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son,*
" *and the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have*
" *commanded you* * In ſum, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you.* Where- * Matth. xxviii. 18.
" unto St. *John* doth add farther, that *having thus ſpoken, he breathed on*
" *them and ſaid, Receive the Holy Ghoſt* †. By which words he muſt of † John xx. 21.
" likelihood underſtand ſome gift of the Spirit, which was preſently at
" that time beſtowed upon them, as both the ſpeech of actual delivery in
" ſaying *Receive*, and the viſible ſign thereof, his breathing, did ſhew.
" Abſurd it were to imagine our Saviour did, both to the ear and alſo to
" the eye, expreſs a real donation, and they at that time receive nothing.
" It reſteth then, that we ſearch what ſpecial grace they did at that time
" receive. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, moſt apparent it
" is, that as then they received it not, but the promiſe thereof was to be
" ſhortly after performed. The words of St. Luke concerning that power
" are therefore ſet down with ſignification of the time to come, *Behold, I*
" WILL *ſend* the promiſe of my Father upon you; but tarry you in the
" city of Jeruſalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.
" Wherefore, undoubtedly, it was ſome other effect of the Spirit, the
" Holy Ghoſt in ſome other kind, which our Saviour did then beſtow.
" What other likelier than that which himſelf doth mention, as it ſhould
" ſeem of purpoſe to take away all ambiguous conſtructions, and to de-
" clare that the Holy Ghoſt, which he then gave, was a holy and ghoſtly
" AUTHORITY, authority over the ſouls of men?"

By this time, I hope, the Author will allow he received ſome other effects of the Holy Ghoſt at his ordination than what he had before it, how ſtrongly ſoever he was moved to undertake the holy function. What has been urged will be a ſufficient anſwer to the Author's interpretation of Scripture, which I imagine to be much below a Geneva comment, though I cannot fully find out his meaning. " Nor do I apprehend," ſays he, " that the promiſe of our Lord to his Apoſtles, *Lo I am with you always to*
" *the end of the world*, implies any EXTRAORDINARY aſſiſtances to be
" given to the miniſters of the Goſpel, or any particular call to the
" Miniſtry; but only, that wherever two or three are gathered together
" in our Saviour's name, there is he in the midſt of them ‡." So far are ‡ P. 16.

the preſent Miniſters of the Goſpel from interpreting this text as conveying any *extraordinary aſſiſtances*, that they don't think thoſe which the Apoſtles enjoyed are implied in it; and for this plain reaſon, becauſe whatever the Apoſtles received by virtue of this promiſe was to continue *even to the end of the world*. If, by a *particular Call*, this Author means a particular *commiſſion*, it is then indeed urged, that as the Apoſtles received one in the former verſe, ſo here there is a promiſe of the perpetuity
* P. 9. of it. He allows * the Apoſtles had a commiſſion, and that it was conveyed to others; for they conſtituted an order of men, and this order of men were conſtituted to ordain others: upon what text he founds this commiſſion, I leave him to determine. When he ſays there is no more implied by the former text than the latter, he ſhould have given us his interpretation of it; for, if he will ſubmit to that which is generally received, great part of his Sermon is totally overthrown.

We come now to the authority of the Fathers, who always ſpeak of Epiſcopacy as of a *divine ordinance of perpetual obligation*. But they, alas! are old fellows; and an Author, that knows any thing of mankind, will immediately baffle an army of ſuch evidences. "Is it not natural for all "people to like their own conſtitution beſt? And why might they not "err, out of too furious a zeal, as SOME of us have done?" I am glad this Author can think of ſome to keep them in countenance. I would fain flatter myſelf he means our Diſſenting Brethren; againſt whom, if he will give me leave to offer theſe arguments, I may venture to ſay they are at leaſt equally applicable: for may we not thus argue, When people have thrown off the encroachments of any power, they often run to the oppoſite extreme, and are afraid of the very ſhadow of it? And when a form of government is once ſettled, it is natural for all the members of it to like it beſt. I would mention *too furious a zeal*, but I am ſenſible that is an invidious topick. The *pleaſing temptations of honour and grandeur* I ſhould think more than counterbalanced by the dangers to which the Epiſcopal office expoſed the Primitive Fathers. An office, attended with ſuch ſevere perquiſites as theirs, required all our Author's Apoſtolical ſpirit to hold it.

"But what," after all, "if the ſayings of the Fathers ſhould imply
† P. 12. "no ſuch thing as the perpetual duration of Epiſcopacy †?" I anſwer, They

They all of them ſpeak of a Biſhop as eſſential to the being of a Church, and the principle of unity under Chriſt. Paſſages of this nature are ſo numerous, that this Author, when he grows ſomewhat cooler, cannot miſs of them.

He concludes with telling us, that what he has offered is "ſupported "and confirmed by the known Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and by "our own Oaths and Subſcriptions, who have acknowledged the King's "Majeſty ſupreme." As *ſupreme as he is*, he has declared he has not the Power of *miniſtering either God's Word, or the Sacraments*. And yet this Author has advanced doctrines from whence he might eaſily claim it. I leave him the hopes of enjoying a great ſhare of his bleſſing.

Upon the whole, as *awakening* a preacher as Mr. Bowman would make us believe he is by his Preface, I think I have ſhewn he ſometimes *nods* emphatically.

VERSES OCCASIONED BY MR. BOWMAN'S SERMON.

I.

An Epigram in the Grub-ſtreet Journal, N° 82.

In durance vile when pious WOOLSTON lies,
And Death waits near to cloſe learn'd TINDAL's eyes;
The Prieſt's hard fortune, and the Layman's fate,
Seem to preſage Religion's ſinking ſtate.
But thou, O BOWMAN, wilt the loſs ſupply
Of both; and whilſt thou liv'ſt, ſhe cannot die.
Oh! may'ſt thou not, like Thoſe, remain ſo long
Unpay'd, unhonour'd, 'midſt the vulgar throng!
To thy due ſtation may'ſt thou riſe much quicker;
And ceaſe to *lye* OF DEWSBURY THE VICAR!

II.

A Fable, at the end of the firſt Letter, in anſwer to Mr. BOWMAN's *Sermon*, in N° 85.

A Peacock once there was (but when, or where,
My Author tells me not, nor do I care),
Which, ſcreaming loud, with inharmonious ſound
Often diſturb'd the neighbourhood around;
And ſtill, at time of prayers, as beſt of all,
Perch'd on the Church, or Parſonage-houſe, would ſquawl.
For harſheſt note preferr'd, as ſome ſuppoſe,
The noiſy Peacock nuptial JUNO choſe.
But VENUS' Bird, not her's, was our loud Prater;
A Female-lover, but a marriage-hater.
In youth his Queen he ſerv'd: now age had ſhed
The glorious honours of his tail and head.
With theſe, though faded, a pert Peacock younger
Adorns his creſt, and forms his train the longer.

Then

Then cocking ſtruts the ſelf-conceited Prig,
Saucy, and quaint, like *Independent Whig*.
But, as his plumes were looſely ſtuck together,
Still as he ſtalk'd along he dropp'd a feather.
A bold young Daw, theſe ſecond, third-hand plumes
Picks up; and both his air and voice aſſumes.
Then, mixing with his tribe, the ſaucy Jack
Inveighs againſt them all, becauſe they're black.
Him loud haranguing, in his full career,
A Brother interrupted with a ſneer:
"Hadſt thou, in borrow'd finery array'd,
'Mongſt birds of other kind thy parts diſplay'd;
Thus oddly dight, thou might'ſt have made them wonder,
Who could not know thy head and tail aſunder.
Thy learned ſpeech, without or head or tail,
They might have lik'd, well pleas'd to hear thee rail.
For us, with all this inſolence defy'd,
Who know thy malice, ignorance, and pride;
With ſcorn thy ſtol'n, old fripery we view:
To us thy *Impudence* alone is new."

III.

The Concluſion of the ſecond Letter, &c. in N° 87.

"Though far be it from me (as I am exceeding zealous for *good breeding*) to call Mr. Bowman any names, yet I cannot forbear ſubjoining a few verſes, which I remember to have heard ſeveral years ſince; and that upon a pamphlet, the ſubject of which was very nearly a-kin to *this*. Others had gone about to prove that the *Church* has no power *at all*; and the Writer of this Pamphlet, reſolving to go beyond them, would ſhew that the *State* likewiſe has none in *matters of Religion*. The lines are theſe:

No right or power on earth, thou ſay'ſt, is given,
To puniſh vice, and guard the laws of heaven.
This villain doctrine, and the ſacred page,
Wreſted by thee, provoke our pious rage.

Wretch!

Wretch! What, we cry, could move thee to declare
Againſt *mankind* and GOD this *monſtrous war?*
But when we view thy ignorant impudence,
Thy aukward, dull, unletter'd want of ſenſe;
Thy idiot reaſonings, and thy blundering vein,
Our anger ceaſes, all is calm again:
With pity we regard the worthleſs tool,
And *ſpare* the ROGUE becauſe we *ſcorn* the FOOL.

IV.

An Epigram in N° 89.

High Church, rage on, and threat the laſt exciſion:
Content I am to face an Inquiſition *;
To ſtarve in Dungeon, deſtitute, afflicted *;
And, though *tormented*, ſtill to truth addicted;
To *wander* round the world, not worth a groat,
Diſguis'd in *ſkins of ſheep, and ſkins of goat* *.
Boldly I'll ſtill aſſert the truths I've ſpoken,
Though *flay'd with ſcourges, or on racks* I'm *broken* *.
Thus moderate, furious, Low-church Vicar cry'd;
And High-church Curate, ſmiling, ſoft reply'd:
Does this proceed from zeal, or oſtentation?
Haſt thou not got a private *Diſpenſation* †?

* Expreſſions uſed in Mr. Bowman's Preface to his Sermon.

† "A Diſpenſation is preparing to paſs the ſeals, to empower the rev. Mr. Will. Bowman to hold the living of Dewſbury (to which his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed lately to preſent him), with his other of Aldborough, both in the county and dioceſe of York." *St. James's Evening Poſt*, Sept. 2, 1731.

V.

V.

A Dialogue between Mr. MAEVIUS *and Mr.* BOWMAN: *occaſioned by the* Preface *of the latter to his* Defence of the Miracle of curſing the Fig-tree. *From* N° 91.

M. Why ſleeps your learn'd *Defence* ſtill kept in ſtore,
The learn'd *Defence* you promis'd o'er and o'er?
B. Objections all I have maturely weigh'd;
And find, that *nought worth anſwering is ſaid*:
The whole *confutes itſelf*.
M. You make me wonder:
Thouſands declare your *Sermon* 's all a blunder.
B. Let them rail on: their judgement I deſpiſe:
It reaſonable ſeems to all the wiſe.
Of mankind, all the wiſe diſcerning part
Cenſure their conduct, and applaud my art.
M. Of theſe *wiſe men* what number may there be?
B. All that believe, or write, or ſpeak, like me.

VI.

Verſes occaſioned by the ſudden ſtop in the ſale of Mr. BOWMAN's *Sermon, and the publication of his* Defence of the Miracle, *&c. From* N° 93.

When *Yorkſhire Sermon* lately took its flight,
Like paper-lanthorn at the tail of kite;
Non-cons and Cons, with pleaſure or diſmay,
Saw the new meteor gild th' aerial way.
But to the weakeſt eyes it brighteſt ſhin'd;
And fixed ſeem'd, though toſs'd with every wind.
A while it blaz'd, then ſudden down it fell;
Its light extinguiſh'd with a nauſeous ſmell.
The gazers mark'd its fall; and, ſearching round,
Nought but a blaſted * *barren Fig-tree* found.

* Mr. Bowman had advertiſed ſeveral times, that he would publiſh *A Defence of the Miracle on the Fig-tree*, with a *Preface in Defence of himſelf* for preaching his late Sermon: but when the pamphlet appeared, the *Preface* contained, inſtead of ſuch *Defence of himſelf*, only two or three excuſes for not publiſhing it.

BELLUS

BELLUS HOMO ET ACADEMICUS*,

RECITARUNT IN

THEATRO SHELDONIANO AD COMITIA OXONIENSIA MDCCXXXIII,

LODOVICUS LANGTON, ET THOMAS BABER, } Collegii Div. Magd. Commenſales.

BELLUS.

USQUE adeò inſano juvat indulgere labori?
Quin, age, mitte logos caſſos, nugaſque ſcholarum;
Exue Philoſophum, tetricamque exponito frontem.

ACADEMICUS.

Hem, mihin' hæc? Studiis quis garrulus obſtrepit Hoſpes?
O faciem agnoſco—Chariſſime Cottile, ſalve.
Sed cute tam nitidâ, inceſſuque habituque decorus
Tam lepido, talos à vertice Bellus ad imos,
Unde redis?

BELL.

Luſtravi orbis, dulciſſime rerum,
Omne latus, mores hominum ſpeculatus & urbes,
Quà Tagus auricomas effert ſuper æthera turres
Et Cycladas rapido Ganges interluit æſtu;
Nec, bene ſi novi me, callet acutior ullus
Flumina terrarumque ſitus.

ACADEMICUS.

Fortaſſe, puellis
Judicibus, quicis ficta placent miracula rerum:

* See the Hiſtory of this Dialogue, which was written by Mr. Haſledine, in the "Anecdotes," under the year 1733. As I have not been able to recover Mr. Bowyer's poetical verſion, the original is here preſerved. There is a proſe tranſlation of the beginning of it, printed in 1735, in a pamphlet called "The Oxford Act, A. D. 1733;" and a ſlight attempt to imitate a part of it (enjoined by Mr. Bowyer as an evening's taſk on the writer of this note in 1761) may be ſeen in Gent. Mag. 1779, p. 464. J. N.

Parciùs

Parciùs iſta Togæ tamen obtrudenda memento.

BELLUS.

Sin plaudant mihi cirrati, laudetque lepores
Turba puellaris pulli gregis, invida ſanna
Vellicet, atque iſtud naſutum ſcomma ſophorum:
Hoc juvat & melli eſt.

ACADEMICUS.

Sed, dic age, Quid tibi viſa
Gallia, quid Latium potius memorabile pandit,
Artis amans nutrixque? Quid æra & marmora cenſes,
Heroum monumenta, triumphaleſque columnas,
Picturas, pluteoſque antiquæ laudis & artis?

BELLUS.

Scilicet armigeris vacat explorare vetuſta
Rudera, deciduaſque artes! Ea cura fatigat
Quos non res anguſta vetat, non tutor iniquus,
Pelliculam curare, meri ſomnique benignos.
Multa Italûm fateor non inconcinna videbam,
Quæ nitida artiſque oſtentant ſimulacra recentis.
Sed recolo indignans curtæ quæ frivola mercis,
Dimidias ſtatuas, & priſca numiſmata, jactant:
Effigiem ante alias, oculis naſoque carentem,
Si memini bene, CÆSAREAM ——
Delicias Domini, quam verò, ærugine putri
Squalentem, peream ſi forcipe ſeſquipedali
Attigerim.

ACADEMICUS.

Et quæ tanta Italos tibi cauſa videndi,
Cui veneranda vetuſtatis miracula ſordent?

BELLUS.

Ridiculæ potiùs nugæ, ſed non adeò omnis
Effuſus labor eſt, nec me mea cura fefellit.
Quæ ſola in votis fuerant, juveneſque politos,
Invitare ſolent delectamenta, canoris
Fabellis Italûm larvatorumque choreïs
Intereram.

ACADEMICUS.

Egregiuſque adeò pro judice morum
Formarum ſpectator adeſt!

BELLUS.

Ibi membra movere
Molliùs, invideatque quod HANDELII concentus,
Edidici, varia argutæ modulamina vocis.
Sed me præ reliquis dulci novitate tenebat
Gallia, gnara dapum, & cultûs fœcunda politi.
O mores lepidos, luſus, cœnaſque Deorum!
Suaviter hìc talis, cyathis, choreiſque vacanti,
O quàm blanda mihi, quàm mellea defluit ætas!
Concinno hinc tunicam ſectus de more, repexi
Hinc refluas de fronte comas, hinc totus ad unguem
Factus homo, nymphas inter molli eliquo voce
Verſiculum fòrs dimidium, argutumve leporem.
Muneris & totum eſt veſtrî, ornatiſſima tellus,
Quòd placeam, & certum eſt me perplacuiſſe puellis;
Quòd me depereant, quas expugnare decenni
Obſidio vobis haud conceſſere camœnæ,
Haud logicæ technæ, nodoſæ haud illius artes—
Quis fuit? O teneo nomen——Py—Pythagoroæ.

ACADEMICUS.

Pulchrum operæ pretium! poſt tædia longa viarum
Exhauſtoſque maris caſus, multâ induis arte
Quicquid ridendum eſt, aptus conviva puellis;
Pollicitus meliora tuis: non iſte Solonem
Impulit aut Ciceronem animus, veneranda ſophorum
Lumina, natales mutare, alioque calentes
Sole ſequi terras; exculto hinc Roma ſuperbit
Eloquio pollens; hinc exornantur Athenæ
Moribus; hinc vitæ præcepta haurire nepotum
Sæcla ſcient ventura.

BELLUS.

Satis fortaſſis Athenis
Arridere iſti poterant, rigidove popello

Romu-

Romulidûm, nec noſtrî adeò ſum fautor ineptus
Ut non hoc fatear; ſed diſpereat malè totus
Grex veterum, redeant omnes licèt, horridus ordo,
Futile neſcio quid ructans, nugaſque ſonoras,
Emoriar ſi, natus ego melioribus annis,
Tantilli digitos inter pulviſculi haberem.
Barbatos pueros, quos ruſticus audiat iſte,
Quem non expoliit Pariſinæ lima palæſtræ,
Exemplar morum!

ACADEMICUS.

Vitiis imitabile quantis?
Ingenioſum adeò pubem elimare ſequacem,
Ut præter rutilas, fragmenta exilia, nugas
Nil ſuperet! Bene me finxit Natura puſilli
Exiguique animi, vanam averſantis opellam
Stultitiæ ingenuæ. Sin garrulitate procaci,
Ridiculè lepido inceſſu, panniſque venuſtis,
Captarem plauſus inhiantiſque ora popelli,
En mihi, mutato cœlo quod tu petis, hîc eſt:
Eſt ubicunque ſalit reſilitque in fune trementi
Schœnobates; ſeu geſticulans manibus pedibuſque
Laſcivit variè puparum mobile lignum,
Non ſua verba loquens. Quin partâ laude fruaris
Egregius fatuus; potius me ſub lare parvo
Occluſum, & ſtudiis florentem nobilis otî,
Purè tranquillet fallentis ſemita vitæ.

BELLUS.

Non equidem invideo; at juvenum deliria miror,
Parca utcunque animis Natura indulſerit ignem,
Quos non alloquio ſociiſque carere culullis
Pœnitet, aſſiduiſque ſuper palleſcere chartis,
Indicto ventri bello, niſi dente fatigant
Unguem avido arroſum, miſeros extundere verſus
Soliciti.—Et quorſum hæc molimina? nempe feneſcit
Grex miſer in curis, ſtatuâ taciturnior ipsâ,

Ludibrium populi, fallit, ſine laude lateſcens,
Indocilis rerum, niſi quas anguſta repandit
Clauſtra laris proprii.

ACADEMICUS.

At generoſos parce procaci
Scommate non æquus cenſor perſtringere mores.
Non magis his aliena malis, aut purior uſquam
Vita agitur; ſtudiis curæ eſt ante omnia mentem
Excolere ingenuis; ſed non ita totus in hoc ſum,
Quin vacet alternæ ad libitum indulgere quieti,
Seu placeat ſylvas inter reptare ſalubres,
Seu modicos inter cyathos humeſcere, mulcenſque
Innocuo luſu, aut lepido ſermone ſodales
Ducere ſolicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ.
Nec refert quantilla tenent nos tecta; lateſcens
Tutiùs hìc lare ſub parvo præcurro viarum
Tædia longarum, pelagique pericula paſſos;
Dum mihi depictos pandit revolubilis orbis
Terraſque tractuſque maris, disjunctaque longè
Saxa per & montes me raptat amabilis error.
Hìc quoque, quod fruſtra eſt alienis quærere terris,
Aërias tentare domos, cœlique meatus
Obſervare ſequaci animo datur, indice chartâ.
Quid ſi Naturæ cæcos penetrare receſſus,
Et rerum cauſas libet indagare latentes?
Quicquid jactat Arabs, Italuſve, aut decolor Indus,
Herbarumque virens, & gemmarum lucidus ordo,
Reptiliumque, aviumque, inſuetaque monſtra ferarum,
Hìc uno intuitu, innocuoque timore videntur.
O fortunatos nimium, ſua ſi bona nôrint,
Purior irriguis queis Iſis perluit undis,
OXONIDAS, quos nulla ſuas terra invidet artes,
Queis totos, cæcis non ſponte exuta latebris,
Expandit Natura ſinus; victuſque labore
Ingenioque, ASHMOLE, tuo in compendia mundus

Mira

Mira redit, patiturque angusto in limite claudi.
Hispalis, Escuriæque, suis sacra mœnia Musis,
Et Vaticani sileat miracula Roma:
Bodleiana domus caput altiùs inserit astris,
Dives opum variarum, aliumque Helicona repandit,
Palantes socians Musas, quâ scrinia libris
Evolvens fœta omnigenis studiosa juventus
Colloquio potitur veterum, & commercia linguæ
Multiplicis colit, in terris peregrina paternis
Undique componens, quæ mox depromere possit.

Sic crudas Bombyx telas induta superbit;
At citò, déductum fuerit cùm textile filum,
In flores abit & fructus, sylvasque virentes;
Aut Musâ potior, fidos enarrat amores,
Fœmineâ in miras variabilis arte figuras.

PAPERS OCCASIONED BY THE REPUBLICATION OF ROBERT STEPHENS'S THESAURUS*.

N° I.

From the Grub-ſtreet Journal, N° 170. March 29, 1732.

I Wonder that you, Mr. Bavius, who are critic and fault-finder general, ſhould miſs thoſe folks that threaten us with a new edition of Rob. Stephens's *Theſaurus*, &c. I doubt they are your friends and acquaintance, and that you are partial on that account: otherwiſe you could not have failed to animadvert upon them. Their epiſtle to the *Studioſi*, &c. is an affected, obſcure, bouncing, puerile piece, and very bad Latin. I'll juſt touch five or ſix places, out of at leaſt twenty that deſerve cenſure: afterwards I'll look into the Specimen a little.

Jam diutius pauciſſimorum hominum eſſe cæpit, & non ſine ingenti literarum diſpendio, nummo immani quantum! vænivit. What is *jam diutius cæpit? Jam diutius* for *jam pridem*, I ſuppoſe, and *cæpit* for *cæperit?* And then *nummo immani quantum!* one might take for a medal of an enormous ſize. But if it is defenſible, why ſo ſtiff and poetical? Why not thus: *grandi*, or *immani pretio venire jam pridem cæperit? Cum venivit*, wrong tenſe; and then *pauciſſimorum hominum eſſe*, and *ingenti literarum diſpendio*; who would have uſed ſuch expreſſions? What is *ingens literarum diſpendium? Nos viciſſim*, what does he mean by *viciſſim?* Who ever ſaid *demereri literas. Curæ perficiundæ & explicandæ—curam perficere & explicare*, I don't underſtand.—*Citra renatas literas* for *poſt renatas—Culturam magis debitam referrent*, is falſe Latin. *Culturam juſtius*, or *potiori jure referrent acceptam*, would have been right. *Sequiorem ætatem vel accurando vel ſufficiendo*; and in the next page, *hiulca ſuffecimus.* To me now *hiulca ſuffecimus*, is, we have put *hiulca*, where there were none before. But ſuppoſe *ſufficere* ſhould be found in ſome author or other in his ſenſe, he is ſtill to blame. *Accedere operi ſubeundo* is bad. *Eveniret* Stephanum *ipſum in* Stephano *inveſtigando defatigarier* is ambiguous: and *eveniret defatigari* is not good Latin, I think.—*Loca impeditiora expedivimus; inania reſecavimus; hiulca* suffecimus; *vitioſa defæcavimus; falſa correximus; luxata & conturbata in juſtum ordinem*

* See the Memoirs of Dr. Taylor, in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 63. J. N.

ordinem redegimus. Was there ever ſuch a bully and drawcanſir? Rare ſtuff this! to be ſent all over Europe too!

But let us ſee how he has performed. The Specimen affords ample room for criticiſm. Mind this great reſtorer and corrector. STEPHENS, in the word *Damnoſus*, for *hæreditas damnoſa*, quotes *Jul. ianus.* Our editors, not knowing what to make of this monſter, and yet reſolving to alter, have put it *Jul. janus*, with a long *j.* Can any thing be more jocular? not to know that it was the Civilian JULIANUS, ſo often cited in the *Pandect.*

Damnare, ſays STEPHENS, *genitivo aliquando jungitur, aliquando ablativo.* So it is in the new: but when they come to the *ablativo*, it is ſtruck out, and the citations put in another place.

Inſtead of STEPHENS's *Capite ob rem aliquam damnari*, they have put *Capite aliquem damnare*, and then left it amongſt the paſſives.—*Crimine* follows *damnare*, with a quotation in the paſſive, *crimine damnaretur.*—*Damnari ad aliquem*, with a citation *damnavit.* If they don't take more care, their edition will be no better than waſte paper.

In a quotation from SENECA (under DAMNO ſtill) they have left out the whole word *Creditor*, and made nonſenſe of it. Under the words, *Tributis damnare*, they have added *vulgo contemnuntur*; of which let them tell me the meaning. There is, *Id eſt non prius auditum, nunc loquimur*; for thus, *id eſt, non prius auditum,* UT *nunc loquimur.*

Pray mind this: when *damnare*, ſays STEPHENS, *jungitur genitivo, ſubintelligitur fere ablativus* CRIMINE, SCELERE, *aut ſimile.* They have altered *ſimile* into *ſimili*, for want of conſtruing what no ſchool-boy would have miſſed: *ablativus* CRIMINE or SCELERE, *aut ſimile*, or ſome other word of the like import, *ſubintelligitur.*

Let us obſerve how inaccurate they are. The firſt ſentence of the Specimen, *Dubium eſſe poteſt Latinos e Græcia eam traduxiſſe:* better, *dubium quin traduxerint.* And then, *aſſerit* SCALIGER: which SCALIGER, and where does he ſay ſo?

Take my word for it, Mr. Bavius, theſe people are no more fit to meddle with STEPHENS's *Theſaurus* than I am fit to be at the head of an army: I mean, *to add to him, or to correct him.* For as to republiſhing him, with that real improvement of adding books, and verſes, and chapters, and with paper and letter ſo beautiful as the Specimen, it will be of great ſervice

ſervice to do it. Indeed they are not learned enough to mix themſelves with old ROBERT.

They leave paſſages of PLINY quite unintelligible, which, if they had read HARDUIN's edition, would have been altered for the better; and at the ſame time they bring ſilly ſtuff out of little modern theologues; and tell us, in very claſſical Latin, that *Dæmon Diis contradiſtinguitur.*

Not to have read HARDUIN's *Notes* carefully, as well as the GRONOVIUS's and HEINSIUS's, and BENTLEY's, and other fine critics, is a crime in theſe editors, though it is pardonable enough in you or me.

CALLIOPIUS.

Though I do not like the undeſerved titles given me at the beginning of the preceding letter, nor the manner of drawing it up in general; yet, to avoid the imputation of partiality, I have publiſhed it *verbatim* as it came to my hands. Having compared it with the Specimen, I do not find that the writer has at all miſrepreſented the editors, except in one place. They do not join *curæ* with *perficiundæ* and *explicandæ*, but only with the former, the latter being joined to *varietatis: quos graviſſimæ improbiſſimæque curæ perficiundæ, quos incredibilis rerum varietatis explicandæ non tædebat.* The editors will, no doubt, write a vindication of their performance: which will oblige CALLIOPIUS either to retract, or to reinforce, what he has here advanced againſt it. As I am not at all concern'd in this diſpute, I can aſſure the combatants on either ſide, that they ſhall have a clear ſtage in this paper.

BAVIUS.

N° II.

From the Grub-ſtreet Journal, N° 172. Thurſday, April 12, 1733.

THERE are two things which I wiſh had been mentioned by CALLIOPIUS, who wrote to you lately about the new edition of ROB. STEPHENS's *Theſaurus*. One is, that people are deſirous to know the editor or editors before they ſubſcribe. The other, what they mean by their *acceſſione decies mille verborum inſigniter locupletavimus. Inſigniter* indeed! But let them know, that if they add five, or even two thouſand, they muſt put in unclaſſical and barbarous, and even Arabic and technical words. Now, if that's their deſign, they act contrary to STEPHENS's

PHENS's mind; who, if he was now alive, would reject ſuch words. I believe there may be added about two hundred and fifty; not above three hundred, I venture to ſay, which STEPHENS would have admitted; and thoſe three hundred can never be got together, without reading in that view all the Latin authors with infinite induſtry, as well as the greateſt nicety and critical accuracy imaginable. As it is plain and certain that many ſcores of words (not many thouſands) may be added to the Dictionary of STEPHENS; ſo it is as plain that ſeveral ought to be taken away, that have riſen, like muſhrooms, out of the corrupt readings of Mſſ. or the ſenſeleſs conjectures of bold critics. Some other time I will give four or five inſtances of both ſorts.

Yours, B. T.

III.

From The Weekly Miſcellany, N° 19, April 21, 1733.

IT was with no ſmall ſurprize that the editors of ROBERT STEPHENS's *Latin Theſaurus* (whoſe endeavours at leaſt deſerved a civil treatment) found themſelves attacked, in a rude and opprobrious manner, by a writer in a late *Grub-ſtreet* Journal. One would have imagined that the labours of two whole months might have produced ſomething extraordinary beſides ill-manners, or what might reaſonably have been expected from the rancour of ſome diſappointed bookſellers. As this is probably the firſt eſſay of his critical capacity, he is deſired to believe that the editors of *Stephens* are capable of giving him this one piece of advice, which may be of ſervice to him hereafter; namely, that bitter language is not eſſential to the character of an examiner, and that it may be poſſible for criticiſm to ſubſiſt with common decency.

Whatever that angry gentleman has been pleaſed to offer to our diſcredit, the ſober and judicious part of the world will, we queſtion not, be convinced that the leaſt defenſible ſtep we have taken is that we are at preſent engaged in, the giving ſuch a face of credit to ſuch an heap of invectives, and the making it conſiderable by a ſerious reply. Nor could we imagine our ſubſcribers would have conſtrued our ſilence into a neglect of our own credit or their ſatisfaction. And we lay hold on this opportu-

nity to inform the world, once for all, that controverſialiſts of this ſize and complection ſhall never have weight enough to draw us from our main deſign into weekly rencounters: and that this is ſincerely the laſt regard that ſhall be paid to objections that may appear in a manner ſo unbecoming ſcholars. We may with decency think it hard, that we ſhould be obliged to wager our reputations in Journals againſt thoſe who have juſt honour and courage enough to be ill-natured in the dark; or that our time ſhould lie at the mercy of the weak and diſcontented, who ſhall call upon us to explain what it is not our fault they cannot comprehend. The objections of gentlemen and ſcholars ſhall be conſidered with the utmoſt reſpect; and all diſcoveries that may tend to the improvement of the work ſhall be looked upon as ſo many ſignal obligations. Their own good ſenſe and good breeding will ſuggeſt to them a way of communicating at leaſt as decent and edifying as that our objector has been pleaſed to make uſe of.

To conſider him, for once, as ſuch. *Jam diutius cæpit* is, it ſeems, faulty. *Cæpit* is a ſingle preciſe act, and *diutius* implies Continuance, and muſt therefore be altered into *jampridem*. Our examiner has undertaken more buſineſs than he is aware of, if he alters ſuch expreſſions as theſe wherever he finds them. So that when *Ter. Adelph.* has it, *Haud diu huc commigrarunt*, we muſt read *nuper*. But this is not all. A gentleman, who has the honour to be of the ſame name with our examiner, has ſet his hand to the Vulgate Reading (for ſuch we take to be the meaning of *Calliopius recenſui*), and it is ſtill retained in all the editions of *Terence*, to the no ſmall reproach of that author and critic.

Here is the firſt caſt of our examiner's criticiſm. Let us now turn our view to his wit; where *Nummo immani* is the ſubject of his drollery. It is pity ſo ingenious a writer ſhould want materials: we'll help him to ſome more. *Æs grande* will furniſh him with jokes for his life-time. He can ſcarce dip into an author but he will find it. *Grandis Pecunia* is a common expreſſion in that very *poetical* writer *Tully*. See his *Orat. pro Rab. Poſth. contra Verr. & Ep. ad Fam.* Nay more: *Et illa fuit pecunia immanis, hæc parvula. Pro Roſc. Com. Qui regna, qui prædia Tetrarchis, qui immanes pecunias paucis dederunt. Ad Attic.* All which, before our Examiner wrote his animadverſions, were underſtood of *Denarii* and *Seſtertii*, the current coin of the *Romans*,

Romans, as we unfortunately took it for granted that our *Nummus immanis* would be conſtrued into pounds, ſhillings, and pence.

Cum vænivit is *wrong tenſe*. We are not ſure of his meaning; but, by his alteration of *cæpit* into *cæperit*, imagine he would have it *væniverit*. If there be a difference of time, between *vænivit* and *vænivcrit* (which we own we cannot ſee), it is clear that our examiner has laid hold on the worſt; for if any alteration is neceſſary, it ſhould be into *væneat*, as that edition has continued to be ſold from its publication to the preſent year. If the conjunction *cum* led him to alter, will he be ſo deſperate as to affirm that *cum* muſt neceſſarily challenge that conſtruction? *Cic. ad Attic. Biennium cum ille Callidemides aſſiduo curſu cubitum nullum proceſſerit.* True and claſſical! But ſo is this of the ſame author: *Ep. ad Fam. Jam biennium eſt, cum virtuti nuntium remiſiſti. Id. in Orat. Jam anni quadraginta ſunt, cum hoc accidit.* Or, to ſpeak at a yet greater diſtance, *Numa magnus vir habendus eſt, cum illam ſapientiam—duobus prope ſeculis ante cognovit, quam eam Græci natam eſſe ſenſerunt. Id. 2. de Orat.*

His queſtion, *who ever ſaid* demereri literas? is unfairly ſtated. It ſhould have been, *who ever ſaid either* demereri literas, *or* demereri literarum amantiſſimos? Even his own reading might have furniſhed him with inſtances where a Verb is found in company with two Accuſative Caſes, which is ſtrictly applicable only to one of them. But not to inſiſt upon that, which is a ſufficient anſwer to his queſtion, the very expreſſion *demereri literas* is as good and as juſtifiable: juſtifiable indeed upon the ſame principles as *de literis bene mereri, de Rep. bene mereri. Civitatem demereri* is uſed by Tully and Livy. But if our Examiner will ſtill perſiſt, that to deſerve well of the commonwealth of Learning is an idea which has eſcaped his underſtanding, we may poſſibly own the charge; but can't ſee why the editors of Stephens ſhould be called upon to anſwer for it.

The aſſertion, that *culturam debitam referre* is falſe Latin, is a pretty round one, and not ſo eaſily maintained as he may poſſibly imagine. The phraſe *acceptum*, or, to ſpeak more properly, *in acceptum referre*, every one knows was in alluſion to the Roman method of book-keeping, their *Tabulæ Accepti & Expenſi*. Now if, inſtead of theſe forms, they had made uſe of our ſtated method of *debtor* and *creditor*, which amounts to the ſame thing, it had been juſt as true and exact to have ſaid, that *acceptum referre* would

have been falſe Latin, as it is now to affirm that *debitum referre* is. Falſe Latin is a violation of common and received Syntax: and we maintain that an author may, with equal propriety, ſay *referre inter debita*, as *referre inter accepta*; *in tabulam debitorum*, as *in tabulam acceptorum*.

How happens it that *accedere operi ſubeundo* is bad? We preſume he has no quarrel with the *caſe*, and that *operi* or *ad opus* may be uſed indifferently. Then where is the difference between *accedere operi ſubeundo*, or *ad opus ſubeundum*, and that of *Brut. ad Cic. Accedere ad remp. liberandam?*

We cannot conceive upon what he grounds his next charge of ambiguity, and muſt leave it with the candid reader, with whom alſo we ſhall truſt the objection of bad Latin in the next inſtance. It would be fruitleſs to produce an authority for the notion we have uſed *ſufficere* in, becauſe our adverſary declares againſt any authority that may be brought. There are a few more paſſages objected to, which we ſhall copy, and leave them to anſwer for themſelves. *Pauciſſimorum hominum eſſe—Ingenti literarum diſpendio—Cum R. S. Theſaurus pauciſſimorum hominum eſſe cœpit: nos viciſſim*—And that very difficult one, *citra renatas literas*, by which we mean ſince the reſtoration of learning. Having ſhewn how credible our Examiner is in that part of his aſſertion, that this Introductory Diſcourſe is very bad Latin, we return him his ſtring of epithets to enrich his next controverſy; or, which is equally indifferent to us, to be affixed to this performance upon the credit of his word, and the authority of his judgement.

His firſt objection to the work itſelf is, that of *Julianus*; which contains two aſſertions: 1. That, as the word occurred in the *Lyons* edition, we did not underſtand it. 2. That we altered it. We are ſorry a falſe print in *Stephens* ſhould eſcape us; but that we altered it, is ſomething for which good-manners wants a name; the very copy being ſtill luckily preſerved to confront his aſſertion. And to affirm that we did not underſtand it, muſt depend upon the probability of this propoſition, that a number of perſons concerned in a work, where *Julianus* is quoted in almoſt every ſheet, could not underſtand it, when they met with it incorrectly printed.

His

His next charge is ſo very inconſiderable, that we don't know how to reply to it. After having informed the reader that *damnare* has two conſtructions, a genitive caſe and ablative, and producing diſtinct inſtances of each, it would be injurious to ſuppoſe, that any one would not be appriſed of an ablative caſe, when he ſaw it quoted; and if the citations are differently ranged from the former edition, it was in regard to that alphabetical order which *Stephens* had a view to, but ſometimes overlooked. It were an objection indeed, if thoſe citations, where the ablative is governed, were put in a wrong place; that is, crowded with the genitives.

But our Objector riſes upon us, and denounces *anathemas* and *waſte paper*. *Capite ob rem aliquem damnari*, Stephens. The editors, *capite aliquem damnare*, without *ob rem aliquam*; and, what is worſe, *left it among the paſſives*. Whether we are wrong in ſtriking out thoſe words, the quotation from *Tully*, referred to in *Stephens*, and one which we have added, will abundantly ſhew: *Cic.* 1. *Tuſc.* 50. *Sed plurimi contra nituntur, animoſq; quaſi capite damnatos morte multant. Auth. ad Herenn.* 4. 33. *At eum vos jurati capite damnaſtis.* That we have left it among the paſſives, is an objection we cannot comprehend; ſince neither Stephens nor we have made ſo unneceſſary a diſtinction in any one ſingle article, as if *Capite damnare* was not the ſame caſe and conſtruction as *Capite damnari*.

How *ereditor* comes to be omitted, we are at a loſs to account for. It is weak to ſuppoſe we ſhould quarrel with it; as it is falſe to ſay the place is nonſenſe without it. However, to oblige him for his diſcovery, it ſhall meet with amends in the Errata; which our Examiner is deſired to look upon, as a place beſt ſuited to the ſize of his criticiſm.

He deſires to know the meaning of *vulgo contemnuntur*. Stephens, to ſupport the uſe of *tributis damnare*, has cited Tacitus; where he follows the authority of Rhenanus for his reading; a reading, which, though much preferable to the common one, and approved by the beſt critics, has not yet found a place in the text of the author. For all the copies to this day exhibit *tributis contemnuntur*, and not *condemnantur*, as the quotation ſuppoſes it to be.

After having followed the Examiner through ſo many queſtions, we beg leave to put one to him; which is, What ſo great a cenſor of inaccuracy could poſſibly mean by ſo accurate a paragraph as his laſt? *Not to have read*

read Harduin's *Notes carefully, as well as the* Gronovius's, *&c.* How does he ſupply this ellipſis, *as well as* to have read them, or, *as well as not* to have read them? His great encomium upon Harduin makes it probable he means the former; his known candour inclines us to the latter: and if that be his real ſentiment, he is deſired to look upon the laſt controverted paſſage, where Gronovius is expreſſly referred to.

Our diſtance from the preſs may, we hope, be a ſufficient excuſe as to any objections againſt *ut* & *ſimile*; which, if he queſtions, we refer him to the Printer for ſatisfaction.

Dubium, with an infinitive Mood, is another quarrel. Tully has it both ways. *Ep. ad Lent. Si exploratum tibi ſit poſſe te illius regni potiri, non eſſe cunctandum; ſi dubium, non eſſe conandum. Orat. pro Cæc. An in coacta multitudine dubium vobis fuit, utrum vis aliqua videretur necne.*

He deſires to know, which *Scaliger* we mean, and where? We anſwer, *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his notes upon *Euſebius's Chronical Canons*; and hope he is ſatisfied.

And now let the Unprejudiced judge between us, and deſcribe to himſelf what muſt be the natural temper of that man's mind, who (ſuppoſing the faults he has ſuggeſted to be as groſs as his own fancy or wiſh could frame them) durſt not confeſs, what we may with modeſty inſiſt on, the many valuable improvements which every-where occur; improvements full as conſiderable as citing book and verſe, or printing upon a good paper and letter.

Cambridge, *Yours*, &c.
Apr. 10, 1733.

P. S. Since the date of the above-written, a gentleman, whom we ſhould be proud to call our correſpondent, has raiſed an objection with an air of candour and learning; to ſpeak of it in the loweſt degree, far ſuperior to that of *Calliopius*. We reply, that his objection might lay againſt us, if we had propoſed a Claſſical Dictionary, in the ſtricteſt acceptation. But that is more than was intended by *Stephens* himſelf. The editions which were publiſhed in his life-time are ſome of them full of words purely technical; for ſuch we muſt account the terms of Civil Law, for which he was obliged to *Budæus* by his own confeſſion, and his Medicinal Terms from the phyſicians of a later date; and ſurely thoſe very technical expreſſions,

expreſſions, which he has borrowed from *Cæl. Rhodigin.* (who barbarouſly latinized the terms of *Greek* Antiquities, and which are to be found in no *Latin* author extant) can never be reconciled to the idea of a Dictionary truly claſſical. We are bound therefore to inſiſt upon it, that we are acting agreeably to *Stephens's mind:* nay, as far as appears by his laſt edition, we muſt have acted contrary to his mind, if we had acted in any other manner. We thought to oblige the world, if our Dictionary could become in a manner univerſal, without the imputation of barbariſm, which we have induſtriouſly avoided. And any one that conſiders the number of words which the eccleſiaſtical writers alone will furniſh us with, beſides thoſe which may be ſtill ſupplied from the Claſſicks (many more we are ſure than this gentleman imagines), will not think we have exaggerated in mentioning 10,000.

That gentleman farther obſerves, that ſome words ought to be removed that have riſen from the corrupt reading of Mſſ. We impute it to his haſte, or inadvertency, that he did not acknowledge one remarkable inſtance of that ſort, which we have given in our Specimen. *Stephens* exhibits both *Dactylotheca* and *Dactylŏtheca*. The former is ſupported by a ſorry Mſ. of *Martial*, and to be found no-where elſe, nor can poſſibly be admitted there; for had all the Mſſ. exhibited *Dactylotheca*, the metre had rejected it. A *Trochee* in *Iambic* meaſure is a monſter the world never ſaw, and *Stephens* ſtands juſtly corrected for his admitting, upon the authority of one Mſ. a word which we have ſo good reaſon to reject.

We agree, with the ingenious gentleman, there may be, and are, many more ſuch; and though our undertaking has bound us to be very circumſpect in our own application, we ſhall accept, with the utmoſt gratitude, ſuch diſcoveries, or any other notices that may be of uſe.

The knowledge of the editors names or perſons, we cannot apprehend to be very material. The value of the work does not depend upon ſo trifling a circumſtance; and we ſhould be very ſorry if the ſucceſs of it muſt. However, any notice or aſſiſtance is ſure to find us, if directed to Mr. *Harding*, bookſeller, in *St. Martin's-Lane, Weſtminſter*.

N° IV.

From The Grub-ſtreet Journal, N° 175. May 3, 1733.

THE old ſaw, Mr. Bavius, *et non potuiſſe refelli*, may juſtly be applied to my Letter about *Rob. Stephens's Theſaurus*. They have not got off, I think, in one article; not ſo well as might be expected in ſuch tickliſh matters as theſe. I only add, *judicet lector eruditus*, the common critical phraſe. They ſay *their endeavours deſerved at leaſt a civil treatment*. I ſay, *endeavours* without abilities do not. In good truth, it is impoſſible to ſhew people that they do *labi*, *errare*, *neſcire*, without being thought *uncivil*. But I can be *civil*, when I have a mind to it, by their own confeſſion; for I aſſure them, that the ſame perſon was author of both thoſe Letters; the one in your 170th, the other in your 172d Journals: they were both deſigned to do good. If the editors go on, I have done ſome good; for they will take more care upon this admonition: if they drop the edition, and I am any way the cauſe, I have done a great deal.

Yours, CALLIOPIUS.

N° V.

From The Preſent State of the Republick of Letters, *Vol.* XV.

THE old impreſſions of this great and valuable work, particularly that of Lions 1573, being exceeding ſcarce, the publick is highly obliged to thoſe learned gentlemen who have furniſhed us with a new edition, larger and more accurate than any of the preceding ones. We have the more reaſon to glory in the ſucceſs of this noble and magnificent undertaking, which does honour to our age and nation, as ſeveral attempts of this nature have been heretofore made and unhappily miſcarried; particularly by *Charles* and *Henry Stephens*, by our own celebrated countryman *Milton*, by the ſociety of *Baliol* College in *Oxford*, and by Dr. *Kuſter* the excellent editor of *Suidas* and *Ariſtophanes*.

This ſtately performance, after a very eloquent dedication to his preſent Majeſty, is introduced by a large epiſtolary preface, inſcribed to the moſt inge-

ingenious Dr. *John Hollings*; containing a diſtinct and exact account of the moſt conſiderable *Latin* Dictionaries which have appeared ſince the reſtoration of learning, together with ſome memoirs of the compilers of them. Our readers will be pleaſed to ſee them as they ſtand in ſucceſſion, and obſerve their principal characters; and the rather, as this is a piece of literary hiſtory, which has hitherto lain almoſt altogether uncultivated.

The firſt book of this kind that is mentioned is the CATHOLICON * of *John Balbus*, frequently ſtiled *Joannes de Janua*, or *Januenſis*, from his country, being a *Genoeſe*. It was one of the firſt fruits of the preſs after the invention of the typographical art, being imprinted at *Mentz* in the year 1460. This original impreſſion conſiſted of 372 leaves, without either ſignatures or numeration of the pages, neither of which were then in uſe. The character was rude in compariſon of later types, but extremely polite if we conſider the time of its appearance, in the very infancy of printing; when we have far greater cauſe to admire ſo vaſt and diſproportioned a production of it, than to animadvert upon its imperfections. Each ſide was divided into two equal columns, either of which contained preciſely ſixty-ſix lines, with a margin and interval ſufficiently ſpacious; the paper large and ſtrong, but otherwiſe not beautiful. The Author of this ancient Lexicon beſtowed many years in compiling of it, and finiſhed it, as he tells us himſelf at the concluſion of his manuſcript, on the *nones* of *March* 1286. He was a man well verſed in the liberal arts and ſciences; of the order of preaching Friars, and remarkable for his extraordinary ſanctity.

There cannot indeed a great deal be ſaid in commendation of this work, nor muſt the erudition of it be placed in competition with thoſe of a more modern date; but, with reſpect to the age it was wrote in, it has not merited the contempt which *Eraſmus* and ſome others have thrown on it. It led the way to thoſe which afterwards outran it; and it ſhould be remembered in its favour, that invention is at once a more difficult and a nobler inſtance of genius than improvement. It was for a long while the ſole fountain from whence the ſchools derived their knowledge in the *Latin* tongue; ſo that it is not to be wondered at, if a great many of the *Literati* exerciſed themſelves in enlarging and embelliſhing it, and ſucceed-

* On this very curious book, ſee "The Origin of Printing," p. 87. *J. N.*

ing *Gloſſographers* imagined they ought to be entirely ſubmitted to, and even applauded, wherever they could alledge the authority of the *Catholicon* in behalf of their opinions.

The pious Collector of it ſhewed a peculiar regard to ſuch words as occurred in the ſacred Scriptures, or eſpecially related to them, and was careful to the utmoſt of his ability to diſcover, and even exhauſt, the ſenſe of them; an example of this we have under INTERPRES, where he has not only denoted the general meaning of it, but illuſtrated it by a ſhort hiſtory of the ſeveral tranſlations of the Old Teſtament out of the *Hebrew* into *Greek*, and out of either into *Latin*. "Firſt by the *Seventy*, next by "*Aquila* *, a third and fourth by *Theodotion* † and *Symmachus*; a fifth that "was anonymous, and called the *Vulgar* Interpretation; beſides a ſixth "and a ſeventh that were found by *Origen*, the laſt of which was of the "Pſalms only; and both which with immenſe labour and diligence he "collated with all the preceding ones ‡. The verſions out of *Greek* into "*Latin* were almoſt innumerable, as St. *Auguſtin* obſerves; for in the "Weſtern primitive Church, almoſt every man that got a *Greek* Bible into "his hands, and was ever ſo little verſed in that language, turned it into

* After the Chriſtian Religion was ſettled, as the Chriſtians ſupported themſelves by the authority of the LXX. ſo ſome of the *Jews* reſolved to make a new tranſlation of the books of the Bible, which, as they pretended, ſhould be more conformable to the *Hebrew* text than that of the *Seventy* was. *Aquila*, a *Jew*, was the firſt who thought of this deſign, and after put it into execution, in the reign of *Adrian*, by turning the *Hebrew* text *verbatim* into *Greek*. *Du Pin*, *Eccl. Hiſt.* vol. I. p. 37.

† A diſciple of *Tatian*, who after turned *Marcionite*, and at laſt a *Jew*, and flouriſhed in the time of the emperor *Commodus*: he made another *Greek* verſion of the whole Bible, in which, as he does not confine himſelf ſo cloſely to the letter as *Aquila* did, ſo neither does he depart ſo far from it as *Symmachus*, author of the third verſion, who lived in the days of the emperor *Severus*. He had formerly been a *Jew*, and at laſt went over to the ſect of the *Ebionites*. His verſion is more lax, and he only concerns himſelf to render the ſenſe, without ſervilely adhering to the words. *Ibid.*

‡ The *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla* of *Origen* were compoſed of theſe verſions. In the *Hexapla* they were joined to the *Hebrew* text written two ways; that is to ſay, in *Greek* and in *Hebrew* characters; and this compoſed the two firſt columns of the work: in the third column ſtood *Aquila's* tranſlation, which was joined to the *Hebrew* text, as following the *Hebrew* more religiouſly than any of the reſt. The verſion of the *Septuagint* was placed between that of *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, and ſo theſe three verſions compoſed three columns: the two other verſions were ranked in the two laſt columns; and the ſeventh, which was of the book of *Pſalms*, in the ninth column.—In the *Tetrapla*, that was made after the *Hexapla*, *Origen* has retrenched the fifth and ſixth verſions, as alſo the two columns of the *Hebrew* text, ſo that it is only compoſed of the verſions of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the *Septuagint*, and *Theodotion*. Ibid.

"his

" his own. St. *Jerom*, who was ſkilled in all the three tongues, was the " only tranſlator of the Scriptures from the *Hebrew* into the *Latin* imme- " diately: his tranſlation is very juſtly eſteemed, not only for the elegance " and perſpicuity of it, but likewiſe for its ſtrictneſs and fidelity."

Our Author was beholden to *Papias* for what he has ſaid here in the explanation of this word; from whom, as well as *Hugutius*, he owns himſelf to have tranſcribed a great many articles.

All that I ſhall ſay farther of the *Catholicon* is, that although the edition of 1460 has neither *Fauſtus's Colophon*, nor the mark of a *Calf's Horn* in the paper, which *Naudæus* and ſome others have fancied to be a certain criterion for diſtinguiſhing the books which he printed, yet there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt its being the work of that incomparable artiſt. Nor is there any foundation for *Trithemius's* opinion, which the reputation of his great knowledge in antiquity has impoſed on many, of an edition of it antienter than this we are ſpeaking of, printed upon wooden blocks, before fuſile ſeparate types, which this is undeniably done on, were invented. The blocks for this pretended original impreſſion * muſt be ſome years preparing; and it is not to be imagined that, amidſt the plenty of manuſcripts then extant, the copies done off them could be ſo quickly diſpoſed of, as to encourage or require the undertaking another almoſt immediately after the firſt was wrought off: for that muſt here be the caſe, conſidering there is an interval but of ten years, at the moſt, between the date of our edition and the very firſt offſpring of the preſs. There cannot be a more improbable ſuppoſition; and indeed this prodigy of *Trithemius's* has never yet been found in the moſt copious libraries, or occurred to the moſt induſtrious enquiries of the learned. But though the editions of this work did not ſucceed one another ſo ſwiftly in the primordial dawn of typography as this critick and his followers contend for, yet, in truth, it paſſed through ſeveral before the concluſion of that age, which was of all others the moſt propitious to learning. As, for inſtance, in the year 1483, there was an impreſſion of it finiſhed at *Venice*, corrected and amended by the care and at the expence of *Herman Liechtenſtein*. Four years after, *viz.* in 1487, another was compleated by the ſame perſon, and in the ſame

* A ſmaller *Catholicon*, which was merely a Vocabulary for the uſe of Schools, was printed with *wooden types* by GEINSFLEICH. See Origin of Printing, p. 85, 86. *J. N.*

city. The fourth edition of it was likewiſe at *Venice*, *Anno* 1495, under the reviſal of *Boneti Locatelli*. At the beginning of the fifth century, *Petrus Ægidius*, a man of great eminence in the canon and civil laws, very much enlarged it, and printed it at *Lyons* in 1506, a ſecond time in 1514, and laſtly in 1520.

Our Editors, having occaſion (as we have ſeen in their account of the *Catholicon*) to make mention of *Papias* and *Hugutius*, as writers to whom the compiler of it has profeſſed himſelf greatly indebted, have given us a brief hiſtory of them as authors, and ſettled the times in which they flouriſhed. It not being poſſible for us to go thorough the ſubject now, we ſhall cloſe this article for the preſent with an abſtract of it.

Papias was by nation a *Lombard*. We know not when he was born, but he was undoubtedly more ancient than *Joannes Januenſis*, as appears by this latter's copying from him. It is ſurpriſing that any one ſhould degrade him ſo low as the age of the *Catholicon*; and even *Trithemius*, *Platina*, *Cornel. a Beughem*, and *Jac. Phil. Bergomenſis*, are miſtaken, in imagining him to be but one hundred years earlier: he was two at the leaſt, as we are aſſured by *Caſpar Barthius* in his *Adverſaria*, who therein agrees with the *Chronicon Albericum* MS. where it is noted, that in the year 1053, being the 13th of the emperor *Henry*, the ſon of *Conrad*, *Papias* ſet forth his book, intituled, ELEMENTARIUM DOCTRINÆ ERUDIMENTUM.

He was a man admirably verſed in prophane literature, as celebrated a grammarian as any of his time, a complete maſter in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and perfectly acquainted with the Scriptures and the works of the Fathers. He wrote a great many things both on divine and human ſubjects. *Trithemius* had ſeen only three, viz. *De Ordine Dicendi*, *De Linguæ Latinæ Vocabulis*, and *Epiſtolæ ad diverſos*. The ſecond is that he is moſt known by. *Scaliger* indeed undervalues it extremely; he treats it as ignominiouſly as *Eraſmus* does the *Catholicon*, and calls it *futile opus*; but others extol it as much, and ſet it out for a rich repoſitory of learning: *Barthius* in particular expatiates in the praiſes of it. Perhaps it will be ſpeaking the truth of it to ſay, that it was enriched with the ſpoils of all that had preceded it. It had ſeveral impreſſions; one at *Milan* in 1476, and four following ones at *Venice*, *Annis* 1485, 1487, 1491, and 1496.

Hugutius, whom the *Catholicon* tranſcribed alſo, was a *Piſan* by birth, and biſhop of *Ferrara*. A man of conſpicuous figure about the year 1196. I ſuppoſe the firſt preferment the Pope conferred on him was the coadjutorſhip of a monaſtery, in the library of which he met with *Papias*, and out of him in a great meaſure compoſed his *Gloſſary*, or *Book of Derivations*. *Boccatius* gives him a good character in his GENEALOGY of the GODS. Whether he wrote the *Treatiſe of Animals* that is uſually aſcribed to him is uncertain, as there were others of his name contemporary with him famous for learning; particularly one, promoted to the Purple *Anno* 1191, who was reckoned the greateſt civilian and canoniſt of that age. His *Vocabulary* has never been printed, and the manuſcript copies of it lie hid only in a few collections. He has recorded his own name and country in the Preface of it, after the odd manner of thoſe times. "If any one aſks "(ſays he) who was the author or doer of this work, it may be anſwered, "God. If it be demanded who was the inſtrument in performing of it, "it may be replied, *Hugutius* of *Piſa*." He died about the year 1212.

Our Editors apologize for inſiſting upon theſe things ſo largely. The *Latin* tongue had afterwards otherguefs patrons to glory in than thoſe they have now mentioned; but it is the eſtabliſhed fate of literature to grow up to maturity by ſlow degrees, from the moſt inconſiderable originals: and they wonder very juſtly at the ungrateful ſeverity of *Eraſmus*, and ſome other philologers, towards theſe primitive nurſes, who firſt took care of the language in the very infancy of its reviction. If it received from them a ſtronger nouriſhment, and under their tutelage advanced to perfection, that cannot excuſe their deriding or calumniating thoſe who adminiſtered their beſt aſſiſtance at its new birth, and preſerved it from periſhing till it was provided with more able guardians.

N° VI.

From The Preſent State of the Republick of Letters, *Vol.* XVI.

TO that weak and abject ſtate of the *Latin* tongue, which our former article on this ſubject was employed in giving an account of, we may refer *Joannes de Garlandia* an *Engliſhman*, who lived in the reign of *Harold the Dane*, and made ſome conſiderable figure about the year 1040. He ſhone, not only in the character of a grammarian, but likewiſe of a chymiſt, a mathematician, and divine. His *Synonyma* and *Equivoca*, or book of *ſynonymous* and *equivocal Terms*, paſſed through the Preſs at *Cologn* ſo ſoon as 1490: and was again printed at *London*, in *quarto*, by *Richard Pynſon* 1496. This edition, as I judge by the title of it, was improved, not only by *Galfridus's* Expoſition on the *Synonyma*, but by digeſting the *Equivoca* into an alphabetical order; which circumſtance ſeems to have been otherwiſe in the original.

It may ſuffice (to keep up the Series) barely to mention here a few others of the ſame inferior claſs with the foregoing writers. Such as, *Simon de Janua*, author of a phyſical Lexicon; *Marcheſinus* of *Reggio*, alſo near *Modena*, of the order of *Minor Friars*, who compoſed a Dictionary of the words uſed in the Scripture and Liturgies: it was, I preſume, ſomething of the ſame nature with *Paſor's* Lexicon of the New Teſtament which we have now: its firſt appearance in print was at *Mentz* 1470. *Nic. Jenſon* printed it next at *Venice*, in *quarto*, 1479. It had other editions elſewhere. I paſs over *Gemma Gemmarum*, with other Vocabularies of like value; but *Neſtor Dionyſius* of *Novaria*, a *Minorite*, muſt not be entirely omitted: he flouriſhed juſt upon the turn of Learning's fortune, when Letters began to ſhine, and one might ſenſibly diſcern their progreſs towards that meridian ſplendor they ſoon after aroſe to. He awoke, as it were, juſt time enough to diſcover and laugh at the blind dreams of thoſe that preceded him, though at the ſame time he appeared to ſuch as followed him not very ſprightly or clear-ſighted himſelf. His Dictionary was firſt publiſhed in 1488. It was reprinted at *Paris* 1496; and at *Venice* that ſame year, by *Phil. Pinzius*; and afterwards in 1502 and 1507; and reviſed by *Johan. Tacuinus*.

Our

Our Editors are at length come to a more auſpicious period, when the *Roman* language had happily recovered its priſtine luſtre. They have now ſuch men to celebrate as *Eraſmus*, *Valla*, *Longolius*, and *Linacer*, with many others of like fame and ability; who were accurate grammarians, elegant tranſlators of the moſt valuable *Greek* authors, and maſters of all the purity and beauty of the *Latin* tongue. But their immediate concern is with thoſe only who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Republick of Letters under the character of *Lexicographers*.

The firſt taken notice of by them is *Johannes Tortellius*, a native of *Arezzo* in *Tuſcany*: he was a favourite with two Popes. He was ſubdean and chamberlain to *Eugenius* the IVth, and afterwards the chief confidant of *Nicholas* the Vth, his library-keeper, and an intimate companion of his ſtudies. He was highly eſteemed for his great knowledge and acquaintance with the *Greek* and *Latin* literature, and equally beloved for the engaging qualifications of a ſweet diſpoſition and venerable behaviour. *Laurentius Valla*, who was himſelf a moſt excellent grammarian, had an entire friendſhip for him, and paid ſuch a deference to his opinion and judgement, that he dedicated to him his books *De Latina Elegantia*. He was univerſally commended for his grammatical exactneſs in writing, as well as for the perfection of his ſtile. His Dictionary is divided into two parts; the firſt, which is very ſhort, treats of the invention, number, figure, pronunciation, and joining of the letters of the alphabet. The ſecond, which is much longer, contains an alphabetical catalogue of *Latin* words, chiefly derived from the *Greeks*; of which (ſays *Bayle*) he teaches, or endeavours to teach, the orthography. This work was firſt printed at *Tarvis*, 1477. Its ſecond impreſſion was at *Vicenza* 1480. It had three editions afterwards at *Venice*, in the years 1493, 1495, 1504; and another at *Vicenza* again 1508, *&c.* Beſides this great undertaking, our author wrote ſeveral Epiſtles which were publiſhed. He likewiſe tranſlated the Life of *Athanaſius* by order of Pope *Eugenius*, and turned *Appian's* Hiſtory into Latin, *verbatim*. *Voſſius* thinks it was he, who, under the title of archpreſbyter of *Arezza*, compiled the Memoirs of St. *Zenobius*.

With *Tortellius* our Editors join *Junianus Maius*, a *Neapolitan*; not merely becauſe they were contemporary, but as they had nearly the ſame taſte and biaſs in their ſtudies. He wrote, beſides Epiſtles and ſome other things,

things, De priscorum Verborum Proprietate. *Trithemius* gives him a very advantageous character; he extols both his genius and his elocution; and celebrates his ſkill in philology, divinity, philoſophy, and rhetorick. He was indefatigable in inveſtigating and noting the peculiar force and ſignificancy of certain words and phraſes. His Dictionary, under the above-mentioned title, was inſcribed to *Henry de Lunguard*, an archbiſhop, and confeſſor to *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. He tells that Prelate, in the Preface of it, "That he may in that book ſee what the ancient "and modern grammarians have written of the power and virtue of "words, in ſeparate pieces, collected and digeſted into a regular method. "He intimates as though the work were not originally begun by him, "but that he had found a plan and part of a ſuperſtructure raiſed by "ſome other hand, which, at a mighty expence of labour and contri-"vance, he had new-modelled and compleated: retrenching what he ſaw "ſuperfluous in the firſt deſign, and enlarging it in other inſtances where "he perceived it to be ſcanty and deficient: making conſiderable additions "to it, not only from *Laurentius Valla* and *Tortellius*, but alſo from *Ser-*"*vius*, *Donatus*, *Porphyrion*, *Acron* (thoſe approved commentators on *Ho-*"*race*, *Terence*, and *Virgil*); together with *Macrobius*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Strabo*, "*Nonius Marcellus*, &c. He complains of its being haſtened out of his "hands by ſome people's eagerneſs, before he could methodize it ſo accu-"rately as he deſired, or enrich it with that affluence of words which he "intended to collect from *Pliny*, *Vitruvius*, *Columella*, *Celſus*, and *Varro*." There were four impreſſions of this book in *folio*: the firſt at *Naples* 1475. The two following ones at *Tarviſa* in 1477 and 1480. The laſt again at *Naples*, 1490.

After *Manus* follows *Johannes Reuchlinus* or *Capnio*, a *German*, born of honeſt and genteel parents, on the 28th of *December* 1454. He was exceedingly well verſed in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* tongues; and happily promoted the reſtoration of them in his own country. *Eraſmus* ſtiles him the Phœnix of thoſe three languages. He was ſent ambaſſador from the *Palatine* Court to *Rome*, where he cloſely attended the *Hebrew* lectures of *Abdias* a *Jew*, and the *Greek* ones of *Argyrophylus*. This latter obſerving his eager thirſt after the *Grecian* literature, enquired whence he came, and being told he was of *Germany*, and not entirely ignorant of that learning which

which he was a profeſſor of, he deſired him to read and interpret a paragraph or two of *Thucydides*; which when *Reuchlin* immediately did, pronouncing it aright, and tranſlating it not only juſtly but elegantly, *Argyropylus* cried out in a kind of tranſport and amaze, *Our baniſhment has tranſported* Greece *over the* Alpine *mountains*. This excellent perſon had the felicity to be loved by princes, and applauded by all the *literati*: his talents for negotiating their moſt arduous affairs with expedition and ſucceſs recommended him to the former, and the praiſes of the latter were a tribute he deſerved for his unwearied endeavours to promote their fame and intereſt.

He was the author of a *Latin* Dictionary, which ſome have highly commended; but, to ſpeak impartially, as that tongue was not quite refined and reduced to its ſterling purity at the time he compiled it, he admitted a great many foreign and even barbarous terms to creep in, that have much debaſed and undervalued it: for which reaſon, as well as becauſe the ſucceeding age produced much better performances of the ſame kind, this has for a long while been of little or no value, and almoſt entirely forgotten: *Reuchlin* was but very young when it came out of his hands, and he preſented it to the learned world as the *primitiæ* of his ſtudies. *Melchior Adam* (in his Life) ſuggeſts as if he undertook it at the inſtance of the younger *Amerbachs* *, about the time of their ſetting-up for themſelves: that is not improbable; there were none readier to excite or employ men of letters than thoſe illuſtrious brothers. But our editors think him miſtaken in ſuppoſing it was firſt printed by them in *folio* at *Baſil*; they are poſitive it was by their father, a man of incomparable learning and virtue †. There were prefixed to it ſome ſmall grammatical and orthographical pieces, *viz.* a little tract of *Guarinus Veronenſis* of the true writing of

* See Mr. *De Miſſy's* very curious Anecdote of *Bruno* and *Baſil Amerbach's* Polyglott Pſalter, in "The Origin of Printing," p. 126. *J. N.*

† Some perhaps will wonder at theſe epithets, who only reflect on their unſuitableneſs to the artiſts of our age and country, but thoſe they are applied to here were really deſerving of them. We muſt no more rate the *Amerbachs* right to theſe titles by that of Printers now, than we would judge of the rank and dignity of *Raphael* or *Michael Angelo*, of *Leonard de Vinci* or *Titian*, by the merit and figure of the *Engliſh* Painters. *Sola nobilitat Virtus*, though generally a very improper motto, where it is moſt commonly placed, is yet true enough to make a maxim, and might very properly have been engraven on the monument of theſe learned and noble Typographers.

diphthongs: a dialogue on the art of pointing: a diſcourſe of accent, *&c.* Indeed the whole book is much in the ſame way and character with theſe *Prolegomena*. The Printer of it tells us in the Preface, "That all the "terms relating to *Divinity*, and both *canon* and *civil* law, are clearly ex- "plained in it: that great regard has been had to the *orthography* of them: "that the *diphthongs* are rightly expreſſed; and the *proper ſyllables* duly ac- "cented." I don't find it had ever any more than one impreſſion.

Nicolaus Perottus ſucceeds *Reuchlin*. He was of a noble family, and became archbiſhop of *Siponto*. He was a perſon of extraordinary ingenuity and great reading; and not undeſervedly accounted, after *Tortellius*, the chief reſtorer and ſupport of the *Roman* tongue. He ſtudied the *Greek* learning at *Rome* with indefatigable induſtry, under the munificent patronage of cardinal *Beſſarion*, a true *Mæcenas* of literature. While he was a very young man he tranſlated *Polybius* ſo elegantly into *Latin*, that the interpreters of that time never mentioned him but with the higheſt encomiums. It is true, there were ſome few who were emulous of his reputation, and endeavoured to diminiſh it; but their very detraction involved in it the moſt delicate compliment: they pretended, the Verſion he publiſhed was not his own, but a very ancient one he had ſome-how ſurreptitiouſly obtained, and, concealing the true author, unjuſtly aſſumed to himſelf the honour of it: but how glorious to him was the ground of their defamation! It was no other than this, *Thucydides*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, and *Appian*, had been ſeverally tranſlated by the moſt excellent modern hands, who had ſtrove to ſurpaſs one another in their performances; but this of *Polybius*, it ſeems, ſo far tranſcended them all in purity of diction, in equality and ſweetneſs of ſtile, that it could not be the product of any inferior to the *Auguſtan* age. All the writers that take any notice of him have agreed in extolling his ſingular abilities in the *Greek* and *Latin* languages, the idioms of which he could ſo entirely tranſmute one into another, that he eraſed all mark of their primitive character. The beauty of his *Polybius* likewiſe is univerſally acknowledged, but the fidelity of it is not ſo unqueſtionable: we muſt confeſs, he is accuſed by *Caſaubon* and *Huetius* of taking very unjuſtifiable liberties with that writer, and deviating vaſtly from his original in a multitude of inſtances. Be that as it will; the world was highly obliged to him for his curious and uſeful collection of

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the pureſt and moſt genuine *Latin*. His large and elaborate Commentaries on *Martial*, which he intituled CORNUCOPIA, were of unſpeakable ſervice to young ſcholars, for whoſe benefit he wrote them: he has therein laid open the treaſures of the *Latin* tongue; explained the nature and genius of it; ſhewn the peculiar ſignification of its words, and crowned all with ſo copious an Index of them, that it might well ſerve for a Lexicon of that language, as it really did for a long while after.

Perottus entered upon this work at the importunate requeſt of *Pomponius Fortunatus*; but having finiſhed it he laid it by, nor would he allow it to be printed during his life, on account of the obſcenity and filthineſs of ſeveral paſſages of the author he illuſtrated. But having lent the manuſcript to many who had requeſted the favour of conſulting it, ſome ungrateful plagiary had ſtole its principal beauties, and decked a meaner offſpring of his own with them after the deceaſe of their true parent. This obliged the friends of *Perottus*, who were concerned for the honour of his memory, to publiſh this poſthumous piece, that the learned might no longer attribute to others what they were indebted only to him for.

Our Editors have not aſcertained the date of the firſt edition of it: it was ſome time between 1482 and 1486, and not in 1470 as *Du Cange* ſuppoſed. In leſs than ten years, *viz.* 1492, it was printed again in *folio* at *Venice*. Its next impreſſion was by *Aldus Manutius*, in 1499. The year following there came forth an edition of it at *Paris*, printed by *Gering* and *Rembolt*. This was indeed a moſt beautiful one, and very carefully corrected by *Joannes Pompeius Cornianus*. But the nobleſt of all was that of *Aldus*, at *Venice*, 1513. This, beſides the moſt diligent emendations, was enriched by the addition of *Varro*, *Feſtus*, and *Nonius Marcellus*; which laſt was in this edition of it exceedingly improved and enlarged by *J. Jucundus*, a man of infinite erudition, whom *Scaliger* reſpected as his maſter, and was uſed to ſtile a library of all the ancient and modern arts and ſciences. After this the moſt learned *Valentin. Curio* publiſhed an accurate edition of our author and his aſſociates, *Varro*, *&c.* at *Baſil*, *Annis* 1526 and 1532. Beſides all theſe, the *Cornucopia* had ſeveral other impreſſions, *viz.* in 1504. At *Paris*, in 1506. In 1521 at *Baſil*; and again in 1536. In ſhort, all the *literati* of that age admired and commended theſe Commentaries of the renowned *Perotti*.

The buſineſs of *Lexicons* was about this time indeed ſo mightily in vogue, that, as our Editors obſerve, ſome of the greateſt rank and capacity in philology and criticiſm thought it no diminution of their dignity to employ themſelves in amending, enriching, and embelliſhing the labours of others in that way; and this they did with a care and application equal to any they beſtowed on the moſt valued authors of antiquity. Not one of the moderns had more reſpect paid him of this ſort than our *Perotti*; firſt of all, by *Ludovicus Odaxius*; then by *Polydore Vergil*, who was at the pains of collating the firſt impreſſion of the *Cornucopia* with an authentick copy in the duke of *Urbino's* library, by which he minutely corrected all the *Errata* of it: after him, as we have ſeen, the modelling, augmenting, and adorning it, was undertaken by no meaner hands than thoſe of *Cornianus*, the moſt excellent *Aldus*, and that rich treaſury of knowledge *Valentinus Curio*. It would be ſuperfluous to add here the teſtimonies of *Geſner*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *Trithemius*, and others, in honour of this noble work: *Paulus Jovius* ſuppoſed its intrinſick merit and ſerviceableneſs would render it immortal; and our Editors remark he judged rightly, as it has been taken into the compoſition of every ſubſequent Dictionary.

After this exalted character of *Perotti*, it is ſome diſpleaſure to deſcend to that of *Calepin*, who follows him in the liſt of Lexicographers. *Ambroſius Calepinus* was a native of *Calepio* near *Bergamo*, and of the order of *Auguſtan* Friars. He lived to a great age, and died at *Bergamo*, *Anno* 1510, where ſome ſay he was born, and where he lies buried in the *Auguſtan* Church, without any monument to diſtinguiſh him. He left the world no legacy but his Dictionary; which has, indeed, more by good fortune than any merit, ſufficiently aggrandized his memory. *Eraſmus*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *Borrichius*, *Scioppus*, *Hieronimus Magius*, and other very competent judges, all concur with our Editors in ſpeaking very contemptibly of him. They repreſent him as not aſhamed of tranſcribing from *Perotti* what *Perotti* was aſhamed to publiſh: as incapable of ſupplying the deficiencies of thoſe authors, whoſe labours he only injudiciouſly heaped together: as a perſon altogether ignorant of *Greek*, and ſcarce tinctured with human learning. They characteriſe his Dictionary as meanly, and load it with the moſt diſgraceful epithets. It is jejune and ſterile; barbarous and fulſome; dry, inaccurate, and throughout erroneous: and after all the amendments and improve-

improvements of better hands than the firſt compiler's, it remains an inſipid performance, and worſe than any that preceded it.

But, after all this accumulation of diſgrace, our ingenious Editor has picked up a ſingle teſtimony in *Calepin's* favour; but ſeems to wonder how it could drop from the pen of the celebrated *Jacobus Philippus*, after he had read that writer's dedication of his Dictionary to the ſenate and people of *Bergamo*, and his poetical addreſs to the work itſelf, at the beginning of it. *Philippus* ſays of him, "that he was of a ſweet diſpoſition and "behaviour." And as for his book, he calls it "a great and valuable "collection of the lucubrations of innumerable learned men, gathered "with prodigious labour and induſtry, and ſorted with the niceſt accuracy "and judgement." He is pleaſed likewiſe to ſtile the Epiſtle the author prefixed to it a very learned and elegant thing. Perhaps *Philippus* would have paſſed a leſs favourable judgement on *Calepin's* performance, if he had not been his countryman; of the ſame age and order with himſelf, and at the ſame time his moſt dear and intimate companion.

It is ſurprizing that a work ſo mean and deſpicable ſhould ſurmount ſuch an univerſal contempt, paſs through ſuch a number of editions, and employ the pains of ſo many learned men to reviſe, enlarge, and adorn it, as this of *Calepin* did. It grew under every poſthumous impreſſion; and ſuch vaſt additions were made to it by a variety of hands, after the author's deceaſe, that, though it ſtill retained his name, it ſoon became a quite different thing from what he left it. There were but two editions of it in his life-time. The firſt was at *Reggio* in *Lombardy*, in 1502, in *folio*, upon a very fine letter. It is become extremely ſcarce. Our Editors have ſeen it (which is what few can boaſt of), and have inſerted in their Preface the Allocutio ad Librum which is prefixed to it, and which does not appear in any of the following editions. As that has nothing but its rarity to recommend it, I chuſe to omit it here; and obſerve, that the pages in this firſt edition were not numbered, but we know they amounted to fifty-five ſignatures, of four ſheets each. The ſecond edition was printed at *Venice* in 1509, by *Liechtenſtein:* neither *Geſner* nor the diligent and inquiſitive *Borrichius*, who ſaw this, had ever light upon the former one. Our Editors have ſet down the dates of eighteen editions more that this Dictionary has paſſed through ſince the death of *Calepin*; and ſuppoſe ſeveral others might be diſcovered, if it were worth an enquiry.

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Amongſt the many contributors to the fame, as much as to the materials of this Lexicon, one of the moſt eminent was *Johannes Paſſeratius*, Regius Profeſſor in the univerſity of *Paris*. Our Editors have collected a great many encomiums on him, celebrating the politeneſs of his genius, the purity of his ſtile, and the elegance of his writings: the moſt accompliſhed wits of his own time were even ambitious of praiſing him; always excepting the ill-natured *Scaliger*, who treats him opprobriouſly. He was certainly a man of the juſteſt taſte, and of a nice diſcernment, but too difficult to pleaſe, very ſeldom approving the works of others. He was ſo delicate in this reſpect, that he could not bear the apprehenſion of his bones being loaded (as he termed it), even after his death, with inelegant epitaphs and eulogiums. This ſentiment is finely expreſſed in the following one, compoſed by himſelf upon the very brink of the grave, and deſigned, as I ſuppoſe, to be inſcribed on his ſepulchre:

Hic ſitus in parva Janus Paſſertius *urna*
Auſonii Doctor Regius cloquii;
Diſcipuli memores tumulo date ſerta magiſtri,
Ut vario florum munere vernet humus.
Hoc culta officio mea molliter oſſa quieſcent,
Sint modo carminibus non onerata malis.

He died at *Paris*, 1602, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in the church of the *Dominicans*, under a monument erected to his memory by *Jo. Jac. Memmius*, who ſtiles him his deareſt preceptor. This was probably ſome near relation of the moſt noble *Henricus Memmius*, who had always been *Paſſeratius's* bountiful patron, and at whoſe recommendation he was promoted to be Regius Profeſſor of Eloquence in the univerſity of *Paris*. Our Editors have quoted the inſcription on his tomb, but are not entirely ſatisfied with the ſtile of it. His death was univerſally lamented; the *literati* covered his hearſe with their panegyricks: the truth is, in that age they were very liberal of them; they ſpoke of nobody indifferently; if they did not utterly degrade a man, they were ſure to extol him above meaſure; there was rather too much of the *Gaſcoon* in their compliments. Our *Paſſeratius* was no leſs than *the laſt of the* Roman *writers*; the *chief of all the grammarians and rhetoricians of his age*; the *principal pillar of the* PARISIAN *academy*; the *glory of polite learning*; the *Phœnix*

Phœnix of Eloquence, and another Varro. The additions to *Calepin's* Dictionary generally aſcribed to him were ſo ſuperficial and indigeſted, ſo unworthy of, and ſo unſuitable to, the account here given of his great abilities and erudition, that our Editors moſt readily aſſent to the opinion of very competent judges, that he had really no hand in that Lexicon at all; and that the imputing a ſhare of it to him was only a trick and knaviſh device of the bookſellers who had the copy-right, to enhance the reputation of their book, and promote the ſale of it. This memorable writer, however, left ſeveral genuine pieces behind him that juſtify his character. There are ſome beautiful poems of his extant in the third tome of the *Delitiæ Gallicæ*; but his moſt valuable work is a treatiſe *of the Exchange and Affinity of Letters*; printed at *Paris* 1606, in *octavo*.

Our learned Editors obſerve very juſtly, that it would be endleſs to write particularly of all *Calepin's* benefactors: of *Jac. Montanus*, *Paul Manutius*, *Laur. Chifletius*, *Lud. de la Cerda*, *Conrad. Geſnerus*, *Budæus*, *Aſcenſius*, &c. all which were one way or other concerned in new-moulding or enlarging his Dictionary: for what we have now under that name is a great ſuperſtructure raiſed indeed by their hands, in which he had very little concern beſides that of laying the foundation. But though they excuſe themſelves the taſk of pointing out theſe gentlemen's merit, they have allowed *Geſner* the liberty of ſetting forth his own, and commending himſelf. And he tells us, "that he had corrected the impreſſion of *Calepin* "ſet forth at *Baſil* in 1544, in innumerable places; that he had tranſ- "planted into it the four thouſand words, which the laſt *Venetian* edition "had been enriched with from the moſt approved authors: and which "had been reckoned the chief ornaments of it; and had taken a peculiar "care of what related to the Proſody; reviſing the whole for that pur- "poſe, and nicely diſtinguiſhing the quantities of the ſyllables in all the "principal terms. That he had ſelected the proper names, which till "then had been promiſcuouſly diſperſed throughout the work, and ranged "them in a ſeparate alphabet; adding to them as many others as he could "find in the lateſt poetical dictionaries."

The next Lexicographer in order is *Marius Nizolius*, author of *Theſaurum Ciceronianum*, or, "*Obſervations on* Cicero, *alphabetically digeſted*, "*wherein the true rules of the* Latin *Tongue are delivered, and the ſeveral*

"*ways*

" *ways of diſtinguiſhing and diverſifying the words of it clearly demonſtrated* " *by examples drawn from the writings of that famous Orator.*" Printed at *Baſil*, 1530; afterwards at *Venice*, 1535, *folio*; and again there, 1541; with the addition of ſeveral words collected from *Cicero* after *Nizolius* by *Zanchius*. *Hervagius* publiſhed it again in 1548, with very great improvements by *Cælius Secundus Curio*; and a ſecond time at *Francfort*, 1568. It had after theſe ſo many editions, that it would be tireſome to enumerate them. Our Editors have marked that of *Lyons*, 1608, *folio*, and that of *Geneva*, 1612, 4*to*, as the moſt correct and copious. At length this work, which at firſt ſprung from *Cicero* alone, and was confined to him only, became more univerſal, and grew up to be in all reſpects a complete Lexicon. The finiſhing hand was ſet to it by M. *Ludovicus Lucius*, Profeſſor in the univerſity of *Baſil*, who, in the year 1613, publiſhed it there in two volumes in *folio*, under the title of " *Latinæ Linguæ Theſaurum bipartitum*, " &c. or, *A Treatiſe of the* Latin *Tongue, in two parts: the firſt conſiſting of* " Nizolius's *Collections from* Cicero *only: the ſecond, extracted from ſeveral* " *other Authors, containing and copiouſly explaining the terms made uſe of by* " *the moſt approved* orators, hiſtorians, lawyers, phyſicians, *and* poets; " *with rules for expreſſing them grammatically.*" Much of this latter part was undoubtedly borrowed from *Stephens*.

To return to *Nizolius*; our Editors obſerve, that, whether through his own modeſty or ill-fortune, it happens that we have hardly any memoirs of him, and that very few particulars relating to him have been handed down to poſterity. It appears indeed that he was happy in the friendſhip of ſome very conſiderable perſons, whoſe bounty relieved the domeſtick poverty he ſeems by his own expreſſions to have laboured under.

Our Editors take notice of a book of his, " *De veris principiis & veræ* " *ratione philoſophandi, &c.* printed at *Parma*, 1553." He likewiſe tranſlated *Galen's* Explanation of the obſolete words in *Hippocrates*, which was publiſhed with the works of *Galen* 1550. The *Theſaurum Ciceronianum* was his maſter-piece; but even that is now in no eſteem with the Learned, who think it never was anſwerable to the time and pains he profeſſes to have expended in the compoſing of it.

The laſt of all thoſe that precede the immortal *Stephens* in the rank of Lexicographers is *Baſilius Zanchius* of *Bergamo*. He has a title to this character,

character, both as he contributed to *Nizolius's* Obſervations on *Cicero*, and as he added a great collection of words to *Calepin*, gathered from ſome of the beſt and pureſt authors. He was a canon of the order of *Lateran*, and reſided for almoſt the whole of his life at *Rome*, beloved and honoured by the *literati* of that city, which at that time were more than ordinarily numerous and eminent. He wrote Obſervations on all the books of Scripture, which were printed in 8vo at *Cologn* 1602; and Queſtions on the four books of *Kings* and two of *Chronicles*, which he extracted chiefly from the works of *Theodoret:* likewiſe a Treaſury of *Latin* Epithets, and ſome ſacred Poems very much eſteemed, eſpecially the *Hortus Sophiæ*, in heroic verſe, inſcribed to cardinal *Bembo*. He was made keeper of the *Vatican* Library; filled that poſt with dignity and applauſe; and died at *Rome* in 1560.

*** The Critics, from whom I have extracted this curious account of the early Lexicographers, promiſed a continuation of it. As that promiſe was never performed, I ſhall ſupply the deficiency with an account of *R. Stephens* and his family, and bring down the hiſtory of Lexicons by an abſtract from the Preface of Mr. *Ainſworth*. *J. N.*

N° VII.

ABRIDGEMENT OF MAITTAIRE'S "VITÆ STEPHANORUM."

From THE BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY, 1762, 8vo.

THE name of STEPHENS is greatly reverenced in the Republic of Letters, and with good reaſon; ſince to this family it is indebted for the moſt correct and beautiful impreſſions of the beſt authors, the ancient *Greek* ones particularly.

Henry Stephens, the firſt diſtinguiſhed perſon of his name, was a *Frenchman*, and one of the beſt printers of his time. He died in the year 1520, and left three ſons behind him, who carried the art of printing to perfection; and were, two of them at leaſt, very extraordinary men, excluſively of their profeſſional merit.

Robert, his ſecond ſon, was born at *Paris* in 1503; and applied ſo ſeverely to letters in his youth, that he acquired a perfect knowledge in

the *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew* tongues. His father dying, as we have ſaid, in 1520, his mother was married the year after to *Simon de Colines*, in Latin *Colinæus*; who by this means came into the poſſeſſion of *Henry Stephens's* printing-houſe, carried on the buſineſs till his death in 1547, and is well known for the neatneſs and beauty of his *Italic* character. In 1522, when he was nineteen years of age, he was charged with the management of his father-in-law's preſs; and the ſame year came out, under his inſpection, a New Teſtament in *Latin*, which gave ſuch offence to the *Paris* Divines, that they threatened to have it burned, and him baniſhed. He appears to have married, and to have ſet-up for himſelf, ſoon after; for there are books of his printing dated ſo early as 1526. He married *Perrete*, the daughter of *Badius*, a printer; who was a learned woman, and underſtood *Latin* well. She had, indeed, more occaſion for this accompliſhment than wives uſually have: for *Robert Stephens* had always in his houſe ten or twelve correctors of his preſs, who, being learned men of different nations, ſpoke nothing but *Latin*; from whence there was a neceſſity that his domeſtics ſhould know ſomething of the language. He reſolved from the beginning to print nothing but good books: he only uſed the *Roman* characters at firſt, but afterwards employed the *Italic*. His mark was a tree branched, and a man looking upon it, with theſe words, *noli altum ſapere*, to which he ſometimes added *ſed time*. In ſome of his firſt editions, he did not uſe figures and catch-words, as thinking them of little importance. In 1539, *Francis* I. named him his printer; and ordered a new ſet of letters to be founded, and ancient manuſcripts to be ſought after, for him. The averſion which the doctors of the *Sorbonne* had conceived againſt him, on account of the *Latin* New Teſtament in 1522, revived in 1532, when he printed his great *Latin* Bible: *Francis* protected him; but this king dying in 1547, he ſaw plainly that there was no more good to be done at *Paris*; and therefore, after ſuſtaining the efforts of his enemies till 1552, he withdrew from thence to *Geneva*. It has been pretended by ſome that *Robert Stephens* carried with him not only the types of the royal preſs, but alſo the matrices, or moulds, thoſe types were caſt in: but this cannot be true, not only becauſe no mention was made of any ſuch thing for above ſixty years after, but becauſe none of the *Stephens's* afterwards ever uſed theſe types: and if *Robert* was burned in effigy at *Paris*, as *Beza*

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in his *Icones* relates, it was not for this, but for his embracing Calviniſm at *Geneva*, of which he was ſuſpected before he left *Paris*. He lived in intimacy at *Geneva* with *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Rivet*, and others, whoſe works he printed, and died there the 7th of *September* 1559. This eminent artiſt was ſo exact and ſolicitous after perfection, that, in a noble contempt of gain, he uſed to expoſe his proofs to public view, with offer of a reward to thoſe who ſhould diſcover any faults: ſo that it is no wonder his impreſſions ſhould be as correct as beautiful. He was, like the reſt of his family, not only a printer, but a writer: his *Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ* is a work of immenſe learning, as well as labour; and he publiſhed alſo in 1552, when he went to *Geneva*, a *Latin* piece, in anſwer to the *Paris* divines, who had abuſed his *Latin* editions of the Old and New Teſtament, which ſhews his parts as well as learning. He left his ſubſtance, which was very conſiderable, to ſuch of his children as ſhould come to *Geneva*, excluſively of the reſt. He had a daughter who underſtood *Latin* well, which ſhe had learned by hearing it talked in her father's family; and three ſons, *Henry*, *Robert*, and *Francis*. But, before we take any notice of theſe, we muſt ſay a word or two of his brothers, *Francis* and *Charles*.

Francis, older than himſelf, we know no more of, than that he worked jointly with his father-in-law *Colinæus*, after *Robert* had left him; and that he died at *Paris* about the year 1550. *Charles*, his younger brother, though more conſiderable than *Francis*, was yet inferior to himſelf both as a printer and a ſcholar: nevertheleſs, *Charles* wrote and printed many uſeful and valuable works. He was born about the year 1504, and became ſo perfectly ſkilled in *Greek* and *Latin* literature, that *Lazarus de Baif* took him for preceptor to his ſon *Antony*, and afterwards carried him with him into *Germany*. He ſtudied phyſic, and took a doctor's degree at *Paris*; but this did not hinder him from following the profeſſion of his father, and being printer to the king. In the mean time, he was more of an author than a printer; having written upwards of thirty works upon various ſubjects. He died at *Paris* in 1564, leaving behind him a very learned daughter.

Henry, *Robert*, and *Francis*, the ſons of *Robert*, make the third generation of the *Stephens's*, and were all printers. It is neceſſary to be ſomewhat particular about *Henry*. He was born at *Paris* in 1528; and, being

moſt carefully educated by his father, became the moſt learned of all his learned family. He was particularly ſkilled in the *Greek* language, which he conceived a fondneſs for from his infancy, ſtudied afterwards under *Turnebus* and the beſt maſters, and became at length ſo perfect in, as to paſs for the beſt *Grecian* in *Europe*, after the death of *Budæus*. He had alſo a ſtrong paſſion for poetry, while he was yet a child, which he cultivated all his life; and gave in his tendereſt years ſo many proofs of uncommon abilities, that he has always been ranked among the *celebres enfans*. He had a violent propenſity to aſtrology in the younger part of his life, and procured a maſter in that way; but ſoon perceived the vanity of it, and laid it aſide. It ſeems to have been about the year 1546, when his father took him into buſineſs: yet, before he could think of fixing, he reſolved to travel into foreign countries, to examine libraries, and to connect himſelf with learned men. He went into *Italy* in 1547, and ſtaid there two years; and returned to *Paris* in 1549, when he ſubjoined ſome *Greek* verſes, made in his youth, to a folio edition of the New Teſtament in *Greek*, which his father had juſt finiſhed. In 1550, he went over to *England*; and in 1551 to *Flanders*, where he learned the *Spaniſh* tongue of the *Spaniards*, who then poſſeſſed thoſe countries, as he had before learned the *Italian* in *Italy*. On his return to *Paris*, he found his father preparing to leave *France:* we do not know whether he accompanied him to *Geneva*; but, if he did, it is certain that he returned immediately after to *Paris*, and ſet up a printing-houſe. In 1554, he went to *Rome*, viſiting his father at *Geneva* as he went, and the year after to *Naples*; and returned to *Paris*, by the way of *Venice*, in 1556. This was upon buſineſs committed to him by the government. Then he ſat down to printing in good earneſt, and never left off till he had given the world the moſt beautiful and correct editions of all the ancient *Greek* and other valuable writers. He called himſelf at firſt printer of *Paris*; but, in 1558, took the title of printer to *Ulric Fugger*, a very rich *German*, who allowed him a conſiderable penſion. He was at *Geneva* in 1558, to ſee his father, who died the year after; and he married in 1560. *Henry* III. of *France* was very fond of *Stephens*, ſent him to *Switzerland* in ſearch of manuſcripts, and gave him a penſion. He took him to court, and made him great promiſes: but the troubles, which accompanied the latter part of this king's reign, not only occaſioned *Ste-*

phens

phens to be disappointed, but made his situation in *France* so dangerous, that he thought it but prudent to remove, as his father had done before him, to *Geneva*. Notwithstanding all his excellent labours, and the infinite obligations due to him from the public, he is said to have become poor in his old age; the cause of which is thus related by several authors. *Stephens* had been at vast expence, as well as labour, in compiling and printing his *Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ:* so much, in short, that, without proper reimbursements from the public, he and his family must be inevitably ruined. These reimbursements, however, were never made; for his servant, *John Scapula*, extracted from this treasure what he thought would be most necessary, and of greatest use, to the generality of students, and published a Lexicon in 4to, under his own name, which has since been enlarged and printed often in folio. By this act of treachery he destroyed the sale, though he could not destroy the credit, of the *Thesaurus*; and, though he ruined his master, left him the glory of a work, which was then pronounced by *Scaliger*, and has ever been judged by all learned men, most excellent *. He died in 1598, leaving a son *Paul* and two daughters; one

* I am in this place tempted to subjoin an anonymous letter to the latest Editors of the *Thesaurus:*

" Clarissimis Rob. Stephani Thesauri Editoribus, Salutem.

" Quis sim, sciri paulum interest; non certè meâ, qui innotescere non percupio; " minimè omnium, vestrâ, Viri Clarissimi, quibus notissimis quid ex usu fuerit nósse ig- " nobilem? Quid autem velim, breviter expediam. Non potui me continere, quin " vobis, quas gratias nemo literatus non fatebitur se debere, ego quoque, particula " quantulacunque literariæ Reipublicæ perexigua, agerem: & gratularer, quod opus " illud grande, consilio laudabili susceptum, magnâ laboris pertinaciâ continuatum, ad " exitum tandem omnium votis respondurum pervenerit. Ex quo Romanus sermo desiit " esse vernaculus, illius linguæ cultores, qui puram dictionis elegantiam studuerunt (& " pauci admodum potuerunt, & etiamnum possunt) assequi, coacti sunt cum mortuis " versari, frequentémque cum authorum veterum scriptis familiaritatem inire, & eorum " imitationi paulatim assuescere. Cùm autem id pensum requireret multum operæ mag- " námque memoriæ vim; Dictionariorum usus introductus est, ut illam minueret, hanc " sublevaret. Non longè ab Artis Typographicæ initiis, primum Lexicon prodiit in " lucem. Deinceps, literis incrementum capientibus, exorti sunt qui huic studiorum " generi excolendo manus feliciter admoverunt. Verùm omnibus palmam præripuit " Robertus Stephanus: qui, postquam in perficiendo operis instituti, quod anno " 1532 propositerat, tentamine decennium exegisset, anno 1543 orbem literatum The- " sauro suo donavit: in quem Latinæ linguæ opes undecunque conquisitas recondi- " dit; novóque ordinis artificio tam commodè dispositit, ut, cùm nihil utilius posset " excogitari, multi postea in Lexicis contexendis eandem rationem servare voluerint.

" Actum

one of which, named *Florence*, had eſpouſed the learned *Iſaac Caſaubon* in *April* 1586. He was the moſt learned printer that had then been, or perhaps ever will be: all his *Greek* authors are moſt correctly printed; and the *Latin* verſions, which he gave to ſome of them, are, as *Caſaubon* and *Huetius* have ſaid, very faithful. The chief authors of antiquity, printed by him, are *Anacreon*, *Æſchylus*, *Maximus Tyrius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pindar*, *Xenophon*, *Thucydides*. *Herodotus*, *Sophocles*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Plutarch*, *Plato*, *Apollonius Rhodius*, *Æſchines*, *Lyſias*, *Callimachus*, *Theocritus*, *Herodian*, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, *Dion. Caſſius*, *Iſocrates*, *Appian*, *Xiphilin*, &c. He did not meddle ſo much with *Latin* authors, although he printed ſome of them; as *Horace* and *Virgil*, which he illuſtrated with notes and a commentary of his own; *Tully's* familiar epiſtles, and the epiſtles and panegyric of the younger *Pliny*. But he was not content with printing the works of others: he wrote alſo a great many things himſelf. His *Theſaurus Græcæ Linguæ* has been mentioned: another piece, which made him very famous, was his *Introduction à l'Apologie pour Herodote*. This ran through many editions, and is a very ſevere ſatire upon popery and its profeſſors.

Paul Stephens, the ſon of *Henry*, though inferior to his father, was yet well ſkilled in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. His father was more ſolicitous about his being inſtructed in theſe, than in the art of printing. He carried on the buſineſs of a printer for ſome time at *Geneva*; but his preſs had greatly degenerated from the beauty of that at *Paris*, and he afterwards ſold his types to *Chouet*, a printer. He died at *Geneva* in 1627, aged 60 years, leaving a ſon *Antony*, who was the laſt printer of the *Ste-*

" Actum agerem, ſi Roberti Stephani laudes poſt Thuanum proſequerer. Annis " deinde haud paucis elapſis, Theſaurum illius recudere & locupletare aggreſſi ſunt " Lugdunenſes; quos ſua lucri ſpes minimè fefellit. Eorum editioni defuit neque laus " neque pretium. Si cui tamen libeat & vacet illam ſubacto judicio propiùs examinare, " erit nonnunquam, ubi in mentem veniat proverbium, *Theſaurus Carbones*. Id vos " non fugit, Viri Doctiſſimi. Quum enim in animo haberetis Roberti Stephani Theſau- " rum luci redonare, & (nequid in re tanti momenti deſideraretur) neceſſe eſſet evol- " vere, quid alii præſtiterint, præſertim Lugdunenſes; tot in horum editione animad- " vertiſtis menda, ut in iis corrigendis poni oporteret operam, ferè qualem Hercules in " ſtabulo Augiæ repurgando inſumpſerat. Poſt editionem à Rob. Stephano ſini'am, " nihil prodiit ad uſus literarios magis neceſſarium; nihil magis operoſum attentiore " diligentiâ, nihil grandius elegantiore cultu, elaboratum eſt. Ille nunc Theſaurus " preciofiſſimus novam ſéque dignam induit formam: & illius Author (ſi ad ſuperos " daretur defunctis reditus) optaverit reviviſcere; ut ſuum opus tanto eum honore, cum " tantâ bonæ frugis acceſſione, redivivum contemplandi voluptate frueretur. Valete, " 1735, 5 Id. Aprilis."—This letter I ſuſpect to be *Maittaire's*. J. N.

phens's. *Antony*, quitting the religion of his father for that of his anceſtors, quitted alſo *Geneva*, and returned to *Paris*, the place of their original. Here he was ſome time printer to the king; but, managing his affairs ill, he was obliged to give all up, and to have recourſe to an hoſpital, where he died in extreme miſery and blindneſs in 1674, aged eighty years. Such was the end of the illuſtrious family of *Stephens*, after it had flouriſhed for five generations; and had done great honour to itſelf, by doing incredible ſervice to the Republic of Letters.

N° VIII.

*A ſhort Review * of the ſeveral* DICTIONARIES *that have been publiſhed, with a view to promote the Knowledge of the* Latin *and* Engliſh *Tongues; extracted from Mr.* AINSWORTH'S *Preface to the firſt Edition of his* Latin *Dictionary*, 1736.

PRomptorium *parvulorum ſive clericorum*, printed by *Richard Pynſon* in the year MCCCCXCIX, in *folio*, is the firſt book of this ſort I have ever met with. This conſiſteth only of one part, which exhibiteth the *Engliſh* words before the *Latin*, being deſtitute both of the *Latin* and hiſtorical parts. But theſe defects were in part ſupplied by

Ortus

* I the rather chooſe to reprint this curious article, as it is omitted in all the later editions of Mr. *Ainſworth's* Dictionary. To preſerve the chain of connexion, I ſhall annex the names of ſuch Lexicographers as occur between the time of *R. Stephens's* publication and the firſt of thoſe mentioned by *Ainſworth*.

Three editions of his *Theſaurus* were publiſhed by *R. Stephens* himſelf; in 1531, 1536, and 1543. Two others were undertaken whilſt he was living: one of them in 1545 † by *Theodoſius Trebellius*, intituled, *Promptuarium Linguæ Latinæ*; another in 1551 by *Marius Nizolius*; and a third, increaſed in bulk but not in value, by *Philip Tinghyus*, a native of *Florence*, in four volumes, *Lugd. Bat.* 1573.

Cælius Secundus Curio, an *Italian*, born in 1503, being perſecuted for his religious ſentiments, was driven to *Baſil*, where he ſettled, was for more than two-and-twenty years a very celebrated orator, and died in 1569. He employed himſelf for a conſiderable time in correcting a work which came out in 1576, long after his death, under the title of *Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ, ſive Forum Romanum*, in three volumes, folio.

† The "Commentarii *Latinæ* Linguæ, 1545," by *Stephen Doletus*, an able *French* printer, 2 volumes in 4to, which are founded on the *Theſaurus*, may here be properly mentioned.

Beyond

Ortus vocabulorum, alphabetico ordine fere omnia, quæ in Catholico, Brevilogu[s], Cornucopia, Gemma vocabulorum, atque Medulla grammaticæ ponuntur, cum vernaculæ linguæ Anglicanæ expoſitione, continens, printed by *Wynkyn de Worde* in the year MDXXVI, in *quarto*. This is compiled in two diſtinct alphabetical parts, in the former of which the *Latin* words are placed before their explications in *Engliſh*, in the latter the *Engliſh* words are put before the *Latin*. The declenſions and genders of *Latin* nouns, as well as the conjugations and preterperfect tenſes of the verbs, are ſet down very particularly, both in the dictionary before mentioned, and in the *Engliſh* part of this work.

The *Vulgaria Roberti Whitintoni Lichfeldienſis* printed in MDXXV, *Vulgaria Stanbrigi* in MDXXIX, and *Vocabula magiſtri Stanbrigii* in MDXXXI, ſcarcely deſerve to be mentioned in this place, being rather a ſort of vocabularies than dictionaries of the *Latin* and *Engliſh* tongues.

Thomas Elyot alſo obliged our countrymen with the publication of a *Latin* and *Engliſh* dictionary, printed at *London* in the year MDXLII, in *folio*, with the title of *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*, which ſeemeth to be much more copious than any of the former. This author was born of a knightly family in *Suffolk*, received part of his education at *Oxford*, then travelled beyond the ſeas, and on his return was introduced to court. King *Henry* VIII. finding him to be a perſon of good parts, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, and employed him in certain embaſſies beyond the ſeas, particularly to *Rome* about the divorce of queen *Katherine*, and afterwards to the emperor *Charles* V, during which laſt his great friend and chrony Sir *Thomas More* was beheaded. He died in *March* MDXLVI, and was buried at *Carleton* in the county of *Cambridge*. But the Editors of the late

Beyond theſe, I ſhall content myſelf with mentioning *Marcus Frid. Windelinus*, who publiſhed a *Medulla Latinitatis*; *John Fungerus Friſius*, who compiled a *Dictionarium Latino-Germanicum*, which has paſſed through two or more editions; *M. Martinius*, *J. Norwegus Heſſus*, and *John Gerard Voſſius*: who are all commended by the Editors of *R. Stephens*, for their ſkill in etymology.

Robert Conſtantinus and *Joſephus Laurentius* are alſo mentioned in very high terms, for their abilities in explaining the *Voces abſtruſiores*; and *G. Matthias Kœnigius*, for having collected, in his *Gazophylacium Latinitatis*, a great number of words which were to be met with in no preceding collection. *Peter Daſypodius* was compiler of a Dictionary in common uſe in *Germany*; *Morell*, *Gaudinus*, and *Petrus Danetus*, were the Lexicographers of *France*: thoſe of our own country Mr. *Ainſworth's* Summary will faithfully explain. *J. N.*

edition

edition of *Stephens's Latin Theſaurus*, for what reaſon I know not, ſay that *Elyot* was *primus qui has literas inter nos profeſſus eſt*. Præf. p. 20.

Thomas Cooper, being ſenſible of ſeveral defects in the dictionary publiſhed by Sir *Thomas Elyot*, took no ſmall pains in improving it; for, beſides giving a much fuller account of the different ſenſes of the *Latin* words, *he added* 33000 *words and phraſes: the materials, for the moſt part, being taken from* Robert Stephens's Theſaurus, *and* John Friſius's *Latin and German dictionary*, ſaith *Anthony Wood* in the ſecond edition of his *Athenæ Oxonienſes* in MDCCXXI. This work paſſed through ſeveral editions: the firſt was at *London* in MDLII, which ſtill retained the name of *Elyot*; but it was afterwards reprinted with large improvements in MDLXV, with the title of *Theſaurus Linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ*, &c. and again in MDLXXVIII, as alſo in MDLXXXIV, which laſt is eſteemed the beſt. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that both *Elyot's* and *Cooper's* dictionaries want the *Engliſh* part proper to aſſiſt younger ſcholars in tranſlating *Engliſh* into *Latin*, though they have the hiſtorical and poetical part. This reverend author was born at *Oxford*, and afterwards elected into a fellowſhip of *Magdalen* College there. Queen *Elizabeth* had ſo great an eſteem for him, on account of the ſervice he had done to learning by the publication of this uſeful work, that ſhe promoted him to the deanry of *Glouceſter* in MDLXIX; to the biſhoprick of *Lincoln* in MDLXX; and to that of *Wincheſter* in MDLXXXIV, where he ended his days 29 *April* MDXCIV.

Barret's Alvearie, or quadruple dictionary in *Engliſh*, *Latin*, *Greek*, and *French*, was printed at *London* in the year MDLXXX, in *folio*. The author of this work having been employed ſeveral years in the inſtruction of youth, and obſerving the *Latin* dictionaries of his times to be very defective in giving proper aſſiſtance to younger ſtudents, chiefly for tranſlating *Engliſh* into *Latin*, made a large collection both of words and phraſes out of the claſſic authors to ſupply their defects in this particular, with a deſign to publiſh them to the world; but, being prevented by death, this work was afterwards publiſhed by a friend of the author. As this hath gone through but one impreſſion, ſo far as I can find, I need ſay no more of it, than that it ſeemeth to be a valuable performance for thoſe times.

Thomas Thomaſius, who was for ſome years printer to the univerſity of *Cambridge*, and died 9 *Aug.* MDLXXXV, publiſhed alſo a *Latin* and *Engliſh*

dictionary, in *quarto*; which met with ſo favourable a reception, that it *underwent five impreſſions in the ſpace of eight years, and bore in all fourteen impreſſions*, ſay the editors of the laſt edition of *Stephens's Theſaurus*. I have not been able to procure a ſight of the firſt edition of *Thomaſius*, and therefore can neither determine the preciſe time of its firſt appearance in the world, nor aſcertain the number of its parts when firſt publiſhed; but that ſome diſtinct parts were added to the following editions, will evidently appear by a recital of part of the title to the tenth edition thereof in MDCXV, printed by *Legat*, who ſucceeded him as printer to the ſaid univerſity: *Huic etiam (præter dictionarium hiſtoricum & poeticum, ad prophanas hiſtorias poëtarumque fabulas intelligendas valde neceſſarium) noviſſime acceſſit utiliſſimus de ponderum, menſurarum, & monetarum veterum reductione ad ea quæ ſunt Anglis jam in uſu, tractatus. Decima editio ſuperioribus cum Græcarum dictionum, tum earundem primitivorum adjectione, multo auctior. Cui demum adjectum eſt ſupplementum, authore Ph. Hollando, med. doctore, nova aliquot dictionum millia complectens; una cum novo Anglo-Latino dictionario.* Hence we may obſerve, that how imperfect ſoever the former editions of this book were, yet this conſiſted of the three chief parts, into which moſt of the *Latin* and *Engliſh* dictionaries publiſhed ſince that time have been divided.

Philemon Holland, who made the ſaid ſupplement to *Thomaſius's* dictionary, was born at *Chelmsford* towards the latter end of the reign of king *Edward* VI. educated in *Trinity* College, *Cambridge*; was afterwards, for about twenty years, maſter of the free-ſchool at *Coventry*, after that practiſed phyſic in the ſame county, and departed this life 9 *Febr.* MDCXXXVI. This ſupplement is printed diſtinctly from the other parts of that book, and called *Paralipomena*, as containing ſuch *Latin* words as the doctor had gleaned from claſſic and other *Latin* authors, and were omitted by *Thomaſius*.

John Rider, born at *Carrington* in *Cheſhire*, educated in *Jeſus* College *Oxford*, for ſome time miniſter of *St. Magdalen Bermondſey* in *Southwark*, then rector of *Winwick* in *Lancaſhire*, and promoted to the biſhoprick of *Killaloe* in *Ireland* in the year MDCXII, where he continued to his death, which was in MDCXXXII, publiſhed a dictionary, *Engliſh* and *Latin*, and *Latin* and *Engliſh*, at *Oxford* in MDLXXXIX, in a large thick *quarto*. *This*,

ſaith *A. Wood*, *was the firſt dictionary that had the* Engliſh *before the* Latin, *epitomizing the learnedeſt and choiceſt dictionaries that were then extant, and was beheld as the beſt that was then in uſe; but that part of it, which had the* Latin *before the* Engliſh, *was ſwallowed up by the greater attempts of* Francis Holyoake. But that Mr. *Wood* was miſtaken in this caſe, if he meaneth that *Rider's* dictionary was the firſt which conſiſted of an *Engliſh* and *Latin* part, as well as of the *Latin* and *Engliſh*, plainly appeareth by what is ſaid before in my account of the *Promptorium*, as well as of the *Ortus vocabulorum*; though, ſo far as I can find, *Rider's* was the firſt *Latin* dictionary in which the *Engliſh* part was placed at the beginning of the book before the *Latin* part.

Francis Holyoake, who was born at *Nether Whitacre* in *Warwickſhire*, educated in *Queen's* College at *Oxford*, afterwards kept a ſchool in his own country, and was made rector of *Southam* there in MDCIV, took conſiderable pains in reviſing, correcting, and augmenting what *Rider* had publiſhed, eſpecially with regard to the etymological part: this was firſt printed at *London* in MDCVI, in *quarto*, and was afterwards reprinted ſeveral times with enlargements. He died 12 *Nov.* MDCXXXII.

Thomas Holyoake, his ſon, who was born at *Stony Thorp*, near *Southam* before mentioned, educated in *Queen's* College *Oxford*, was rector of *Whitnaſh* in *Warwickſhire*, and prebendary of the collegiate church of *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordſhire*, made very large additions to the dictionary publiſhed by his father, with a deſign to print them in a new edition; but dying 10 *June* MDCLXXV, the ſame was publiſhed by his ſon *Charles*, of the *Inner Temple*, *London*, in a large and well printed *folio*, in MDCLXXVII.

Nicolas Grey likewiſe made ſome additions to *Rider*, which were ſeveral times printed at *London*, ſaith *A. Wood*; but the ſame author owneth himſelf at a loſs as to the time of its firſt publication, and addeth, *that a ſecond or third edition of* Holyoake's *coming out prevented, as it is ſaid, the further publication of it.* This gentleman was born in *London*, elected ſtudent of *Chriſt Church*, *Oxford*, from *Weſtminſter* School, in the year MDCVI, and was afterwards the firſt maſter of the *Charterhouſe* School in *London*; but, after ſome years, marrying, againſt the ſtatutes of that houſe, the governors thereof diſcharged him from that employment, by preſenting him to the benefice of *Caſtle Camps* in *Cambridgeſhire*. In *January* MDCXXIV he was admitted

mitted chief maſter of *Merchant-Taylors* School in *London*, and in MDCXXXI chief maſter of *Eton*, out of which he was expelled in the time of the Civil Wars; but being reſtored on the return of king *Charles* II. he died at *Eton* towards the cloſe of the year MDCLX, and was buried in the chapel there.

Chriſtopher Waſe, fellow of *King's* College in *Cambridge*, and afterwards ſuperior beadle of law in *Oxford*, publiſhed likewiſe a *Latin* dictionary, the ſecond edition of which was printed in MDCLXXV. This is a compendium of *Calepine*; but *done with ſo much judgement*, ſaith Dr. *Littleton* in his *Latin* preface to his dictionary, *that one can hardly find any thing in it which ſavoureth of barbariſm.* However, it ſeemeth to be rather deſigned for the uſe of thoſe who have made ſome proficiency in the *Latin* tongue, than for ſuch as are only beginning to learn that language.

Francis Gouldman, who was educated in *Chriſt's* College in *Cambridge*, was for ſome time rector of *South Okendon* in *Eſſex*, and died in MDCLXXXIX, publiſhed alſo a *Latin* dictionary in *quarto*, in the year MDCLXIV, which was afterwards reprinted ſeveral times, and the *Cambridge* edition in MDCLXXIV much enlarged by *William Robertſon* *. But *Gouldman's* deſign, according to the account of Dr. *Littleton*, his ſucceſſor in this ſort of learning, was *rather to make new additions than to correct the former miſtakes*, or to throw out the many barbarous *Latin* words which had crept into the dictionaries then extant. For this reaſon,

Dr. *Adam Littleton* undertook to reform it; whoſe *greateſt aim*, as he tells the *Engliſh* reader in his preface, *was to carry the purity of the* Latin *tongue throughout, and not to take things or words upon truſt, ſo as to tranſcribe others miſtakes.* This was firſt publiſhed in *quarto* at *London* in MDCLXXVIII, and hath met with ſuch a general approbation, that the ſixth edition thereof was publiſhed but a few months ago. He was a miniſter's ſon, of an ancient and genteel family at *Weſtcot* in *Worceſterſhire*, elected ſtudent of *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford* in MDCXLVII, was ſometime an uſher in *Weſtminſter* School, and in MDCLVIII became ſecond maſter of the ſame. After the Reſtoration he was chaplain to king *Charles* II, rector of *Chelſea*, and ſubdean of *Weſtminſter*. He died in the beginning of *July*, MDCXCIV, and was buried in *Chelſea* Church.

* It was ſtill further enlarged, in 1678, by Dr. *Scattergood*. *J. N.*

The

The *Cambridge* dictionary in *quarto*, printed in MDCXCIII, with the title of *Linguæ Romanæ dictionarium luculentum novum*, is an improvement of *Littleton*, made by ſeveral perſons, whoſe names have been concealed from public knowledge. What plan the editors of this have proceeded upon may be learnt by their own preface; in which, after a grateful acknowledgement of the great aſſiſtance they had by the extraordinary pains of the reverend and learned Dr. *Littleton*, as to the *Engliſh Latin* part, they principally ſet forth, that they have inſerted ſeveral whole *claſſes* of words, which had been either omitted before, or were very lately introduced into our language; and that they have been more exact, more diſtinct and full, in noting the various ſignifications of verbs and nouns: that in the *Latin claſſic* they began their collection by a careful peruſal of ſeveral authors, as *Lucretius*, *Terence*, *Cæſar*, *Phædrus*, *Gratius*, *Petronius*, &c. ſome of whom, they obſerved, had ſcarce been named, or if ſometimes quoted, often to very little, and ſometimes to very bad purpoſes, in dictionaries of the ſame volume with theirs; that the ſecond edition of *Robert Stephens's Latin Theſaurus* lay always before them, and was conſtantly conſulted by them; that they likewiſe uſed a manuſcript collection in three large *folio's*, digeſted into an alphabetical order, made by Mr. *John Milton* out of all the beſt and pureſt *Roman* authors; and further, that the complete *indices* generally annexed to the *Dauphin* editions of moſt of the *Roman* writers had been very ſerviceable to them; that they had retrenched many far-fetched *etymons* in former dictionaries, had given a larger account of the conſtruction of verbs, had rejected all words and phraſes, whoſe authors were either not to be found, or, when found, appeared in ſo barbarous and uncouth a dreſs as made them very unfit company for *Tully*, *Cæſar*, &c. And, finally, had diſtinguiſhed the poetical *Latin* words by a *flower* † placed before them. *Thus far they.* Thoſe who are deſirous to have a more particular account of the difference between this dictionary and that publiſhed by Dr. *Littleton*, as to the *Engliſh* and *Latin* part, may ſatisfy their curioſity by the compariſon of a few ſheets of each; but it is very manifeſt that theſe editors have made very large and uſeful improvements in the letters L, M, N, O, and P, in the *Latin* claſſical part, and augmented or corrected what had been done by *Littleton* (though neither in ſo large nor careful a manner as under the aforeſaid letters) in moſt of the other parts of the work. The

improve-

improvements made under the aforeſaid letters, as alſo a large part of their title, as well as the preface, have been inſerted in the ſeveral editions of *Littleton* (except the laſt, which hath a new preface, and hath been otherwiſe ſomewhat altered) printed ſince the publication of this work at *Cambridge*; but the other parts of *Littleton* in general remain as they were when firſt publiſhed.

Eliſha Col.s publiſhed alſo a *Latin* and *Engliſh* dictionary in the year MDCLXXVII, deſigned chiefly for the uſe of ſcholars of a lower claſs. He hath indeed conſiderably enlarged the *Engliſh Latin* part, which containeth many more *Engliſh* words and phraſes than any *Latin* dictionary publiſhed before his time. But not a few of thoſe words are now intirely obſolete, many of them interpreted in a wrong ſenſe, and worſe tranſlated into *Latin*. And the *Latin Engliſh* part is very defective, both with regard to the ſeveral ſenſes of the *Latin* words, and the citation of the *Roman* writers proper to fix their authority. This work, however, being not half the price of Dr. *Littleton's*, hath gone through twelve impreſſions; the firſt whereof was printed in a ſmall *quarto*, and all the following in *octavo*. The author of this work was born in *Northamptonſhire*, entered into *Magdalen* College in *Oxford* in the year MDCLVIII, taught the languages to foreigners in the pariſh of *Covent Garden* in *London*, and was afterwards for ſome time an uſher in *Merchant Taylors* School; after which, on ſome default, being obliged to quit that employment, he went into *Ireland*, where he continued till his death; but of the preciſe time thereof I have not been able to get any certain information.

1736. R. AINSWORTH.

N° IX.

OF THE

DIFFERENT AGES RELATING TO THE PURITY OF THE LATIN TONGUE.

THOUGH the origin, growth, flouriſhing ſtate, and decay of the *Latin* tongue, may, in my opinion, be moſt properly repreſented by the different ages of man, as infancy, youth, manhood, and old age: yet, ſince thoſe periods of time have been more uſually diſtinguiſhed by metals

of

of greater or leſs fineneſs, as gold, ſilver, braſs, and iron; I chooſe to keep to the method of digeſting them preſcribed by others, rather than ſeem too fond of my own opinion, by introducing a new method of my own.

The *golden* age, in this caſe, is generally computed from the time of the ſecond *Punic* war to the latter end of the reign of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and comprehendeth the oldeſt authors in the *Latin* tongue now extant, excepting the fragments of *Livius Andronicus*. Though, for a conſiderable time after the commencement of this period, the language was but yet forming, and by gradual improvements afterwards arrived to its ſtate of perfection under *Auguſtus*.

The *ſilver* age is reckoned to have commenced on the death of *Auguſtus*, and continued to the end of *Trajan's* reign.

The *braſen* age began at the death of *Trajan*, and laſted till the time that *Rome* was taken by the *Goths*, about four hundred and ten years after the birth of *Chriſt*.

The *iron* age commenced from the ſacking of *Rome* before mentioned, after which the *Latin* tongue was very much neglected, and multitudes of barbarous words and forms of expreſſion introduced, to the great diſparagement of that noble language.

How rude and unpoliſhed this tongue was in its infant ſtate appeareth from hence, that the hymns of the Saliar prieſts, inſtituted by *Numa*, were ſcarcely underſtood by the prieſts themſelves, who were contemporary with the flouriſhing times, as *Fabius* telleth us, *Inſt. Orat.* i. 6. And the decemviral and pontifical laws had nothing of that beautiful diction which may be obſerved in the writings of the *Auguſtan* age.

Ennius the poet is alſo deſcribed by *Ovid*, *Triſt.* ii. 424, as *ingenio maximus, arte rudis*. And *Cæcilius* is ſaid by *Tully ad Att.* vii. 3, to be *malus Latinitatis auctor*.

But in after-times the *Romans* took great pains in poliſhing their native language; and even *Cæſar* himſelf, when otherwiſe engaged in buſineſs of great moment, writ a book relating to the ſpeaking of *Latin* accurately, and declareth therein, *verborum delectum originem eſſe eloquentiæ*, Cic. *de* Clar. orat. 72. *Cæſar*, *Cicero* the father of the *Roman* eloquence, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Varro*, *Salluſt*, and *Livy*, may juſtly be reckoned the greateſt writers

in

in profe; and *Plautus*, *Terence*, *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Ovid*, the greateſt poets; who all lived in the golden age.

Celſus, *Paterculus*, *Columella*, *Curtius*, *Tacitus*, *Pliny* the hiſtorian, *Suetonius*, and ſome other proſe writers, flouriſhed in the ſilver age; and *Perſius*, *Lucan*, *Silius Italicus*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Juvenal*, and *Martial*, among the poets; and the two *Seneca's* diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their writings on moral and other ſubjects.

Juſtin, *Ælius Spartianus*, with the other writers of the *Auguſtan* hiſtory; *Eutropius*, *Vegetius*, *Macrobius*, and *Aurelius Victor*, writers in proſe; *Nemeſianus*, *Auſonius*, *Prudentius*, and *Claudian*, poets; lived in the braſen age, and were a conſiderable ornament to it.

Though it is uſual to judge of the diction of the *Roman* writers by the age they lived in, yet that this may admit of ſome exceptions is evident from hence, that *Vitruvius*, who writ even in the *Auguſtan* age, ſinketh in ſome places far below the diction of his contemporaries; and the ſtyle of *Valerius Maximus*, the writers of the *Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Apuleius*, is much worſe than of ſome others who lived in their times; and yet ſeveral lawyers, as *Æmilius*, *Papinian*, *Ulpian*, and others, writ in a good *Latin* ſtyle under *Alexander Severus*; and even *Lactantius*, a Chriſtian, writ good *Latin* in the reign of *Conſtantine*, *Sulpitius Severus* in the time of *Honorius*, *Claudian* the poet in the time of *Severus*; yea and long after, under *Theodoric* the *Goth*, *Boethius*, a man of conſular dignity, wrote in ſo pure a *Roman* ſtyle, that, if we were ignorant of the age he lived in, we ſhould take him for a contemporary of *Cicero*.

In after-times the beauty of the *Latin* tongue declined very much, and many baſe words were introduced into the language, eſpecially by the eccleſiaſtic and phyſical writers, the uſe of which ought to be carefully avoided by all perſons ſtudious of writing in a good *Latin* ſtyle. The ſureſt way of obtaining which, is carefully to read, make obſervations upon, and imitate the pureſt *Latin* writers, eſpecially thoſe who come the neareſt to *Cicero*, to whoſe valuable writings this language is very much indebted.

*** *The Reader, it is hoped, will not be diſpleaſed with ſeeing theſe* PROPOSALS *in the Middle of a Book; though certainly in no other Manner connected with Mr.* BOWYER *than by having been produced from his Preſs. The valuable Work, however, having never appeared, and the Propoſals themſelves being grown exceedingly ſcarce*, the Editor of this Volume has thought proper to preſerve them as a Curioſity.*

PROPOSALS

FOR

Printing by Subſcription, in one Volume in *Folio*,

COLLECTIONS

FROM THE

MSS. of Dr. NATHANIEL JOHNSTON†,

RELATING TO

The ANTIQUITIES of the County of YORK.

*** Dr. Ducarel has one copy of them, and Mr. Brooke another. J. N.

† See the Hiſtory of theſe MSS. in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," under the article *Yorkſhire* (in the Index). J. N.

I. In the Method intended to be obſerved in this Volume, the Publiſher will begin the Work from the South, and South-Weſt Parts of the County, adjoining to the Counties of *Nottingham* and *Derby*, which will take in the Wapontakes of *Strafford* and *Tickhill*, and *Oſgoderoſs*, &c. in the Weſt Riding, and thence will proceed in due order through the whole.

II. This Volume containing great Variety of Draughts of Churches, Abbies and Monaſteries, Monuments, Arms, Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, *Roman* and *Saxon* Fortifications, *Roman* Altars, and Inſcriptions, Maps of the particular Wapontakes, with a general Map of the whole County, will make about 170 Sheets, to be printed on the ſame Paper and with the ſame Letter, as the Specimen annexed. [This was on a Genoa Demy, and in a Type one Size larger than theſe Conditions.]

III. The Copper Plates ſhall be engraven by the beſt Hands: Which by reaſon of their Number and Charge will make the Price of this Book to the Subſcribers two Guineas, one to be paid in hand, and the other upon the Delivery of a Book in Sheets, which ſhall be publiſhed with all poſſible expedition.

IV. The Names of the Subſcribers ſhall be printed, as Encouragers of the Work.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are taken in by the Editor, HENRY JOHNSTON, M.A. and Rector of *Whilton* in *Northamptonſhire*; and WILLIAM BOWYER *, Printer, in *White Friers, London.*

Received the Day of 172 the Sum of Guinea in Part for the firſt Volume of Dr. *Nath. Johnſton's Antiquities of Yorkſhire.* And I promiſe to deliver the ſaid Book in Sheets, when printed, upon Payment of the like Sum. I ſay received by me

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* It is probable that not a ſingle ſubſcription was received by Mr. *Bowyer*, as he was never paid for printing the Propoſals. J. N.

A S T O N.

THE Town ſtands pleaſantly, having an open Proſpect to the Weſt to *Cheſterfield* in *Derbyſhire*, and the Country adjoining. On the Eaſt is the Pariſh of *Todwick*; *Thorpe Salvaine*, South Eaſt; *Wales*, South; *Beighton*, Weſt; and *Treton*, North-Weſt.

The Hamletts within it are *Aghton* Weſt, half of *Ulley*, North-Weſt, and *Hardwich*. The Hall, or principal Manſion, ſtands on the Eaſt of the Town, adjoining to the Church. There have been three Parks, the old Park lying North, the new Park South-Weſt; which is in three Pariſhes, *viz. Aſton*, *Wales*, and *Treton*; but was diſparked ſome years ſince. The Honourable *Conyers D'Arcie*, Eſq; the ſecond Earl of *Holderneſs*, hath made the third Park, Eaſt from the Hall, with a noble Viſto through the Wood, ſo that *Todwick* Church may be ſeen.

In the Conqueror's Survey, the Town is reckoned among the Lands of *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter********. It is writ *Eſton*, being Eaſtward of *Beighton* and *Aghton*. In it *Lepes* had a Manor of 2 Carucates and 2 Bovates geldable, and there were then 2 Carucates which *Richard Surdus* held, and it had in it 5 Villaines, and one Sockman, with 2 Carucates. There was then a Church, and a Preſbyter, alſo a Wood fit for Paſture a League long, and half a League broad: In the time of King *Edward* it was worth 20*s.* and in the time of the Survey 8*s.* Doomſday-Book.

THE next Account I can find of this Place, is, that it was the Poſſeſſion of the Family *De Arches*, and held of *Thomas de Furnival*, and he of *Galfrid Luterell*. The firſt that I find of this Family, that was Owner of it, was *Oſbert de Arches*, who lived 20 *H.* 3. and if his Anceſtors were alſo Owners of it (as it is probable) then this following Pedigree will elucidate the Proprietors. 14 E. 2.

GILBERT DE ARCHES, teſtis Chartæ *Willielmi* filii *Bertrami Haget*; ubi concedit *Roberto le Vavaſor* dimid. caruc. in *Adyngham*, quond. *Gilb. de Arches*.

HENRICUS DE ARCHES frater *Gilberti* temp. *H.* 2. & 1° *Johannis*.

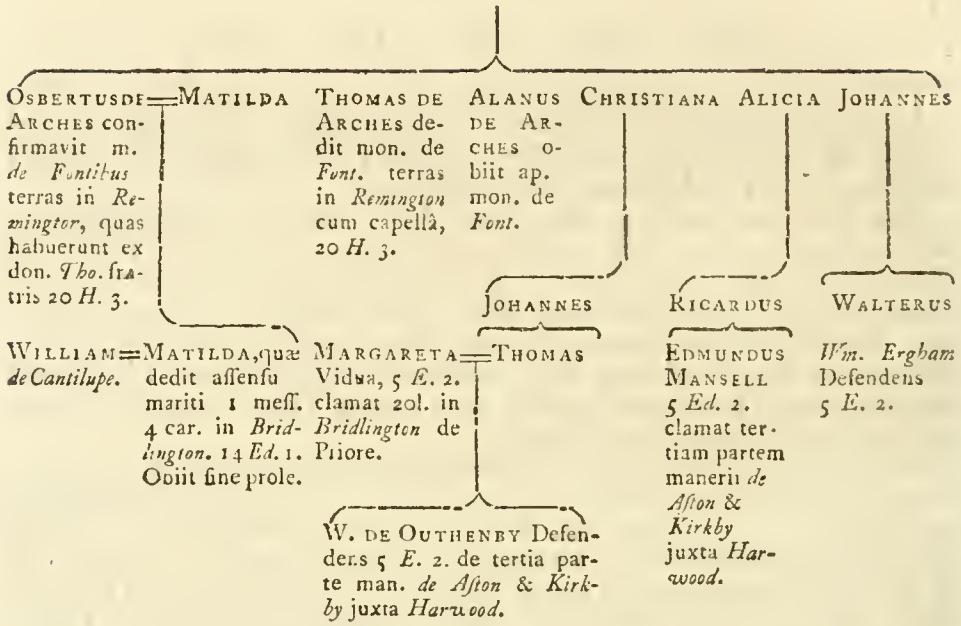
Dodſworth, 2. Collect.

PETRUS DE ARCHES

GULIELMUS filius *Petri de Arches*, teſtis cum *W.* Decano Ebor. & *Rogero Bavent*.

HENRICUS.

ALANUS DE ARCHES fil. *Willielmi* dedit terras 4° *Johannis* monaſt. de *Fontibus*.


Osbertus de Arches confirmavit m. de Fontibus terras in Remingtor, quas habuerunt ex don. Tho. fratris 20 H. 3.
Matilda
Thomas de Arches dedit mon. de Font. terras in Remington cum capellâ, 20 H. 3.
Alanus de Arches obiit ap. mon. de Font.
Christiana
Alicia
Johannes
Johannes
Ricardus
Walterus
William de Cantilupe.
Matilda, quæ dedit assensu mariti 1 mess. 4 car. in Bridlington. 14 Ed. 1. Obiit sine prole.
Margareta Vidua, 5 E. 2. clamat 20l. in Bridlington de Priore.
Thomas
Edmundus Mansell 5 Ed. 2. clamat tertiam partem manerii de Aston & Kirkby juxta Harwood.
Wm. Ergham Defendens 5 E. 2.
W. de Outhenby Defendens 5 E. 2. de tertia parte man. de Aston & Kirkby juxta Harwood.

Regist. Walteri Grey. Osbert *de Arches* is Patron of the Church of *Aston* 1253. 38 *Pontificat. Walteri Grey.*

Chart. 41 H. 3. m. 2. The King grants to *Osbert de Arches* Free Warren in all his Demesne Lands in *Eston* and *Kirkby*.

è Sca. 19 E. 1. r. 96. 19 E. 1. I find a Writ *ad quod dammum*, if the King grant Licence, to *Tho. Baudewin* to give 2 Oxgangs in *Aston* to the Abby of St. *Maries* in *York*.

Quo Warranto 21 E. 1. Rot. 24. Kirkby Inquisit. William *de Cantilupe* and *Emma* his Wife (perhaps *Matilda*), have an Enquiry concerning their Liberties in *Aston*, *Kirby*, *Ravensthorp*, *Balby* and *Thribergh*, 21 *E.* 1.

14 *E.* 2. *Thomas de Aubie*, alias *Authenby* and *William Cantilupe*, held a Knight's Fee thereof of *Thomas Furnival*, and he of *Galfred Luterel.*

Coll. Dodsworth. E. 1. 521. 17 *E.* 2. *William Marshall* of *Hardwich* (in *Aston* Parish) gives to Sir *Hardulph de Gasteneys*, i. e. *Wasteneys*, Knight, and *Sybilla* his Wife, all the Manor of *Aston* and *Tatewick*, i. e. *Todwick*, which he had in his seisin, *Teste Domino Edmundo de Gasteneys mil. W. fil. Greg. de Tatewyke.* I suppose this must be in trust, except this *Sibyl* were relict of some of the coheirs, from which coheirs by purchase it came to *William Melton* Archbishop of *York*: for 6 *E.* 2. I found *Thomas Outhenby* releaseth to the said Archbishop all his right in the Manor of *Aston* in *Morthing.*

Rot. 6 E. 3. m. 7. Of this *William Melton*, Archbishop, I shall first treat in general, and then more particularly. The Book of *Meaux Abby* gives a fair character of him, and Bishop *Goodwin* hath enlarged it out of other authors: I shall interweave both. The Book of *Meaux* thus. *Will. Greenfield* Archbishop of *York* died 1315. *William Melton*, Canon of the Church and Provost of *Beverley*, was consecrated by Pope *John* XXII. at *Avignon*, 1317.

Greenfield.

MR. BOWYER'S LETTER

TO

ROGER GALE, ESQUIRE;

Concerning an INSCRIPTION found at BATH, Auguſt 1736; and the Omiſſion of the Letter N in ſeveral Latin Words.

SIR, March 4, 1738.

I Have herewith ſent you my thoughts upon the Bath Inſcription, and am much obliged to you for the honour you do me in giving them a reading. I have got them tranſcribed by no very ſkilful hand; on which account you will pardon any inaccuracies in the copy, though I know I have more reaſon to apologize for the imperfections of the original.

If what I have ſent ſhould occaſion you again to turn over Schelius, De Caſtrametatione Romanorum, you'll perhaps with pleaſure obſerve an emendation in Manilius; which it is twenty to one Dr. Bentley takes, and, if we may judge from the accuſations againſt him, will ſcarcely own. I am, Sir, &c.

W. B.

L. VITELLIVS. MA	Lucius Vitellius Ma-
NIAL. L. F. ANCINVS	nialis, Lucii Filius, Ancinus,
CIVES. HISP. CAVRIESIS	Civis Hiſpanus Caurienſis †
EQ. ALAE. VETTONVM. C. R *	Eques Alæ Vettonum Civis Rom.
ANN. XXXXVI. STIP. XXVI	Annorum 46 Stipendiorum 26
H. S. E.	Hic ſitus eſt.

* The point between C and R occaſioned my thinking that they denoted two diſtinct words; but as there is no ſuch point in Mr. Ward and Mr. Bowyer's copy, I believe it is an error in this, and that C R ſignify CURATOR, as they read them. R. GALE.

† Caurium, hodie Coria in Caſtilia.

WHEN

WHEN we were favoured with Mr. Ward's reading of the Bath Inſcription of Vitellius, at the Antiquarian Society, I preſumed to ſuggeſt an Inſcription in Reineſius to confirm his conjecture of Alæ Vettonum CURATOR, where the ſame officer, I ſaid, was more determinately expreſſed. I ſaid ſo, indeed, upon no leſs authority than the great name I cited; which having ſince found reaſons to diſſent from, I am obliged, both in juſtice to you and myſelf, to lay them before you.

The Inſcription in Reineſius runs thus. Claſs II. 77.

L. AMEILIVS. L. F. LATINVS
AR. PRISCVS. EQVIT. ROM. CVI
JOVI CONSERVATORI CV
STODI. LVD. FECIT
TI. CLAVDIO. CAES. AVGVSTO. V̄
SERGIO. CORNELIO ORPHITO COS

Lucius Amelius Lucii filius Latinus
Arnienſis Priſcus Equitum Romanorum CVRATOR
Jovi Conſervatori Cu-
ſtodi Ludos fecit
Tiberio Claudio Cæſar Auguſto quintum
Sergio Cornelio Orphito, Conſulibus.

This officer, he ſays, is otherwiſe called *Curio Equitum Romanorum in Legione*; and to prove it refers to Gruter, p. DXLIIX. 8.

DIS MANIBVS
M. JVNIO CVRIONE
EQ. R. LEG. XXII. VIC *
TVR. VERISSIMI. VIXIT, &c.

This Inſcription at firſt view is ambiguous, ſince CVRIO may poſſibly be the name of a family, not of an office; and I think, from the reaſons I ſhall preſently offer, it muſt neceſſarily be ſo; and that Reineſius, by reading this Inſcription wrong, is miſtaken in his interpretation of both.

I don't ſay there was no ſuch office as *Curio Equitum Romanorum*; though this, at beſt, is an uncertain proof of it: we need not go out of the Æmilian family for a better.—V. Gruter, CCCXLVIII. 1.

* Victricis Turmæ.

L.

L. AEMILIO. L. F. PAP. ARCANO
TRI. MIL. LEG. XI. GEM. ET. TRIB
MIL. LEG. II. AVG. OMNIBVS. HO
NORIBVS. IN. AMPLISSIMVM
ORDINEM. AB. IM. CAES
HADRIANO. AVG. IIIIL. VIR
EQVITVM. ROMANORVM. CVRIONI
QVAESTORI VRBANO, &c.

From comparing the Inſcriptions on the two Æmilii, it is natural to ſupply the one from the other; to read therefore in the firſt CVRIO *Equitum Romanorum*, not with Reineſius CVRATOR, we ſhall ſoon find that this was a civil officer, not a military one; not, as Reineſius would have it, *Equitum Roman.* IN LEGIONE.

The proof of this depends upon ſome diſcoveries in the Hiſtory of the Roman Army firſt made by Schelius, in his admirable Comment upon Hyginus de Caſtramentatione Romanorum *; which, though publiſhed ſix or ſeven years before the death of Reineſius †, it is probable, from this and other circumſtances I ſhall hereafter mention, that great critic and antiquary had not the happineſs of ſeeing. Schelius has been ſeconded by Grævius in his Preface to the firſt volume of his Theſaurus, from both whom I will juſt lay before you as much as may ſerve for our preſent purpoſe.

From Romulus to the time of Marius, the Roman horſe conſiſted only of horſe who were of the *Ordo Equeſtris*, called ſo in diſtinction to the Senatorian Order in the city, and the infantry in the field; where again we find them equally diſtinguiſhed from the auxiliary horſe, which with the auxiliary foot made up the *Alæ*. Thus Livy, lib. xl. c. 40. *Alarii Equites poſtquam tam memorabile facinus Equitum Romanorum videre*, &c. See alſo xxxv. 5. After the Social War, the allies of Italy being incorporated in the city jointly with the original citizens, made up the legionary foot, and jointly with the *Externi* made up the cavalry of the *Alæ*. The legions ſtill conſiſted of citizens old and new; but the ſtated legionary horſe were laid aſide. We hear no more of *juſtus Legionis Equitatus*; and it is not likely that the

* Græv. Theſ tom. X. p. 1075.
† 1660. Reineſius died 1667. V. Fabric. Bibl. Lat.

Equites

Equites Romani, who before made a diſtinct body in the army, ſhould be indiſcriminately reckoned among the *Alæ*, ſince the privilege of knighthood (if I may ſo term it) was not enlarged to other nations, though that of citizenſhip was. This farther appears from the regulation made by Auguſtus, who, as Herodian * obſerves, eaſed Italy from the burthen of war; from which time, though the Prætorian and City Cohorts were raiſed near home, the Legions were collected chiefly from the provinces: the former called by Otho, in Tacitus †, *Italiæ alumnos & vere Romanum juventutem*; the latter by Hyginus, *Militia Provincialis fideliſſima*; but theſe *Equites Prætoriani*, though a more honourable Militia than the Alæ, did not conſiſt of Roman knights: theſe were ſtill of a higher diſtinction; and inſtead of ſerving, as Pliny ‡ ſays, *in turmis Equorum*, were either dignified at home with civil offices, or elſe with poſts of command in the army, which for that reaſon are ſtiled *Equeſtres Militiæ* by Suetonius §.

It muſt be owned there is ſome difficulty in accounting for thoſe paſſages in antient inſcriptions and hiſtorians that mention *Equites Legionis* in theſe latter times. Thus Tacitus, lib. i. 57. *Fabius Valens poſtero die cum Equitibus Legionis I. auxiliorumque coloniam Agrippinenſem ingreſſus Imperatorem Vitellium conſalutavit.* So again, lib. ii. *Dextra fronte prima Legio inceſſit cum duabus Vexillaribus Cohortibus & quingentis Equitibus: ſuper hos e Prætorio auxilii'que in lle Equites.*—It is probable, that as the legions ſtill conſiſted of citizens (*civitate donati*), any party of horſe, that were citizens likewiſe, were on that account and relation ſtiled *Equites Legionis*, to give them ſomewhat of an honourable diſtinction from the Auxiliaries: but whatever they were, it is enough for my purpoſe that they were not the ancient legionary horſe: their number here is different, as well as their quality; they are never ſtiled *Equites Romani*, that title being appropriated to the Roman knights only.—Allowing therefore Marcus Junius to be *Eques Romanus in Legione*, there could not be a body of that rank in the legion with a ſtated officer preſiding over them. There was no CVRIO *Equitum Romanorum in Legione* here, as Reineſius imagined, who has conſequently, as I ſaid, miſtaken the name of a family for that of an office; and, from this falſe proof, found out a military office in the other inſcription inſtead of a civil employment.

* Lib. ii. c. 11.
† Hiſt. lib. i. 84.
‡ Nat. Hiſt. xxxiii. 1.
§ Claud. c. xxv.

But

But to do further juſtice ſtill to this Marcus Junius Curio, as I may now call him, I would obſerve, that as this is the only inſcription in Gruter, perhaps the only inſtance in hiſtory, from the time of the emperors, of a Roman knight ſerving as a common trooper, I ſhould much ſuſpect that this has been ill copied, eſpecially ſince it has other marks of incorrectneſs. The letter P for Præfectus, or a T included in the letter L for Tribunus, would reſtore our knight to one of the Equeſtres Militiæ due to him and his order.

To conclude then as I began: what I have offered is not to leſſen the probability of Mr. Ward's ingenious reading of the Bath Inſcription, but only to remove from it a falſe ſupport. We have in one inſcription in Gruter CVRATOR VETERANORVM, and CVR. MIL. in another, which are foundation enough for reading in our *Equitum alæ Vettonum* CVRATOR.

II. But Reineſius ſtill ſuggeſts to us another reading, which may ſeem to deſerve the more regard, as he ſupports it from an inſcription found in the neighbourhood of this before us; and yet his interpretation of it has not, ſo far as I have ſeen, been taken notice of by any of our Antiquaries, though the inſcription has paſſed through the hands of ſeveral. The abbreviation of CR. may as well ſignify *Centurio* as *Curator**; and what objection is there to it, ſince, according to this author, there was a Centurion of horſe as well as of foot: this he endeavours to prove, againſt Hermannus Hugo, from various inſcriptions, and from one which ſeems the moſt full to his purpoſe found at Bath, which I will lay before you from Mr. Horſley's copy.

DIS MANIBVS
M. VALERIVS. M
FIL. LATINVS ŒQ.
MLES. LEG. XX. AN
XXXI. STIPEND. XX
H. S. E.

Mr. Camden, who firſt publiſhed it, reads *Cohortis Equitum Miles Legionis viceſſimæ*, which Dr. Muſgrave † changes, I know not why, into

* Syntag. Inſcrip. p. 16.

† Belg. Britan. p. 70.

Cohors Equitum Miles Legionis, &c. but as all the cohorts were denominated * either from their order in the legion, or, if they were independent of it, from the nation they conſiſted of, or from the perſon that collected them, all which are omitted here, both Mr. Camden's and Dr. Muſgrave's readings muſt be rejected.

We come then to Reineſius, who will have it *Centurio Equitum Miles Legionis* †. Mr. Horſley reads it to the ſame purpoſe, only ſomewhat worſe, *Centurio Eques Miles Legionis*; thus making a threefold inverted kind of gradation; the like to which, he ſays, appears in other inſcriptions, but he has not produced one ‡.

However, another obſervation of Schelius will overthrow both theſe readings effectually. The Equeſtrian Cohorts, as he proves from Hyginus and Vegetius, conſiſted both of horſe and foot, in one company of about 24 to 76, or 3 to 1; a proportion that is obſerved in the Acts of the Apoſtles, where the Tribunus Militum orders two Centurions to make ready 200 ſoldiers to go to Cæſarea, and horſemen threeſcore and ten: it is no wonder, then, theſe companies retained the name of Cohorts, ſince they conſiſted of foot chiefly; or that, as they were divided into *Centuriæ*, they were commanded by a Centurion: though therefore we have frequent inſtances of a *Centurio Cohortis Equeſtris*, they are of no authority to prove, as Reineſius ſuppoſes, that there was a *Centurio Equitum*.

The inſcription on Valerius Latinus had remained ſtill in the dark, had not the preface to Mr. Horſley's book ſtruck out a better conjecture than any hitherto produced, by reading the united letters Œ *Decurio Equitum*.

The point of honour indeed remains ſtill inverted, as well as the letter D; and one would have more naturally expected *Miles Legionis* XX *Decurio Equitum*, as in Gruter, p. CCCLV. 5.

C. ARRIO. C. F. COR. CLEMETI. MILITI. COH. IX. PR. EQVITI. COHORTIS. EJVSDEM.

But whether this decorum was always obſerved in inſcriptions, I muſt leave to others more verſed in them to determine.

* Cohortes ſingulæ ex quibus conſcriptæ vocabulo, item auctorum qui ſcripſiſſent, & ſi plures erant, ut Cohortes Legionariæ etiam numero diſtinguebantur. Schel. p. 1095, apud Grævium in Theſ. tom. X. Vide etiam p. 1092.

† The true reading ſeems to me, *Cohortis Equitatæ Miles*, &c. R. Gale.

‡ Cap. xxiii. ver. 3.

III.

III. One inſcription on Vitellius is as follows *:

L. VITELLIVS. MA
NIALI·F·TANCINVS ♁
CIVES ♁ HISP ♁ CAVRIESIS
EQ. ♁ ALAE. ♁ VETTONVM †. CR.
ANN. XXXVI. STIP. XXVI.
H. S. E.

It has recorded his country, as uſual in inſcriptions on ſoldiers. He was *Cives Cauriefis*. ¶ *Cives* for *Civis* is undoubtedly the orthography of the age in which the inſcription was written. Nouns, I imagine, of two genders (and ſuch were all thoſe which included both ſpecies), had originally in this declenſion two terminations; *is* maſculine, and *es* feminine. In time both terminations were uſed in ſome words indiſcriminately; and the maſculine or feminine were ſolely appropriated to others. Hence *apis*, and *apes*; *vulpis* and *vulpes*; *vallis* and *valles*. Servius ‡, obſerving theſe double terminations, makes one the *genuine* nominative, the other the *poetical*, introduced for the ſake of quantity; and ſays the genuine nominative is always diſtinguiſhed by the formation of the diminutive; that *valles* therefore is the true nominative, becauſe we have *vallecula*, not *vallicula*. I rather think, that time has preſerved only ſome of the diminutives, as well as originals, promiſcuouſly, as *apes*, *apis*, *apicula*; *vulpis*, *vulpes*, *vulpecula*, &c. It is enough for our purpoſe, that ſeveral words had two nominatives, and *cives* may be added to the number, as *plebei* from *plebes* in the Monumentum Ancyranum. The omiſſion of *n* in *Cauriefis* is another regular peculiarity, as was obſerved || before this Society, and has been elſewhere ſo learnedly proved §, that it needs no farther evidence; but ſtill,

* Reineſ. Claſſ. viii. 44, &c. † Vettones.

¶ The remainder of this letter is conſiderably enlarged (after having been collated with the original) from Mr. Bowyer's Preface to a Grammatical Treatiſe by Mr. Leedes, annexed to Kuſter "de vero uſu Verborum Mediorum, &c. 1773," p. 81.

‡ Metri neceſſitate compellimur, ut *vallis* dicamus. Statius: *Vallis in amplexu nemorum ſedet:* nam plenum eſt *valles*, ut nunc Virgilius poſuit, quod ita eſſe diminutio indicat: nam *vallecula*, ut *vulpes*, *vulpecula*, facit. Ergo in *es* vel in *is*, quando *uſurpative* aut quando *naturaliter* exeunt nomina, ſola diminutio indicat. Serv. in Virg. Æn. xi. 522.

|| By R. Gale. See before this Inſcription, the two copies differ in ſeveral particulars.

§ Dr. Muſgrave in Jnl. Vital. p. 57. Mr. Gale in Phil. Tranſ. N° 357. Abridgm. vol. V. par. ii. c. 2. p. 52. Edw. Llhwyd's Archæol. Brit. Tit. I. Obſ. 16.

I hope, I ſhall not be thought too officious if I add one or two obſervations, which can only, I confeſs, lay claim to your attention from their minuteneſs.

In the firſt place, I would obſerve, that it is probable the old Romans, in the infancy of their language, preſerved the ſound of the letter N * before S, becauſe it occurs ſo regularly in all their participles of the preſent tenſe, and is inſerted in many words which want it in the language from whence they were borrowed. That afterwards, however, the Romans dropped or ſoftened this ſound, as they grew more acquainted with the Grecians; and the ſeveral nations, which by degrees compoſed the Roman empire, fell more or leſs into this pronunciation, as it was more or leſs agrecable to their own reſpective languages. I will not pretend to trace out the various tongues that were ſpoken through Europe and Aſia, before the Roman conquerors introduced theirs: it is ſufficient to obſerve, that this pronunciation prevails among many of them to this day.

The Germans abound with N, and therefore retained it in the words they borrowed from the Romans; but the Italians, French, and Spaniards, very frequently omit it. Thus, agreeably to our inſcription, we learn from the Italians to ſay *Milaneſe*, *Genoueſe*, and the like, for *Milanenſes*, *Genouenſes*, &c. The French, for *Burgenſes*, *Nivernenſes*, ſay *Burgeois* (whence our *Burgeſs*) and *Nivernois*; and in Spain (the country of the *Ala Vettonum* as well as of their *Curator Vitellius*) they ſay *Seſo* for *Senſus*, *Eſpoſa* for *Sponſa*, and we *Spouſe*. Thus *Menſis* is *Meſe* in Italy, in Spain *Mes*, and in France *Mois*. But this is too large a field to enter farther into.

I ſaid we might carry up the original of this pronunciation ſtill higher, and trace it from the Greeks, who are known to have been the maſters of ſpeech to the Romans: Cicero himſelf affected it, as appears from a paſſage cited by Dr. Muſgrave from Velius Longus †, who lived before Ha-

* N ſilent.

† Sequenda eſt nonnunquam elegantia eruditorum, quod quaſdem litteras levitatis cauſa omiſerunt, ſicut Cicero, qui *Foreſia* & *Horteſia* ſine N litera dicebat. Gram. Vet. per Putſchium, p. 22. 37. And D. Voſſius complains of the Mſſ. inſerting N before S, as in *thenſauri*, *quotiens*. See his note on Cæſ. Com. B. C. ii. 9.

The Welſh alſo, though greatly delighting in conſonants, omit the N in Latin names turned into Britiſh; as *Kuſteint* for Conſtantius, which probably they learnt from the Romans. R. GALE.

drian.

drian. Longus aſcribes it *levitatis cauſæ*, for the ſake of ſmoothneſs: I would aſcribe it to his imitation of the Greek taſte. That the Grecians omitted the N before S, appears,

1. From proper names, where the Romans inſerted it. Thus, Ὀρ[ήσι]ος for *Hortenſius*, Κλήμης, Πύδης, Κρέσκης, for *Clemens*, *Pudens*, *Creſcens*.

2. From the Nominatives of various words of the fifth declenſion, which originally ended in NS, for what the Nominatives were originally appears (as Mr. Ainſworth hath † obſerved) from the oblique caſes; thus Μῖλαϛ, Μῖλαν[ος], was originally Μῖλανς; Στὰϛ, Στάν[ος], was, as in Latin, Στανς; Ὀδὰϛ, Ὀδόν[ος], Ὀδὸνς; whence the Latin *Dens*; or rather, both in Greek and Latin, ϛαὶϛ and ὀδὸϛ; χὴν, χηνὸς, ΧΗΝΣ or ΧΑΝΣ, Belg. *Gans*, whence, by cutting off the N, comes our *Gooſe*; by retaining the N, and adding the Maſculine Termination, comes the Latin *Anſer*, and our *Gander* ‡.—So ἑῖς ἑνὸς, ἓνς or ἶνς; whence the Latin *Unus* is not derived from the Oblique caſe (as has been hitherto ſuppoſed), but from the Nominative caſe.

3. This omiſſion of the N before S appears again in the Datives plural, from μέλαι in the ſingular, μέλασι in the plural, not μέλαΝσι; ϛάῖ, ϛάσι· ὀδόῖ, ὀδῶσι, &c.

4. In ſome verbs, indeed, of the ſecond perſon ſingular of the præterpaſſive, N ſhould come before S regularly, as from φαίνω, ϖέφαμμαι, ϖεφᾶΝσαι: but this Attic ears would not bear; they therefore ſoftened it into ϖέφαΣμαι, ϖέφαΣαι; whence φάσμα, retained with us to this day.

In ſhort, except in ſome compound words where the prepoſition EN comes before Σ, as ἐντείνω, ἐνσημαίνω, &c. the N is almoſt univerſally dropped, and perhaps was here admitted to preſerve a difference between the prepoſition and the augment. It is certain Συν in the like compoſition is always melted into Συϛ, as Συϛολὴ, Σύϛασις, &c.

It muſt farther be owned, in the famous Cretan League among the Oxford Marbles, the word ΠΡΙΑΝΣΙΟΙ (denoting one of the parties in that league) occurs very frequently. I ſhould ill bear to have my obſervations

† In Mr. Chiſhull's Antiq. Aſiat. p. 22.

‡ Armenis, qui hodie veteri Scytharum lingua loquuntur, Aïr eſt *Vir*, quæ vox hæret in Græcarum vocum terminationibus, ut Ἀνὴρ, Πατὴρ, & ſimilibus. Latinis integra vox eſt, Saxonibus noſtris Fep, & Britannis *Our*."—Baxteri Antiq. Rom. p. 239.

over-

overthrown by Cretans, who are noted for their averſion to ſoft ſounds, by ſuppreſſing Timotheus the muſician, and have left a ſpecimen of it not only in the ſpirit, but in the very letter of their decree againſt him; and in this reſpect have verified Epimenides' and St. Paul's character of them, that they were of ſlow bellies, which to a proverb are noted to have no ears. But it happens very luckily for us, that theſe very people are called by Stephanus Byzantinus Πριάσιοι, more than once; and that Strabo is thought to mean them by the name of Πράσιοι, and F. Hardouin produces even coins of ΠΡΑΙΣΙΩΝ and ΠΡΙΑΙΣΕΩΝ. The critics, indeed, have unanimouſly agreed to correct both books and coins by the ſtone. But I ſubmit it to you, whether they are not authentic proofs of the different ways of writing the ſame name, and of the maxim I have been advancing, that the omiſſion of N before S was agreeable to the general idiom of the Greek tongue *.

From what I have obſerved above in relation to the primitive Greek Nominatives of the Fifth Declenſion, I think we may account for one grammatical obſervation, viz. "That the terminations in ας are long, if they "make αντος in the Genitive; but otherwiſe are ſhort." The Nominatives of αντος ended in ΝΤΣ, afterwards with a long Σ ſounded like our Z. So that when the N was cut off by more modern pronunciation, the ſound

* No doubt of it, for the word upon the ſtone has been written according to the antient ſpelling of it; and in Steph. Byzantinus, &c. according to the pronunciation; of which the critics have not been apprized. R. GALE.—For want of attending to this, the Learned have often thought they diſcovered faults in inſcriptions, where there were none. Thus Gallandus in Miſcell. Obſ. 1735. p. 615. "Rariſſimum illud ejuſdem imp. "numiſma ROMA RESVRGES monetariorum *ignaviæ* RESVRGES pro RESVRGENS fuiſſe "poſitum. Idem de verbo RENASCES debemus ferre judicium in nummis Galbæ." But the inſtances are too many and too uniform to be the effect of careleſſneſs or chance. Thus again Dr. Chapman in his *Obſervations* on Ep. of Cic. to Brutus, p. 425, "There "is in Gruter another fourth legion with the title of FLAVIES for FLAVIAE (a *common* "*error* upon ancient ſtones) FELICIS." With ſubmiſſion, FLAVIES is no error, nor yet put for FLAVIAE, but for FLAVIESIS, i. e. FLAVIENSIS.

Since I wrote this, I find Dr. Clarke was well aware of this regularity in the Greek tongue: obſerving that Κάλχας makes Κάλχαν in the Vocative, he ſays, "Eſt enim no-"minativus plenis notis exaratus, Κάλχανς: quanquam in hoc nomine, & in ſimilibus "reſpuit iſtud ν linguæ Græcæ ratio: ſemperque ſcribitur Κάλχας." Il. α'. ver. 86. and ſee Mr. Dawes in his Miſcell. Crit. p. 184. So Dr. Hyde obſerves Ἐλέφας was originally Ἐλέφανς, Ἐλέφαντς, as appears from the Genitive caſe. Hiſtoria Shahiludii, ed. Greg. Sharpe, vol. ii. p. 98.

of

of the double conſonant ſtill remained. Thus the Nominative of τύψαῖ῾ῳ was τύψαΝΤΣ. By cutting off the N, it became τύψαΤΣ, with the double conſonant, long; whereas by cutting off the N in μέλαΝΣ, we have μέλας, αν῾ῳ, ſhort, with a ſingle one.

Mr. Markland *, tracing the Greek language to its infancy, extends this Rule to the ancient terminations of all the Nominatives of the Fifth Declenſion of the Greek, and the Third Declenſion in the Latin; and obſerves that at firſt the Nominatives uniformly ended in Σ, and the Genitive was formed only by inſerting O before it; that in time they threw out the double Conſonants, one or more, *ad libitum*, in the Nominative, for the greater ſmoothneſs of the language, but retained the Genitives in their primitive ſtate. Thus for σώμα, they ſaid σώμαῖς, σώμαῖ῾ῳ· γάλακῖς, γάλακῖ῾ῳ· τύψαῖς, τύψαῖ῾ῳ· Πλάτωνς, Πλάτων῾ῳ· Ξενοφῶῖς, Ξενοφῶῖ῾ῳ. Upon this ſuppoſition, I think, we may form a Rule, which ought to determine what Greek proper Names ſhould now be terminated in O, what in ON, in Latin; viz. thoſe which make *ontos* in the Genitive ſhould have *on* in the Nominative; thoſe in *onos*, ſhould be *o* in the Nominative, preſerving thus the veſtigia of their priſtine ſtate, as, *Plato, Platonis*; *Solo, Solonis*; but *Xenophon, Xenophontis*; *Cteſiphon, Cteſiphontis*. Which the learned Dr. Taylor, Chancellor of Lincoln, writes without any diſcrimination in his accurate editions of Lyſias and Demoſthenes, &c. *Plato, Solo, Xenopho, Cteſipho*.

Theſe niceties, I fear, are below your regard. I have nothing to plead for them, but that they are offered you with the greateſt reſpect. If I have fallen into any miſtakes, you will pardon them in a novice in antiquities, who ſhall eſteem your corrections the next honour to your approbation.

W. Bowyer.

* De Græcorum quinta declinatione inpariſyllabica, &c. at the end of his edition of the *Supplices Mulieres*, 4to. 1763.

APPENDIX

TO THE

PRECEDING ARTICLE.

N° L.

Letter from Mr. CLARKE *to* Mr. BOWYER, *Nov.* 17, 1736.

SINCE I received yours, I have ſcarce had an hour to myſelf—taken up with ceremonies that were due either to the Living or the Dead. You charge briſkly, and ſeem to command the *Cohors Vigilum*; and are as buſy as if Rome was burning. But where? in what quarter? If you don't tell me, I ſhall imagine that you not only rally your Horſe, but your Friends.

I am ſometimes afraid, that, like other diſputants, we ſhall be in danger of loſing the queſtion. Let us therefore review the firſt point: you have now put Mr. Ward's reading of CR. intirely out of doubt. If there were Curators of the Infantry, nobody will queſtion but there might be the ſame officers among the Horſe; and as the abbreviations naturally lead you to it, and cannot well bear any other explication, it would be ridiculous to doubt of it. EQ. ALAE. VETTONVM. CVRATOR. is therefore indiſputable, and a ruled point. The only queſtion now is what the office was.

Now as to the incidental queries, that aroſe from hence. I much ſuſpected that *AMELIUS*, the *Equit. Rom. Curator* mentioned by Reineſius, Cl. II. n. 77. might be a civil officer, becauſe his other titles had that appearance only. But, be that as it will, I cannot think that either of Reineſius's miſtakes about *Curator*, or *Curio* from *Gruter*, were owing to any perſuaſion or opinion of his about the *Legionarii Romani Equites*. *Curator* or *Curio* might denote military offices, whatever ſide of the queſtion you take; nor will the clearing that queſtion get us a ſtep forwarder, with relation to the meaning of theſe two words. I ſee no connexion between them.

them. Becauſe *Curio* often expreſſes a ſacred or civil office, Reineſius too haſtily quoted a marble to prove it a military office, where it is no office at all, and only a proper name. And whether he is miſtaken in interpreting the other inſcription (Cl. II. n. 77) may be ſtill a Quære, though I am inclined to think he is.

Now for the great queſtion that employs your thoughts ſo much. You ſay that where inſcriptions mention *Eq. Leg.* the meaning is, that the perſon ſo diſtinguiſhed was *Eques Romanus* (in a civil ſenſe) and *Miles Legionis*, and that Schelius and Grævius undertake for this ſide of the queſtion. Let them undertake what they pleaſe, I cannot believe any thing but what is proved, eſpecially in a queſtion ſo various and intricate as the exact account of the military diſcipline among the Romans. I allow that the Legions and Horſe are diſtinguiſhed by the hiſtorians; that *Legionaria Militia* is their Infantry; but when I ſee in inſcriptions *Eq. Leg.* VIII. I cannot poſſibly read *Eques Romanus, Miles Legionis* VIII. without ſtrong evidence. It treſpaſſes too much upon common forms: and as the Cohortes had *Equites ſuos*, i. e. *Inſitos*, I don't ſee why a particular body of Horſe might not belong to one Legion; that is, when a detachment was made out of this or that Legion, ſuch *Equites* might belong to them, as in the Cohorts. There is no underſtanding this truly, without an hiſtorical account of the Roman Art of War—how it altered, improved, declined, in different periods. Auguſtus left a legacy to all the citizens of Rome that were in the Legions; and if that honour merited a particular regard, what muſt the *Equites Romani* in the Legions have deſerved? We have knights as poor as any knights of Rome ever were, and yet not reduced ſo low as to be common ſoldiers. And if ſuch a thing ſhould poſſibly have happened at Rome, it would have been told in the epitaph without any ambiguity; it would have been, *Eq. Rom. Mil. Leg.* &c. Till Auguſtus's time, Cohortes mean always the parts of a Legion: he ſeems firſt to have eſtabliſhed the new diſtribution of *Cohorts*, not belonging to any Legion, (i. e. *Cohortis Bellonianæ Equites, & Singulares*), but a body of themſelves, and his guards (*Cohortes alares*, Dio, lib. ix. pro Sociis, alibi de Auxiliis). Theſe probably were originally foreigners (like the French king's Swiſs guards, thinking himſelf ſafeſt in their hands). From thence the Cohorts multiplied in number and in title, and even in his time ſome Roman citi-

zens were admitted among them. They ſeem therefore to mean no more than troops of the new eſtabliſhment; but I am not maſter of this queſtion, and this is ſaid only *ad referendum*.

Now as to that other inſcription which Mr. Horſley is concerned in, I cannot acquieſce intirely in any of the readings. Mr. Horſley's is a mere hotch-potch. Mr. Camden's confounds the diſtinction of Cohorts and Legion, which is not eaſily got over. Reineſius makes (as the Quakers ſay) the point of honour deſcend, which ſhould aſcend. Nor does the inſcription you quote from Gruter, p. 365, 6, at all remove the difficulty. There the ſcale is natural, *Mil. Coh.* IX. *Pr. Eq. Coh. ejuſdem.* This laſt was the *Honoratior Militia*, and the Foot Cohorts were ſometimes ſeditious becauſe not made Equites. But how does this help the reading in Reineſius? For my part, I am for a bold ſtroke; for cutting difficulties I cannot unravel. If the letters upon the marble are as you put them in the margin, I would read OPT. MILIT. LEG. XX. ŒQ. (OPTIO); or ſuppoſe that we have not the true reading.

In one of your laſt, I approved much of your obſervation, that the mention of the league between the Hierap. and Πριανσιοι was introduced too pompouſly. I don't ſee why you might not mention the paſſage in Maffei: it, in all appearance, relates to that league. And I hope the little grammatical nicety (as you call it), why words in ας ανη have ας long, is not below the dignity of your Society.

I am, with great regard both to you and it, dear Sir, your moſt affectionate

W. Clarke.

Have you not ſeen the chevalier Folard's notes upon Polybius, which are much magnified for clearing up the Roman art of war?

N°

N° II.

Letter from Mr. CLARKE *to* Mr. BOWYER, *Nov.* 22, 1736-7.

Dear Sir,

I Have ſo little to ſay in anſwer to your laſt, that I was not very ſolicitous about ſaving a Poſt; eſpecially ſince your Society would give a ſanction to ſome of theſe readings before my conjectures could poſſibly reach you.

I am (as to the laſt Bath Inſcription) intirely ſatisfied with Mr. Ward's reading, *Curator*. Since you have two Inſcriptions to prove that it was an office in the Roman Infantry, this alone will remove all difficulty about the Horſe.

Beſides, your reading (*Centurio*) diſpleaſes me, for being too general, *Centurio Equitum alæ*, &c. One would rather expect *Centurio Cohortis* (with its denomination) *Equit. alæ Vetton.* He was not properly *Centurio alæ*, but *Cohortis vel turmæ in Ala.* But if *Curator* is admitted, the inſcription is correct; for the Curator had probably the care not only of ſome Cohorts or Turmæ, but of the whole body; *Curator alæ.* And I take *Curator* to have been the true Roman word, for what was afterwards in their affected Greek taſte called *Optio.* Reineſius quotes Procopius for that ſenſe of *Optio* among others: *Qui annonam in Cohorte, vel etiam Exercitu* (and I preſume to add *in ala*) *curabat,* ὃς ἐπεμέλειτο &c. ὀπτίωνα τοῦτον καλέουσι Ῥωμαῖοι— *Curator Annonæ* is what the Inſcriptions mention.

I approve your conjectures about the Æmilian family much. But you know I have an old kindneſs for Reineſius, and am ſorry you ſhould ſuppoſe that Grævius was his equal: great criticks have thought quite otherwiſe.—As to Mr. Horſley's Inſcription, I ſent you my thoughts in the laſt. The paſſage in Velius Longus is thus:

" *Conjunx* & *ſejunx* ſine N putat Niſus eſſe ſcribendum, quoniam geni-
" tivo caſu faciat *conjugis* & *ſejugis:* mihi videtur non evellendam hanc
" N literam, qua ſonus enuntiationis inſiſtit. Nam quamvis idem ait non eſſe
" onerandam ſupervacuis literis ſcriptionem, rurſus non fraudandum ſo-
" num exiſtimo, cum & levior ad aures, & plenior veniat, ut in *abſtinente*
" *arceſſitum eſt, ut in ambitum B.* Si ergo licet *conjugis* genitivo caſui, &

" *ſejugis*, *conjux* tamen & *ſejux* ſubtracta N litera & difficilius enuntiabitur,
" & aſperius auribus accidet. Sane illo catholico ſe Niſus tuetur, quo dicit
" in *declinationibus literam perire*, *quæ ſit in primis poſitionibus*, ut *pudens pu-*
" *dentis*, *prudens prudentis*. Ita ſi *conjux* habet N literam, neceſſarium,
" inquit, erit, & genitivum quoque N literam habeat, ut ſit quo iſta ſpec-
" tare debuit: nam quod amphiboliæ tollendæ gratia conſuetudo N literam
" omiſerit, ambiguum utrum ab eo eſt quod *conjunx* trahatur, ut a no-
" mine, an a verbo quod eſt *conjungo*. Non eſſe item illud verum, quod
" quidam putant ſervandam eſſe utrique N literam a prima poſitione
" per ceteras declinationes manifeſtum eſt, vel ex his, quod *fingor* dici-
" mus, & tamen *fictus*, & *pingor*, & tamen *pictus*: necnon & ipſa N li-
" tera in locum M redit, ut cum dicimus *clandeſtinum*, cum ab eo trahatur
" quod eſt *clam*: item *ſinciput*, quod eſt *ſemicaput*; ſed non ubique ob-
" tinendum: nam & nonnunquam plenius per N quam per M enuntiatur:
" ac tum dico etiam nunc, quam per M ſcribam, neſcio quomodo tamen
" exprimere non poſſint.—Sequenda eſt nonnunquam elegantia erudito-
" rum, quod quaſdam literas *levitatis cauſa* omiſerunt, ſicut Cicero, qui *Fo-*
" *reſia*, & *Megaleſia*, & *Horteſia*, *ſine N litera libenter dicebat*: & ut verbis ipſius
" utamur, *poſmeridianas quoque quadrigas*, inquit, *libentius dixerim*, *quam*
" *poſtmeridianas*."—This is the whole paſſage about N. Putſchii Gram. Vett. p. 2236.—But there is an obſervation which agrees with yours about *ας*, *αν*, and yet the paſſage wants correcting. Niſus and Longus both agree that it is an univerſal rule, *Catholicum*, in declinationibus *literam perire quæ ſit in primis poſitionibus*.—Sure the very reaſon why this rule is quoted, proves it to be *literam non perire*; and ſo the inſtances. I think this correction neceſſary; but there are ſome other things I don't well underſtand.
" Velius Longus ante Hadriani imperium floruit, ut notavit Noriſius in
" Orthographia, p. 135." Fabr. Bib. Lat. vol. III. p. 748.—Gellius quotes him, lib. xviii. c. 9. as " homo non indoctus."—You ſay the diſpute about N before S aroſe from Muſgrave's publiſhing the Inſcription of *Julius Vitalis*. When that was publiſhed I know not; but Mr. *Lluyd* mentions it as frequent in Roman Inſcriptions in his *Archæologia*, publiſhed A. D. 1707.

Yours, W. CLARKE.

N°

N° III.

Letter from Mr. CLARKE *to* Mr. BOWYER, *Jan.* 16, 1736-7.

Dear Sir,

I AM much pleaſed to find that you and your Cavalry are juſt where I thought you ſhould be at your firſt ſetting out. I was of opinion, at the beginning, that the lapidaries would never have mentioned a relation between the *Horſe* and *Foot*, between *Eques* and *Legio*, if there had not been ſome grounds for ſuch a relation, though I could think of none better than being ſtationed on the ſame frontier, or ſerving in the ſame province. But ſtill I don't underſtand Schelius; *Alæ ex civibus conſcriptæ, & legionibus adjunctæ.* How does it appear, becauſe theſe *Alæ* are called *Pannonicæ, & Maſicæ*, that they were *ex Civibus conſcriptæ*; or, if they were citizens, in what manner were they *adjunctæ Legionibus* more than the reſt? The *reaſon of the relation* is what I want. The Inſcriptions are a full evidence, that there was a relation between *Eques* and *Legio*. Saying therefore that they were *Legionibus adjunctæ*, is, in my opinion, ſaying nothing. If the Foot and Horſe were both raiſed in Pannonia and Mœſia, and ſerved together, and were uſually ſtationed in the ſame place, this is making a relation, which might be common to many other bodies of Foot and Horſe, and might be a foundation for calling ſuch Horſe *Equites* of ſuch a Legion.

I was in much concern for you, when I firſt heard of the fire in the Temple*; but I find it was at a conſiderable diſtance, and probably did not give you any great apprehenſions.

W. CLARKE.

* A fire which happened in The Inner Temple, adjoining the Hall, in the night of Jan. 4, 1736-7, and conſumed more than thirty chambers, with many writings of very great value. Mr. Bowyer lived then in White-Fryars. *J. N.*

N°

N° IV.

Letter from Mr. MARKLAND *to* Mr. BOWYER.

Dear Sir, *Uckfield, March* 12, 1749-50.

I Have read over, as well as I was capable, and here return you, the looſe leaves *, in which *Je n'ai rien à redire*, except that I a little differ from you in ſome trifling things †; as where you ſay (p. 141) the original *Nominative Caſe of ϛὰς was ϛὰνς, as in Latin*, which I take to have been ϛὰν⸗ς, and *ſtants* in Latin: and ὀδὸ⸗ς (not ὀδὸνς), whence the Latin word *dents* originally, not *dens*. So (p. 142) Dr. Clarke's κάλχανς cannot make κάλχαν⸗ in the Genitive, but καλχάν⸗: the Nominative of κάλχαν⸗ can be no other than κάλχαν⸗ς. You have here fallen into a ſubject of which I have been thinking a little, and have lately ſent to Mr. Clarke a rough ſhort ſketch of my notion concerning the Fifth Declenſion Impariſyllabica of the Greeks; to which I ſhall add the Third Declenſion Impariſyllabica of the Latins, which was taken from the Greek, and imitates it ſurpriſingly ‡. My notion is, that all the Nominatives of this Declenſion in Latin originally ended in S (as in Greek they did in Σ), and the Genitives in all of them were increaſed by only adding the vowel *i* before the final *s*, as in Greek they were by adding O before the Σ. Thus the original Nominative of *homo* (in the beginnings of the language, when moſt of the words of this Declenſion ended in two or three conſonants) was *homons*, Gen. *homōn*Is, which is ſtill preſerved in Ennius—*vultur miſerum mandebat homōnem*. The Nominative of *pubis* was *pubs*; of *nubis*, *nubs* (ſtill preſerved in Auſonius); of *claſſis* was *claſs*, Gen. *clas*Is, extant in the Columna Duiliana; for they did not double the letter *ſ* in the middle of a word, and therefore *aſs* made *aſis* (not *aſſis*), in the Genitive; *maſs*, *maſis*; for which they afterwards wrote *mas*, *maris*, as the Antients wrote *Papiſius*, not *Papirius* (ſee Cicero and Quintilian); and the cognomen, which formerly was *Maſo*, was afterwards *Maro:* whence Virgil had his. I have great reaſon to think that all the

* Of Kuſter, "De Verbo Medio," &c. *J. N.*

† Mr. Bowyer appears to have adopted theſe corrections. See above, p. 141, 142. *J. N.*

‡ We have here the outlines of Mr. Markland's excellent Diſſertation on this ſubject, cited in p. 143. *J. N.*

Nominative

Nominative Caſes in this Declenſion which are now of two ſyllables, and do not increaſe in the Genitive, were formerly monoſyllables; as *navis*, Gen. *navis*, was originally *navs* [*naſs*] (Gr. ναῦς), Gen. *navis:* ſo *ovs* [*oſs*] (Gr. ὄϊς), Gen. *ovis*; *Jovs* [*Joſs*] (from the Gr. Ζεὺς), Gen. *Jovis*, whence they made a new Nominative, viz. *Jovis*, Gen. *Jovis: bovs* or *boſs* (Gr. βοῦς) Gen. *bovis*. We ſee it was ſo in many that are ſtill extant, as *trabs*, *trabis*; *plebs*, *plebis*; *ſcobs*, *ſcobis*; *grus*, *gruis*; from all which new Nominative Caſes of two ſyllables were formed. So the original Nominative of *orbis* was *orbs*, as of *urbis* it is *urbs*; *vats*, *vatis*; *vads*, *vadis*; *vulps*, *vulpis*; *ſeps*, *ſepis*, an *hedge*; whence *ſcpes*, Gen. *ſcpis*; *æds*, *ædis*; *præds*, *prædis:* and ſo in Adjectives of the third Declenſion; *triſts*, *triſtis*; *dules*, *dulcis*, as *trues*, *trucis*, ſtill extant. In ſhort, not to tire you and myſelf any further at preſent, I have not yet found one material objection to this my poſition, That all the Nouns of the Fifth Greek Declenſion Imparisyllabica at firſt ended in Σ, and were increaſed in the Genitive by adding Ο before the Σ: and all the Nouns of the Third Declenſion in Latin were originally Imparisyllabic, ended in S in the Nominative, and were increaſed in the Genitive by adding the vowel *i* before the *s*, as *igns*, *ignis*; *lapids*, *lapidis*; *fuſts*, *fuſtis*; *eivs*, *eivis*. That in proceſs of time the harſhneſs and diſagreeableneſs of ſo many conſonants coming together was perceived in both languages, and was remedied either by throwing off conſonants from the end of the word, as δάμαρ for δάμαρς, Gen. δάμαρ⟨ο⟩, *uxor*; *imago* for *imagons*, Gen. *imagonis:* or, by putting in a vowel among the conſonants, as *verres* for *verrs*, *faſcis* for *faſcs* (of which I think there are no inſtances in the Greek, all their words in this Declenſion increaſing in the Genitive Caſe): or, laſtly, by quite altering the form of the Nominative into a more eaſy and agreeable ſound, as γυνὴ for γυναικς *mulier*; *caro* for *carns*; *ſupellex* for *ſupellectils*; *corpus* for *corpors*; *pectus* for *pectors*; *onus* and *pondus* for *oners* and *ponders*. But, in all theſe changes of the Nominatives, both languages conſtantly retained the original Genitives, Datives, &c. there not being the ſame reaſon for making any change in them; and from theſe Genitives we may moſt certainly know the original Nominatives, and *vice versâ*; as in all the other Declenſions, both Greek and Latin, as ſoon as we know the Nominative we are ſure of the Genitive. This is my notion; to which if you find any objection, I wiſh you would let me know.

I am, dear Sir, yours ſincerely,

JER. MARKLAND.

Marmora quædam penes Illuſtriſſimum Comitem Exoniensem in Ædibus Burleianis.

Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Bowyer.

MANLIA
CALLISTE

SEX. POMPONIO. SEX. F.
CALLISTO. VIX. ANN. VII.
MENSE. I. DIES XX. FECIT
SEX. POMPONIVS.
FELIX. PATER FILI. SVO.
FECIT. DVLCISSIMO.

EXTRICATA
OCTAVIA
FAVS. . .
SARCINATRIX
V. A. XX.

Q. CORNELIVS
Q. ET. O. L. NICEPHOR.
SACARIVS

. . . . CORNELIVS
CLARVS.
NVMENCLATOR.

D. M.
HYGIAES.
V. A. XXI. M. VI.
CL. NICENA.
TER INFELICISS.

L. COPONIVS.
PELORVS. V. A. XXX.
HELIAS.
CONIVGI
CARISSIMO.

IVLIA PEPLI. ET.
ARCHESI. HEVRESIS.

ΑΥΡ. ΔΟΜΝΕΙΝΟΥ
ΚΑΝΑΙΑΙΚ. ΑΑΡΙΟΥ.
ΤΗΝ. ΕΚ. ΤΗC. ΠΥΡΑC.
ΚΟΝΙΝ. CΥΝΑΕΞΑΤΟ.
ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC.
ΜΝΗΜΗC. ΧΑΡΙΝ.

A Tergo in eodem Marmore.

D. M.
ROME. ALVMNAE. DVLCISSIMAE.
QVAE. VIXIT. ANNIS.
MENSES. VII. DIEBVS XVI.
CLAVDIA. VERECVNDA. FECIT.
M. NAENIVS. M. L.
ENTYCHIDES
NAENIA. J. L. EPHESIA.

TI. CLAVDIVS. EPAPHRA. ET.
CLAVDIA. HEIPIS.
CLAVDIAE. HYGIAE. F.
CARISSIMAE.
VIXIT. ANNOS. XIIII.
MESIBVS. IIII. DIEBVS
XII.

C. CORNELIVS
C. L.
PHILAGATHVS.

PISTVS. ET. ARTEMIS.
LIB. LIBERTABQ.
SVIS. FECER.

VICTORA. IN. PACE.

DIS. MANIBVS. CAESENNIAE. PRI....
CAESENNIVS PAEDEROS.
SANCTISSIMAE. ET. BENEMERENTI.
Q. VELIVS. Q. L.
OPTATVS.

FAVSTIO.
SISENNAE.
STATILI.
CVBICVLA.
VIX. ANN. XX.

A DISSERTATION on the GULE or YULE of the SAXONS; in a Letter to Biſhop LYTTELTON, Preſident of the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES.

My Lord,

HAVING obſerved ſeveral explanations of the word *Yule* offered to this Society*, I think it a piece of juſtice due to the ſubject, and to the great reſtorer of Northern Literature, to lay before you his comment on the word, which the gentlemen in their ſeveral conjectures have taken not the leaſt notice of. I do this the rather, becauſe his interpretation was received heretofore with great applauſe, pointed out by Dr. Wotton in his *Conſpectus* of that great Treaſury, p. 28, and by Mrs. Elſtob in her edition of the Engliſh-Saxon Homily, Append. p. 29, 30. I would not be underſtood to diminiſh in the leaſt from the merit of what the gentlemen have offered, but that the united labours of all may give additional luſtre to each other.

Dr. Hickes, in the firſt volume of his *Theſaurus*, in his Anglo-Saxon and Mœſo-Gothic Grammar, p. 203, has printed a Dano-Saxon Calendar, from the Cotton Library, Tiberius, B. I. 2, with a Latin tranſlation; in which, in the month December, there is a paſſage to this purpoſe, verſe 428: "The next day brings us to December, which is called Æþþa Iula;" on which the Doctor comments to this purpoſe, p. 211, & ſeq.

"Æþþa Iula, *the former Yule*] January was called æftera Iula, the ſecond Yule, as the poet here, uſing the Dano-Saxon dialect, writes it, from the Cimbri *Iol* or *Iul*; of which ſee Gudmundus Andreæ on the word. From whence *Iol* comes, amidſt the darkneſs of antiquity, we can but gueſs. In the Engliſh Saxon it is written ȝeola, and two months are called æþþa ȝeola and æfterra ȝeola, the *former* and the *latter Yule*; which Somner thinks were ſo called becauſe the one precedes, the other follows, the birth-day of our Lord, denominated ȝeol by the Anglo-Saxons. In this he is right; for the Chriſtians thought proper to transfer the name of the ancient heathen feſtival Iol, or ȝeol, to the birth-day of our Lord,

* Dr. Pettingal's Diſſertation was afterwards printed, Archæologia, vol. II. p. 60. This Letter was *not printed*, as the Society "did not think itſelf at liberty to *criticiſe*, or *controvert* papers of living members, or even to correct their miſtakes by notes." *W. B.*

as they applied the old name *Eaſter*, from the goddeſs Eoſtre, to denote their Paſchal Feaſt; whence, as Bede informs us, April was called Eoſtuрmonaþ. But whence the Saturnalia, or Mid-winter Feſtivals, received this appellation, is a point on which the learned are not agreed.

I. Some (whoſe opinion is exploded by Loccenius in his Sueo-Gothic Antiquities, lib. I. c. 5) think they were inſtituted in honour of *Julius Cæſar*; and Buchanan ſuppoſes that the Britons, adopting the Roman Saturnalia, called them *Julia*, changing the name of *Saturn* for the prænomen of *Julius Cæſar*.

II. Others think that the word Iol was derived from the Greek Ἴελος, which ſignifies an hymn ſung by the ſpinſters of wool, in honour of the god Mercury, agreeably to the following verſe:

Δενδάλιδας τεύχετα καλὰς ἤειδεν Ἰέλας.

Didymus ſays, the hymn was in praiſe of *Ceres*, which is confirmed by Athenæus, lib. xiv. from Semus of Delos, and by Theodoret in his book *De Materia & Mundo*, in theſe words: *Let us now ſing our Yule to Ceres, or to Bacchus our Dithyrambic.* Which correſponds indeed (ſays Pontanus) with our ſenſe of the word, and with the Yules of our countrymen, celebrated after the barns had been filled with the fruits of Ceres, and when the new-revolving year brings on the ſeaſon for cultivating the ground to receive the ſeed again. But it will be aſked, How could an exotic word, and ſo obſolete, be known and familiar to the Northern People? I anſwer, ſays he, that we have other more remote words borrowed from the Greek, which the Danes and we to this day retain. Is not our word *Fo*, i. e. *born*, from φύω, *naſcor?* And nothing is more common with us than *Smor*, *Butter*, from Μύρον, which, by adding Σ, is Σμύρον, *ointment*; as the Attics for μικρὸν ſay σμικρόν.

Such is the opinion of Pontanus (cited by Olaus Wormius in his Faſti Danici, lib. I. c. 7), which he confutes in the following terms *:

"What Pontanus aſſerts is very true, except that the word *Iol* is of a "more extenſive ſignification than only an hymn to Ceres. It denotes "ſomewhat more: ſuch a feſtivity as is celebrated not with hymns only, "but with ſports alſo, and compotation, and every mark of feſtal joy. "From whence *Iola genio indulgere*; *Iola*, and *Iala*, *confabulari*."

* Notes on Hervarar Saga. c. iv.

We may farther add, in confutation of Pontanus, that the Cimbric *Iul* was by the ancient Engliſh, before Bede, written *Giuli*, and by the Anglo-Saxons ȝeol, ȝehul, ȝeohol; which words have little or no affinity with Ιελω. On the contrary, the Cimbric *Iul*, or *Iol*, ſeems derived from the Anglo-Saxon ȝehul, ȝeol; ȝe being changed into I, as *Iſur*, Saxon ȝeꝩp, *very ſour*; *Igræn*, Saxon ȝeȝpene, *very green*. And ſo in the Dano-Saxon dialect, the præfix ȝe is melted into I, as in *Iola*, or *Iul*, from ȝeul or ȝeol, emphatically ȝeula, ȝeola. To trace then the original of the Cimbric *Iol* or *Iola*, we muſt firſt find whence the Anglo-Saxon ȝeol or ȝeul is derived.

III. Gudmundus Andreæ, a ſtranger in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and who affects to derive every thing from the Hebrew, conſiders *Iol* as a neuter gender plural, in a two-fold ſenſe; either, in the more recent ſignification of it, denoting the feſtival of the birth of Chriſt; or, in the more ancient, the winter feſtival, celebrated long before, even amongſt the giants, ſuppoſed to have been the deſcendants of the original inhabitants of Canaan. In the former ſenſe, the word, he ſays, may not unfitly have a reference to the Hebrew יול, *parvulus puerulus*, when to us a Son was born, *Et nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto*. If we take the word in the other ſenſe, what hinders but that the deſcendants of the Canaanites might borrow from the Hebrew *Jubilee* both the name and thing? for the Jewiſh יובל was ſo called from the ſounding of [rams] horns. Both theſe ſenſes are ſo foreign to the purpoſe, that they need no confutation.

IV. Olaus Wormius, in his Faſti Danici, lib. i. cap. 14. with no leſs impropriety derives *Iul* from the Daniſh *Huile*, reſt. The two months called *Giuli*, ſays he, receive that name from the Sun's returning to increaſe the length of the days; one of the months preceding, the other following, the commencement of ſuch increaſe. This he cites as the words of Bede, and then adds his own: "*Huile*, ſays he, ſtill with us denotes *reſt*, as I "imagine, from the winter ſolſtice, becauſe the Sun ſeems then to REST, "before he ſets forward towards the Æquator. Now, from *Huile*, to *reſt*, "the change of H into G is very eaſy, as thoſe letters are contiguous in "the alphabet, and the Printers, through haſte in compoſing, often make "ſuch miſtakes. But if, with Scaliger, we read *Giuli*, we ſhall not im-"properly derive it from the feſtival which was celebrated at that ſeaſon "in

" in our country, and is ſtill called *Iuel*." Here this learned writer (through ignorance of the Anglo-Saxon tongue, in which, as we have obſerved, the Daniſh *Iul*, formerly called *Iol*, is written ȝeol, &c.) would, againſt all analogy, for *Giuli* read *Huile*. Beſides, Bede ſays the two months December and January were called by the ancient Engliſh *Giuli*, not from the Sun's ſeeming to REST at the winter ſolſtice, but from his TURNING back to increaſe the length of the days, manifeſtly alluding to the Anglo-Saxon hƿeol, hƿel, or ȝeheol, ȝehƿel; Iſlandic *Hiol* and *Huel*, a WHEEL. All, therefore, which this great man obſerves of the eaſy change of H and I, and of the Printer's miſtakes, is to no purpoſe. Nor am I more ſatisfied with what he further advances, that *Giuli*, the plural of *Giul*, if we muſt read ſo with Scaliger, was derived from the Cimbric *Iul*, ſince I have ſhewn, from the analogy of other examples, that the latter is rather to be derived from the former.

V. Let us now, then, proceed to enquire from whence *Giul* of the ancient Engliſh (who came hither with the Jutes and Saxons), and the Saxon ȝeol, emphatically ȝeola, are derived. Bede, as above cited, thinks they are derived from hƿeol, hƿel, with the ſyllabic augment ȝehƿeol, ȝehƿel, in the Cimbric *Hol* and *Huel*. Of the ſame opinion ſeems to be the author of the Anglo-Saxon Menology preſerved in the Cotton Library, B. I. " In the twelfth month, ſays he, are xxxi days. This month is called in " Latin *December*, but in our tongue the *former Geola*; for there are two " months of the ſame name, the one called the *former Geola*, the other " the *latter Geola*." One of theſe comes before the Sun bends his courſe towards lengthening the days, the other follows it. This opinion of Bede, that ȝiul from hƿel, or ȝehƿel, is confirmed from ȝehul and ȝehol being written with an h, as in the laws of King Alfred, c. 39. the twelve days from the feaſt of the Nativity are called xii ðaȝaƿ on ȝehol. Which is ſtill farther confirmed from what Loccenius, in his Suco-Gothic Antiquities, lib. I. cap. 5. obſerves, that on the Runic-Norwegian Staff a *wheel* is repreſented at Chriſt's Nativity. This Verelius freely allows; but yet does not acquieſce in Bede's opinion. He owns that the Scandinavians denoted both ſolſtices by a *wheel*; " as I have ſeen it, ſays he, depicted in " a certain kalendar at the ſummer ſolſtice." But I ſtill deny that they therefore derived the word Iul from the return of the Sun at the winter

winter ſolſtice*; becauſe the other return of the Sun, at the ſummer ſolſtice, ought to have been called ſo likewiſe.

VI. Verelius therefore, perſuaded that the ſignification of the word muſt be elſewhere derived, contends that *Iul* and *Iol* denoted a time of feaſting and joy; and becauſe theſe feaſts were kept with the greateſt ſolemnity, after the winter ſacrifices were finiſhed, they were therefore called *Iol*, *Iolabad*, &c. by way of eminence, which he confirms by ſeveral authorities.

VII. But I wonder he did not, with all his ſagacity, diſcover the original of the word in OL, *ale*, or *beer*, which, by a metonymy, ſignifies a feaſt or compotation. In his Scandic Dictionary he ſays OL is properly *ale*, but is often uſed for a feaſt in general. Thence *olgiora, to furniſh out a feaſt*; *olſtemna, an invitation to a feaſt*; *olbodin, one bidden to a feaſt*; and *ſamburdar aul*, i. e. *ōl, a compotation at a common expence*. Nay, thoſe emblematical horns, filled with ale, which denoted the *Yulian* feſtivity in the Runic calendar, pointed out the derivation of *Iol* from *Ol*. And Gudmundus Andreæ ſeemed to diſcern ſomewhat of that derivation in his word *Iol*: "He enjoined, ſays he, this Bacchanalian feaſt from *Ol, Ale*."

But you will aſk, perhaps, what hindered Verelius from diſcovering this derivation? I anſwer, it was the prefix *I*, which is a ſyllabical augment, increaſing the ſignification of words, and adding an emphaſis to them. Gudmundus Andreæ, in his note on the ſecond Strophe of *Volu-ſpe*, ſays, "In *Ivide*, *I* is prefixed, being an intenſive particle; as in *igilde*, "very dear; *iſurt*, very ſour; and *igræne*, very green." To this intenſive particle *I*, uſed by the Cimbri and Scandinavians, the Engliſh-Saxon ȝe anſwers, as I have obſerved above, in my Grammar, chap. ix. 17.

Hence it is that the Cimbric *Iol*, in Anglo-Saxon ȝeol, and in Dano-Saxon Iul, formed by the eaſy change of *o* into *u*, denotes, by way of eminence, thoſe feſtal ſolemnities which accompany the ſacred rites of mid-winter, as being the moſt public and the principal of all.

But ſtill Bede's authority will be objected, who derives the old Engliſh *Giol* from hpel, ȝehuel, or hiol. I anſwer, Bede, writing as a mathematician concerning the meaſure of time, was led naturally to pay a greater regard to an etymology which pointed out the time of the retrograde motion of the Sun, when the days increaſe, than to the rules of gram-

* Qy. if not printed by miſtake *circa æquinoctium*, in the original.

mar;

mar; for as he flouriſhed about the year DCC, when the ſolſtice fell on the ſeventeenth of December, the Sun on the twenty-fifth of that month, when the Yulian feaſts were celebrated, was got forward twelve days in his progreſs towards the ſummer tropic.

So much for the feaſts of *Iol*, ȝeol, &c. from whence the twelfth and firſt month of the Julian year received the name of the firſt and ſecond ȝeola and iola; the former ſo called, becauſe, on the twenty-fifth of it, viz. on the eighth of the calends of January, which the ancients thought to be the winter ſolſtice, and thence began their year, they commenced their Yulian feſtivities; which they uſed to prolong for many days, even to the thirteenth of January; and after that, to renew them about the end of that month, and the beginning of February; whence January was called by the Anglo-Saxons the ſecond ȝeola.

It muſt be obſerved, that the ancient northern world thought the ſolſtice, or the middle of winter, fell on the viiith of the calends of January, or twenty-fifth of December; from whence they began their year, and celebrated feſtivals, on account of it, long before the birth of Chriſt; perhaps as early as when the ſolſtice fell in reality on that day, which was in the year of the world MMMDLVIII. the year before Chriſt CCCXC."

Thus far Dr. Hickes. I will only add, as a further confirmation of his etymology, that Οὖλαι, in Greek, is preſerved in Heſychius, under the words Οὐλοχόϊον and Οὐλοχύτας, ſignifying *Barley*; from whence that beverage is made which uſed to be the principal ingredient of the northern feaſts.

I will preſume to hazard one conjecture more on the word γελάω, which (whence ſoever derived) I would propoſe for the original of our word *laugh*; ſince it was uſual with all nations to expreſs the ſound of the digamma between two vowels, and the northern nations to expreſs it ſtronger than the others did. But to prove this would be too large a field to enter into.

Laſtly, I would proceed one ſtep further, from words to things. As Dr. Hickes has calculated how high he can carry the heathen feſtival *Ol* or *Yule*, ſo has Mr. Selden tried how far he can, by the ſame argument, carry back the obſervation of the Chriſtian feſtival of the birth of Chriſt. "Whenſoever, ſays he, it was firſt inſtituted for anniverſary celebration,

"it

" it was in ſuch an age as had the *ſuppoſition* of *the winter ſolſtice* being " on the 25th of December, yet retained in the church: otherwiſe what " dependence were there betwixt the name of the *feaſt* and the *ſolſtice?* " But that dependence is by conſent of the Fathers fully teſtified, as a tra- " dition of former times; and the lateſt age which in the church retained " that *ſuppoſition*, muſt at leaſt be before the Council of *Nice*; therefore, " at leaſt, the inſtitution of it muſt precede that Council." But though we were to carry up the firſt *inſtitution* of this feaſt ſo high as urged, yet it does not follow that it was *rightly* placed, becauſe (as Sir Iſaac Newton obſerves *) the Chriſtians of the firſt age let theſe great occurrences paſs without regarding the year, or the ſeaſon of the year, on which they happened; and when they began firſt to celebrate the feaſts in memory of them, arbitrarily placed the chief of them in the cardinal points of the year: the Annunciation on the 25th of March, or the Vernal Equinox; St. John's Baptiſm on the Summer Solſtice; St. Michael's at the Autumnal Equinox; and the Birth of Chriſt at the Winter Solſtice. " For which " reaſon there is not one month of the year, except July, which one or " other of the Learned have not fixed for the real month of the Nati- " vity †."

Very different is the reaſoning of a Philoſopher and an Antiquary from the ſame facts: the one finds the birth of Chriſt commemorated at Mid-winter-day ſo early, or ſo late, as the Council of Nice; therefore his birth-day was ſo in reality: the other finds the Heathen feſtivals were converted into Chriſtian, therefore they were arbitrarily placed upon them, and it is no mark of the ſeaſon of their ſo falling out. Undoubtedly the juſter concluſion.

* Obſerv. on Prophecy, chap. xi.
† See Fabricius, Bibliotheca Antiquaria.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

In CHISHULL'S ANTIQUITATES ASIATICÆ,

Tranſcribed from the Margin of Mr. BOWYER's Copy,

Now in the Poſſeſſion of the Right Honourable EDWARD Lord SANDYS.

Præf. iii. l. 22. *lege*, Hæc inter, duo præ cæteris eminent monumenta.

INSCR. SIG. p. 4. l. 29. σιγειεις.] Σιγειεις, pro Σιγειες. Caſu plurali quarto aut forte quinto. Nec obſtare debet aut Lucianus in Solœciſtâ, aut Helladius apud Photium, aut iis conſentiens doctiſſimus J. Grævius, quanquam hi omnes negaverint pluralem quartum antiquitus deſiiſſe in εις. Contra enim ſtabit Magnetum & Smyrnæorum fœdus in Marmore Oxonienſi, ubi p. 6. legitur βασιλεῖς, ἱππεῖς, iterumque p. 12. ἱππεῖς caſu quarto, ut etiam in Marmore Chronico lin. 87. Φωκεῖς caſu plurali primo, & Homero Odyſſ. δ. ver. 170—πολεῖς ἐμόγησεν ἀέθλες. CHISHULL.

Scribe, Σιγειες pro Σιγεης ap. recentiores Atticos, non pro Σιγειεις. "Quantæ [enim] levitatis fuiſſet in iſto marmore poteſtatem EI nuda vocali E deſignari velle, cum in ſyllaba proxime præcedente eadem poteſtas plene exhiberetur. Fefellit viros eruditos analogia in hujuſmodi nominibus ab Atticis ſervata, quam ſic concipi velim: a recto —εως obliquos formabant Iones —εωος, —εωι, —εωα, —εωε, —εωοιν, —εωες, —εωων, —εωσι, —εωας. Illud autem εωας Attici juxta craſin ipſis ſolennem neglecta aſpiratione w in ης mutabant. Hinc apud Poetas Atticos legimus ἱππης, Αχαρνης, Μεγαρης: recte niſi quod literæ η ſubjiciatur ι. DAWES, Miſc. Crit. p. 121. —Notandum præterea ΣΙΓΕΥΕΥΣΙΝ & ΣΙΓΕΙΕΣ parum ſibi invicem conſtare, legi autem oportere vel ΣΙΓΕΥΕΥΣΙΝ & ΣΙΓΕΥΕΣ, vel, quod rectius, ΣΙΓΕΙΕΥΣΙΝ & ΣΙΓΕΙΕΣ. *Ibid.*

Not. l. ult. *lege*, ΜΕΛΕΔΑΙΝΕΝ-ΕΟ.—Tandem verò TOUP in Suidam, par. III. p. 306. voc. Χαλίκρηθος, legendum monet ΔΕΩ, *precor*, *ut mei curam habeant Sigeenſes*. Idem autem δέω & δέομαι, ut ἡγέω & ἡγέομαι. Hoc recentiorum, illud antiquiorum.

P. 9. l. 22. *lege*, in uſu fuit; unde & viciſſim aliquando ου pro ο, ut in voce οὔνομα. Vid. Jul. Scaligerum de Cauſis Ling. Lat. p. 92. CHISHULL.

P. 11. l. 19. *τῷ τρίτῳ*] *lege, τῇ τρίτῃ.*—Notandum eſt ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟ poteſtatem viros eruditos minus recte cepiſſe ΕΠΙ ΤΩΙ ΤΡΙΤΩΙ: Hanc utique exaratam oportuiſſet ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙ ΤΡΙΤΟΙ, non ſecus atque ibidem loquuntur ΗΟΔΟΙ ΤΟΙ ΑΓΡΟΙ, & ΤΟΙ ΚΙΝΕΣΑΝΤΙ; uti & alterius declinationis ΤΕΙ ΑΠΠΙΑΙ. Eſt autem vera poteſtas ΕΠΙ ΤΟΨ ΤΡΙΤΟΨ, ſicuti illorum ΟΨΔΕΝΙ ΤΟΨ ΤΡΙΟΠΙΟΨ. Dawes, Miſc. Crit. p. 125.

P. 12. l. 6. *Triopium*] In eo non parum ſibi placuere Romani, villas ſuas Græco nomine vocitari. Ut Auguſti Cæſaris Syracuſæ, aliorum Pauſilypum, Academia, &c. Sueton. in Auguſto c. 71. Chishull.

P. 16. l. 9. *lege*, legendum veniet, *ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ λίθῳ εἰμὶ ἀνδριὰς καὶ τὸ σφέλας*; i. e. *hîc in lapide ſum ſtatua et ſtatuæ baſis*; vel forſan, *hîc unum et idem ſum* [*ἓν*] *lapidis ſtatua et* [ſtatuæ] *baſis.* Sic enim in ipſo marmore * etiamnum legi monet Anth. Aſkew, M. D. oculatus teſtis. In cippo marmoreo prælongo prominet ſtatua, ſuffulta baſi marmorea quaſi ex medio cippi progrediente.

P. 22. Not. *adde*, His adde quæ habet Iſ. Voſſius de tranſlatione LXX Interpretum p. 93, &c. Chishull.

P. 26. l. 20. *Maſoretis*] i. e. Criticis Sacris, ubi Criticos intelligo, non recentiores illos Maſoræ propriè ſic dictæ auctores; ſed veterrimos ſacræ Criticæ Magiſtros, Eſdram nempe ejuſque in Synagóga magna adſeſſores. Vid. Caſaub. Epiſt. 281. & Prideauxii Hiſt. Connexæ Par. I. c. 5. Cuperem tamen totam hujus loci ſententiam hoc modo refingendam: " Hæ quidem in Alphabeto ſuos tunc locos habuere, cum ob inductas formas Aſſyriacas de novo deſcriberentur Pſalmi illi Alphabetici, aliaque omnia Veteris Inſtrumenti, quæ, ut in Prologo galeato notavit Hieronymus, viginti duarum literarum texuntur Alphabeta. At vero," &c.—Aut ſic refinge: " Pſalmi Alphabetici xxxiv & cxix, quibus adde ex. cxii. Proverbia Lemuelis cap. xxxi. Lamentationes Jeremiæ capp. i. ii. iii. iv. Hæc vero omnia a Maſoretis potius prodiiſſe, quam ab ipſis ſcriptoribus *θεοπνεύστοις* facile quis crediderit. Chishull.

De literis Teth, Tzaddi, Koph, non inventis in pectorali ſacro, vid. Prideaux, par. I. p. 121. Chishull.

Ib. not. col. 2. l. 5. *lege*, Alphabetum Seniores illud Pſalmo lxix, aliiſque techná illâ Alphabeticâ ſimiliter conſcriptis intertexuiſſe: quo intuitu credibile eſt Simonidem ſuis, &c. Chishull.

P. 28. *Hieruſalem*] Lege *Jeruſalem.* Chishull.

* In Lord Sandys's copy, the inſcription itſelf is properly corrected. J. N.

P. 31.

P. 31. l. 11. *lege*, poſſint, aut, ut quibuſdam placuit, Æolica. Glyconia quare ſic vocentur obſervandum apud Grammaticos veteres Putſchii, præcipuè p. 2701. CHISHULL.

L. 29. *adde*, Vid. Rufinum Gr. p. 2708.

P. 33. not. col. 2. l. 4. *lege*,

" Amphytryo me ſacravit de gente reverſus
" Teleboâ."

Lege enim verſum Herodoteum ἀνεθῆκε νέων, non ut in Editis Herodoti exemplaribus ἀνεθῆκεν ἑῶν. Pari lege corrigendum illud Homericum ἔχε νήδυμος, & legendum ἔχεν ἥδυμος. immo perpetuo apud Homerum ἥδυμος, non νήδυμος. CHISHULL.

P. 36. not. l. 2. *lege*, cap. 8. p. 480.—Ita ſcribendus videtur iſte locus:

A. Νυνὶ δ', ἀπονίζων τὴν κύλικα, δώσω πιεῖν.
B. Ἀλλ' ἔγχεον, ἐπιθεὶς τὸν ἠθμόν.
A. *Nunc verò, calice abluto, dabo quod bibas.*
B. *Quin tu affundito*, COLO SUPERIMPOSITO.

TOUP, Epiſt. ad Ep. Gloceſtr. 1767. p. 122.

P. 37. l. 25. Σιγειεύς.] Μνῆμα, non ut aliàs *monumentum ſepulchrale*, ſed quicquid quis memoriæ ergô reliquerit. Sic arcum ab Iphito ſibi donatum ejus μνῆμα Ulyſſes ſervavit. Odyſſ. Φ. ver. 40.

—μνῆμα ξείνοιο φίλοιο
Κέσκεθ' ἑνὶ μεγάροισι.

P. 38. l. 12. *commendo.*] Si ſic legatur, adducetur eodem ſenſu verſus Homericus Il. Θ. ver. 428. ἔκεθ' ἕγωγε
Νῶιν ἐῶ Διὸς ἄντα βροτῶν ἕνεκεν τολεμίζειν.

Ibid. not. l. ult. *adde*, Hoc certe ſenſu occurrit vox ἐῶ apud Hom. Il. Θ. ver. 428. & apud Sophoclem in Ajace Flagel. ver. 429.

P. 44. l. 38. *lege*, excipit. Adde Epigramma Gr. e Gortynâ, Εἰκόνα τῆνδ' ἐσαθρεῖ, & Prophetæ Sacri Jeremiæ c. xxii. ver. 24, 25.

P. 46. l. 12. *veſtigium.*] Nullus videtur eſſe dubitandi locus, quin in verbo ΜΕΛΕΔΑ. ΙΝΕΝ vacuum ſpatium minus recte collocetur; ecqua enim tandem litera ſuppleri poterit? Oportet autem ΜΕΛΕΔΑΙΝΕ.Ν quod ſic complendum eſt ΜΕΛΕΔΗΝΕΙΝ. DAWES, Miſc. Crit. § iv. p. 120.

P. 47. l. 9. *adde*, ubi pro ἐποίησε reponendum vetuſtum ἐπόησε.—Apud Sponium etiam Miſc. E. A. p. 348. ΤΟΝ ΣΟΦΟΝ ΕΝ ΑΝΔΡΑΣΙΝ ΕΙΩΝΙΚΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ ΚΥΙΝΤΟΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΜΕΙΛΗΤΟΝ ΟΙ ΤΕΧΝΙΤΑΙ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ. Q. IVLIVS FAENTIVS ALVMNVS

CVM ARTIFICIBVS POSVIT.—Aſt (ut inquit Plin. l. xxxvi. 5.) *Multorum obſcurior fama eſt, quorundam claritati in operibus eximiis obſtante numeroArtificum, quoniam nec unus occupat gloriam, nec plures pariter nuncupari poſſunt, ſicut in Laocoonte, qui eſt in Titi Imperatoris domo; opus omnibus & picturæ & ſtatuariæ artis præponendum. Ex uno lapide eum, et liberos, draconumque mirabiles nexus de conſilii ſententia fecere ſummi artifices Ageſander et Polydorus & Athenodorus Rhodii.* CHISHULL.

PSEPHISMA SIGEORUM, &c. p. 54. l. 12. *non admodum vulgari.*] Vox ſatis obvia in Ep. Pauli et alios ſcriptores. Coloſſ. v. 12. & apud Joſ. Ant. IV. ii. 4. προέσθαι τῆς εὐσεβείας, *rebus divinis præeſſe*; & V. i. 24. VII. xiv. 5. VIII. xii. 3. KREBSIUS, in Col. v. 2.

L. 13. *lege*, προῖσασθαι, & ſenſu contrario περιΐσαζο, Tit. iii. 9. 2 Tim. ii. 16. CHISHULL.

L. 17. *adde*, Geminum plane videtur illud in Monumento Berenicenſi ap. P. Weſſelingium, p. 5, 6. Ἐπεὶ Μάρκος Τίτλιος—παραγενηθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχείαν ἐπὶ δημοσίων πραγμάτων, τήν τε πρασασίαν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαλο φιλανθρώπως καλῶς, i. e. *Quoniam M. Tittius—provinciam rerumpublicarum cauſa ingreſſus, earum & curam humaniter ac dextre egit.* Qui genti provinciæve præeſt Πρεσάτης dicitur, ut mox apud Attaliſtas p. 144. Vides igitur apud Sigeos Antiochus dicitur ἐν ἀρχῇ παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν. Titius apud Berenicenſes παραγενηθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐπὶ δημοσίων πραγμάτων. Antiochus πρὸς ἃς ἐνδόξε καλῆς αἱρέσεως. Titius τὴς πρασασίαν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαλο φιλανθρώπως. Marmor in Cratonis Muſici honorem erectum, l. 13: ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν αἰεὶ προαίρεσιν τῆς εὐεργεσίας, eo quod in eodem ſemper propoſito permaneat benefaciendi. CHISHULL.

P. 55. l. 47. *ſervatur.*] Vide tamen huc ſpectans, id quod incertè admodum de ejus conjugio traditur ab Euſtath. in Dionyſii Perieg. poſt ver. 915, &c. CHISHULL.

P. 56. l. 12. *Soteris.*] Vide Euſtath. ad Dionyſii Perieg. ver. 915, &c.

P. 58. l. ult. *adde*, De Victoriâ Palladis ξυνέργῳ Ariſtoph in Ἱππεῖς, p. m. 323.

STAT. JOV. URII. p. 61. l. 23. *lege*, Sub ſtatuâ, &c.

L. ult. σύμβολον] σύμβολον εὐπλοΐης, ut in Epigrammate Edit. Brodei p. 473.

Ὅπως ἀνδρείκελα τεύξῃ
Τῆς καλ' Ἀθηναίων σύμβολα Καμμανόης.

Item

Item Anthologiâ eâdem, p. 571.

Ὀψοπόνος Σπινθὴς Ἑρμῆ τάδε σύμβολα τέχνας.

Item, p. 576.

Δᾶρας Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ—σύμβολον Ἀρτέμιδι. CHISHULL.

MON. MILES. p. 65, l. 16. *verſione*] Verſionem intelligo ſic vulgo dictam : quæ enim vere LXX fuit poſt Juſtini Martyris ætatem in uſu apud Eccleſias eſſe deſiit, ſubrogatâ in ejus locum Theodotianâ, quæ tamen vere LXXvirali valde conſentanea fuiſſe perhibetur. CHISHULL.

P. 69. l. 17. ἀφεσαλμένων] quod communi dialecto ἀπεσαλμένων. CHISHULL.

L. 26. Γραφὴ χρυσωμάτων] *Scriptura ſeu Catalogus vaſorum auri*, ut apud LXX. in libro Ezræ. CHISHULL.

P. 71. l. 1. τεσσεράκοντα] ut ſemper ferè in MS. Alexandrino τῶν LXX. quod tamen a doctiſſimo Editore Grabio in τεσσαράκοντα temere mutatum : vide ejus Prolegomena ad verſionem Alexandrinam cap. 2. § 6. Veterem illam lectionem confirmat paſſim Herodotus, & inde ductum vocabulum Latinum *teſſera*. Eſt verò Ionicum, quo ſcribendi genere ſæpius abundare Verſionem LXX. Alexandrinam notavit vir doctiſſimus (in præfatione ad tom. III.) Fr. Leus, M. D. CHISHULL.

L. 3. σχοινίδα] Quæratur, annon legi debeat Σχοινικίδα, omiſſâ ſyllabâ κι errore marmorarii. Occurrit enim Σχοινικὶς in Scholiis ad Arati Phænomena, edit. Oxon. p. 31. Iterum in Eratoſthene ibid. p. 33. nempe Scholiaſtæ τροχῷ Σχοινικὶς, Eratoſtheni vero Σχοινικὶς ἀγγεῖε. Confer vero Plautinum *Miſeras Schæno delibutas* ; i. e. Unguento Schœnico in Pœnulo not. 1. p. m. 517. CHISHULL.—Σχοινὶς eſt *colum junceum*, ſive argenteum in modum coli juncei formatum. Σχοίνινον ἠθμὸν vocant Græci. Heſych. Σχοινικὸς ἠθμός. Hinc σχοινὶς, ut κιχὶς, κυχὶς, atque alia ejuſdem formæ ſexcenta. TOUP, Epiſt. ad Ep. Glouceſtr. 1767, p. 122.

P. 72, l. 12. *Lectione*, &c.] ΧΡΑΣΘΑΙ, quo rejecto ΧΡΙΕΣΘΑΙ legendum arbitror. Confer tamen Herodotum l. vii. c. 141. συνεξέλευς αὖτις ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἱκέτας. CHISHULL.

MON. ADUL. PTOL. EUERG. p. 76. .7. Ἑρμέα.] Nota junctos in ſellâ Adulitanâ, Herculem & Hermem, ut etiam in vetuſto Epigrammate, apud Salmaſium de duabus Inſcriptionibus Herodis Attici p. 22. edit. Lugd. Bat. CHISHULL.

P. 81,

P. 81. l. 28. *μόνος βασιλέων τῶν πρὸ ἐμέ, ſolus regum qui ante me fuerunt*] ut Tacito Hiſt. I. cap. 5. *Solus omnium ante ſe principum in melius mutatus eſt.*

L. 29. ἔχω [πρὸς] τὸν μέγιστον] F. *propter quod beneficium habeo* [ſive *agnoſco*] *Martem maximum Deum meum*, i. e. δι' ἣν εὐχαριστίαν ἔχω τὸν μέγιστον Θεόν μου Ἄρην.—Me tamen moratur ſignificatio vocis εὐχαριστία, quæ plerumque pro *gratiarum actione* ſumitur. MAITTAIRE, in Marm. Oxon. in Ind. voc. *Syntaxis incongrua.*—Poſt ἔχω inferendum eſt πρὸς, quod ſenſus & ſyntaxis poſtulat.

L. 32. γῇ τῇ ἐμῇ, *ditioni meæ*] ut ſæpius in Maccabaicis, & Homeri Odyſſ. ſpeciatim Λ. 165. ἀδὲ πω ἀμῆς—γῆς ἐπέβην. CHISHULL. Huc adde, ἀπὸ μὲν ἀναβολῆς p. 81. ult. in ſingulari, quod vix apud idoneos Græcos invenies, inquit Beza, in Matth. ii. 2. Vide tamen Philonem de Monarch. vol. II. p. 223.

P. 84. (4.) (5.) Genus Ptolomæi Euergetæ relatum ad Herculem & Bacchum ab illius ævi adulatoribus, Satyri teſtimonio illuſtratur apud Theophylum ad Autolycum l. ii. p. 85. Confer cum Euſebii fragmentis in Theſ. temp. Joſ. Scaligeri in Græcis, p. 45. 57. Locum Latinè damus: "Satyri (inquit) verba hæc ſunt: Ex Baccho & Althea, quæ Theſtii "fuit familia, orta eſt Deianira; ex hac & Hercule, Jovis genitus eſt "Hylus; ex hoc Cleodemus; ex hoc Ariſtomachus, &c. Bonus ex hoc "Meleager, ex quo Arſinoë. Hæc & Lagus procrearunt Ptolomæum, "cognomentó Sotera; ex hoc & Berenice ortus eſt Ptolemæus Euergetes; "ex quo & Berenice, quæ filia fuit Megæ [reſcribe *Magæ* Cyrenarum "rex] regis Cyrenis, originem habuit Ptolemæus Philopater. Regum "Alexandrinorum cum Baccho cognatio in hunc modum ſe habet." Hinc intelligitur, qua ratione uſi ſunt Ptolemæi in materno genere ad Bacchum ferendo; quorum auctor Ptolemæus Lagi, ſi fuit filius Philippi ipſius Macedonum regis, quæ Pauſaniæ ſententia eſt & Curtii, ſatis apparet cur paternam ſtirpem ab Hercule deduci voluerint. M. V. La Croze, Vind. Vet. Script. contra Harduinum, p. 145.

Ibid. (5.) Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ μήτρος Διονύσου τοῦ Διὸς, i. e. à matre Arſinoa, filia Lyſimachi, qui Dionyſum generis ſui ἀρχηγέτην ferens, ideo, Dionyſi ad inſtar, cornutus in nummis cuditur. Idem memoravit Satyrus de populis Alexandrinorum ſcriptor, qui, ut habet Theophilus Antiochenus ad Autolycum lib. 2. ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Φιλοπάτορος, τοῦ ϛ Πτολεμαίου προσαγορευθέντος,

τοῦτο

τῆτο μηνύει Διόνυσον Ἀρχηγέτην γεγονέναι. Erat vero Ptolemæus Philopater Ptolemæi noſtri Euergetis filius. CHISHULL.

P. 85. l. 20, *adde*, Vid. Diod. Sic. l. iii. p. 108—118. edit. Steph. Gr.

P. 86. l. ult. *adde*, Vide tamen apud Polybium, p. 1020, τὴν πρὸς Θεὰς εὐχαριςίαν, & Demoſthenem περὶ ςεφάνε, Περινθίων εὐχαριςίαν: item in Χερρονησιτῶν ψηφίσμαςι—ἀκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριςῶν.

P. 87. l. 4. *adde*, Vid. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. p. 108—118. ed. Steph.

DONARIA APOLLINIS DIDYMEI, p. 91. l. 31. *drachmas Alexandrinas*] Hæ, Varrone teſte, duplo ſuperabant Atticas. Mox, drachmæ Mileſiæ, h. e. ut videtur Atticæ. CHISHULL.

P. 94. l. 38. *Chalcedonius*] *Adde*, Πρασιὰς, πωλήριον ὀρθὸν *, h. e. *modicum*, quodque hominem a ſtatu recto non dejiceret. Ita enim Διόνυσος ὀρθὸς, apud Athenæum, pagg. m. 39. 475. 496. intelligetur. Latinorum *cœna recta* vide an huic convenit. CHISHULL.

TEIORUM DIRÆ, p. 97. l. 1. *Era-ki*] i. e. *Era-vicus*, idem forte de quo Strabo ἕτερα Γέραι πολίχνιον ἐςὶ Τηΐον, lib. 14. p. m. 443. CHISHULL.

P. 100. l. 44. *Adde*, Diſquiri tamen meretur annon ἄλσος aut παράλσος vox fuerit antiquis ab ἅλς ducta, ut θαλάτσιος à θάλατσα. Certe in Sophoclis Ajace Flag. p. 412. legendum videtur πόροι ἁλίῤῥοθοι παράλσ' ἄνηρα, non ut in editis πάραλά τ' ἄνηρα, aut ut ſenarii ratio poſtulat—παράλσά τ' ἄνηρα. CHISHULL.

P. 101. l. 20. *Adde*, Ver. 32, 33. Ἀνθεςηρίοισιν, Ἡρακλέοισιν ϗ Δίοισιν, eodem ordine ac Διονύσιος, Ἡράκλεος, Δίος, i. e. Junius, Julius, Auguſtus, inter menſes Bithynices, quod locum ſatis apte explicat. Ἀνθεςήρια enim Baccho fuere ſacra.

L. ult. *Adde*, Demoſthenes quoque in Midiana, τρόπῳ ἢ μηχανῇ ἀδεμίᾳ. Lex etiam Attica in Heliaſtarum juramento. CHISHULL. Adde, Thucyd. l. v. c. 18. μήτε τέχνῃ, μήτε μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ. Et Xenoph. in Cyri Exped. l. vi. p. 504. 8vo. ed. Hutchinſon, πάσῃ τεχνῃ ἢ μηχανῇ πωλεῦσαι. ut in MS. Eton. legitur, notante Hutchinſono.

MON. TEIA, p. 103. l. 20. ϗ ὅτι δι' ὅλε πωλεῖσον λόγον κ. τ. λ. Huic compar lege de Athenienſium ſtatu a Pauſania obſervatum in Atticis I. c. 17. p. m. 39. δηλοῖ (ita lege, non δῆλα) τε ἐναργῶς ὅσοις πωλέον τι ἑτέρων εὐσεβείας μέτεσιν ἴσον σφίσι παρὸν τύχης χρηςῆς. Adde Ciceronem de Aruſp. reſponſis n. 9. *Nec numero Hiſpanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos,*

* This ſeems to be exactly the *ſtanding* cup, or goblet, of our forefathers. J. N.

nec

nec denique hoc ipſo hujus gentis ac terræ domeſtico nativoque ſenſu Italos ipſos ac Latinos, ſed pietate ac religione, atque hac unâ ſapientiâ, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perſpeximus, omnes gentes nationeſque ſuperavimus. CHISHULL.

P. 106. l. 10. Εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἄγῃ, cum Æolica expletiva κα, quo modo etiam legendum apud Homerum Il. A. 184. Ἐγὼ δέ κ' ἄγω Βρισηΐδα.

P. 125. l. 34. *Adde*, Notandum cum Berkelio ad Stephanum in voce Βεχεις innumeris nominibus propriis nunc addi τὸ Σ, nunc vero demi. CHISHULL.

P. 126. l. 23. *lege, Rhauciorum Gemellorum*, non aliter ac Comanæ gemellæ urbes Cappadociæ apud Dionem lib. 35. Tales cecinit Homerus in Syriâ inſulâ, gemellas urbes,

Ἔνθα δύω τρόπιες, δίχα δὲ σφίσι τρίχα δέδαεσται· Odyſſ. O. 411.

Ægyptus quoque in ſuperiorem & inferiorem diviſa ideo dualiter *Miſraim* vocata eſt, & recentius modo non diſſimili, Galliæ, Hiſpaniæ, &c. CHISHULL.

P. 127. l. 24. *turba*] *adde*, ut notat Salmaſ. de Linguâ Helleniſticâ, p. 66.

L. 28. *adde*, In ſacra quoque Apocalypſi xvii. 15. λαοὶ καὶ ὄχλοι, quæ duo ſimpliciter *populi* ab interprete vulgato reddita. Et in S. Joan. Evangel. c. vii. 49. ὁ ὄχλος ὅτος τὸν νόμον μὴ γινώσκων. CHISHULL.

L. 34. *adde*, Ita πῦρ Teutonicè *Fyre*, πῶνιξ idem ac φοῖνιξ, ΠΑΙΠΠΙ idem ac ΦΙΑΙΠΠΙ in nummo Gentis Marciæ ap. Vaillant, & Βάλιππος Macedonicè, teſte Euſtathio, ad Odyſſ. 341. Pari modo e Græco δαὶς Latinum DAPIS, Æoles enim ſcripſere ΔΑΓΙΣ, mox ΔΑΦΙΣ, unde ΔΑΠΙΣ, Latini *Dapis*. CHISHULL.

L. 37. *adde*, De εὐταξία vide Ciceronem in Offic. l. I. c. 40. ubi εὐταξία vocatur modeſtia ſive ſcientia earum rerum, quæ agentur aut dicentur, loco ſuo collocandarum. CHISHULL.

Certum etiam vocis præſidium in Polybio, qui l. IV. c. 82. de Rege Philippo κατά τε τὴν λοιπὴν ἀναστροφὴν καὶ τὰς παρόξεις τεθαυμασμένος ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν. Et Arriano l. I. Diſp. Epict. c. 9. εἰ δὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἔν τινι χώρᾳ καὶ ἀναστροφῇ κατατέταχε. Vid. & Arrian. l. IV. c. 7. & Telctis Philoſophi verba a Stobæo nobis ſervata Serm. ccxxvii. p. 780. Ita etiam Inſcriptio Berenicenſis, annotante P. Weſſelingio, p. 14.

P. 128. l. 17. *lege*, Lacedæmoniorum de Timotheo pſephiſma, linguâ Laconicâ σ finale in ρ vertente, ubi etiam, teſte Heſychio, Σιὸρ pro Σιὸς, hoc eſt Doricè & Æolicè Θεὸς. Eidem τὶρ, τὶς οἱ Λάκωνες. CHISHULL.

L. 20. *τὰν μῶαν,*] Μῶκ, *Muſa,* ita Ariſtophanes in Lyſiſtratâ, pro quo veteres Latini *Muha.* Dauſquius p. 204. Per *μῶαν* vere ſive *Muham* id ipſum intellige quod Lucretius l. ii. ver. 412.

Per Muſæa melc, per chordas organici quæ
Mobilibus digitis expergefacta figurant.

Confer Athenæum l. xiv. c. 4. & Ciceronem 2 de Legg. Idem. Lacones pro Μωσικὰ dixere Μωικὰ, σ ſcilicet in aſpiratam in media dictione verſo, quod apud ipſos familiare dicit Etymologici Magni auctor. Vide Meurſium de Miſcellaneis Laconicis lib. iii. cap. 5. CHISHULL.

In alio loco ſic refingit CHISHULL: Μῶα pro quo rectius ſcribendum Μῶᾶ, Latine *Muha,* idem quod Græcis cæteris commune Μῶσα, ut in Cantilenâ Laconicâ apud Ariſtophanem in fine Lyſiſtratæ, *ταὔγελον αὖτ' ἔρανον ἐκλεπῶᾶ* Μῶᾶ.

L. 45. *Adde,* P. 121. *ὅπαι* pro *ὅπη,* idem ac *ὅπως,* quippe *ὅπη* Odyſſ. *χ.* 43. & ſæpe alibi dupliciter videtur ſignificare, non aliter ac *ἵνα.* Ita in Sibyllino apud Zoſimum carmine, *ὅπη Θέμις,* i. e. ubi fas eſt. CHISHULL.

P. 129. l. 36. *Adde,* Hanc primus memorat *Onorio Belli* Medicus apud Vicetinos A. D. 1583, in MS. pererudito a Scipione Maffei citato, lib. de Amphitheatro c. vii. Editam (quod mirum eſt) ne nôſſe quidem videtur *Maffei* A. D.....* quo tempore librum ſuum contexuit. [Sed Q. orig. W. B.]

L. 53. *Adde,* Par nomen & etymologia menſis אביב *abib,* apud Hebræos, *φιλασίᾳ* apud Lacedæmonios. CHISHULL.

P. 130. *not.* l. 3. *adde,* ut jamdudum legit Origenes in Philocal. B. Quære vero annon reponi debeat *χώραι ἂν,* ſic forte literis colligatis in ipſo marmore inſculptum, *AN.* CHISHULL.

Ver. 10. 14. 40. *κρατόνλες, πωλόνλας, κοσμόνλες,* pro communi *κρατέονλες, πωλέονλας, κοσμέονλες,* ut apud Latinos *fervit* Archaice pro *fervet,* &c. CHISHULL.

Ver. 27. *ἀσινὴς, innocuus.* Sic enim lacunam adimpleo, *εἴ τις κ' ἀσινὴς ἦι, ἀτελὴς ἔχω, αἰ δὲ καὶ σίνηαι,*—plane ut illud Homericum, Od. Λ. v. 109.

Τὰς εἰ μέν κ' ασινέας ἐάσᾳς, νόςῳ τε μέδηαι,
Εἰ δέ κε σίνηαι—&c.

ubi pro *ἀσινέας* melius longe *ἀσινὴς* legendum arbitror. CHISHULL.

* Circiter 1730. Verba *εν ιερα πυγνη* male interpretatus eſt V. Cl. Montfauconius quaſi ad *ſacram pugnam* referenda cum revera de urbe *Hierapytna* agitur cujus incolas ſpectat marmor Oxonienſe.

Ver. 29. πρεσγήϊα, h. e. ut videtur πρεσγέων ſive πρεσβέων ἧϊα, *legatorum viatica*. Ἧϊα enim Homero Od. O. ver. 289. & 410. ἐφόδια ſunt, i. e. *viatica* παρὰ τὸ ἴεναι. CHISHULL.

P. 132. *not. Adde*, Ver. 64, 65. περὶ δὲ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, h. e. de foro, de tribunali, &c. His confer quæ habet de foro a ſe ſtatuto Cicero ad Atticum lib. v. Ep. 2. *Forum conſtitueram agere Laodiceæ*, &c. CHISHULL.

L. 13. *Adde*, ἐπικριτήριον τελεῖται, i. e. *ſacrificium* ἐπικριτήριον dictum *perficiatur*; ut Herodoto lib. viii. c. 41. ἐπιμήνια τελέεσι. CHISHULL.

L. 20. *Adde*, Subeſſe videtur is ipſe ſenſus, qui & συμβόλῳ Chriſtianæ Fidei. CHISHULL.

P. 133. l. 10. AOPATPION.] Hoc, ſi recte ſcribitur, ſingulare & ignotum eſt, originem forte ducens ab ἄορ, enſis; ita ut Martis ſit epitheton: ab ἄορ enim interpoſito Digamma & præpoſito M eſt MAVORS, ut ab Ἄρης, MARS. At ſi ſubſit mendum, conjectura facile dabit pro ἀοράτριον, aut ἀόραλον, aut ἀρότριον, utrumque Jovis epitheton. Ζῆνα ἀρότριον, hoc eſt σίτου & ἀρότρου inventorem (Δάγωνα i. e. Σίτωνα vocatum) memorat Sanchoniathon (aut ejus Interpres Philo Byblius) apud Euſebium Præp. Evang. l. I. p. m. 25. & 23. Forte pro AOPATPION legendum tranſpoſitis literis (ut Καρνεος pro *Craneus* Pauſaniæ) APOTPAION, & intelligendum Deum Arationis præſidem, Veſtæ, hoc eſt Terræ, non male ſociatum. AOPATPION ſi legatur poteſt eſſe Jovis epitheton, idem ac Χρυσάορις aut Ῥεμβεινοδος, de quo p. 162. ex Strabone, & utriuſque origo forte fuit ex Geneſeos cap..... ver. ult. cum epitheto Ῥεμβεινοδος comparando. CHISHULL.

P. 134. l. 5. *Adde*, Latiorum & Olontiorum pacta de vi hoſtili invicem ab alterutris propulſandâ: quibus conferantur & quæ pacta ſunt inter Romanos & Judæos, 1 Maccab. c. viii. CHISHULL.

P. 135. *not.* l. 2. *Adde*, Romæ quoque *prandia in ſemitis decumæ nomine* aliquando publice præbita laudavit Cicero de Offic. l. ii. c. 17. CHISHULL.

P. 136. l. 27. Ζῆνα τὸν Κρητογενέα.] Jovem Creta genitum, quem etiam in Creta mortuum & ſepultum fuiſſe traditur. Illic ejus σῆμα decantatum a Poetis, ſpeciatim e Callimacho—χὴ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο—Κρῆτες, ἐτεκμήναντο. Hanc fabulam diluere voluit Scholiaſtes in Apollonium; narrans quidem in Creta extitiſſe inſcriptionem ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ. Eam vero non aliud fuiſſe quam reliquias alterius quæ ab origine ſic integra legebatur ΜΙΝΩ-ΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ. Atat non ea fuit decantata a poetis ſepulchralis inſcriptio. Aliam iſti indigitarant in oppido Cnoſo, ΣΔΑΝ ΚΡΟΝΟ, cujus

jus ex Euhemero meminit Lactantius lib. i. c. 11. Porphyrius vero in vita Pythagoræ verſum affert ab eo Jovis tumulo inſcriptum. Ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζαὼν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν; at Suidas in voce Πῆκος—ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν τῶῆκος ὁ Ζεύς. CHISHULL.

L. 33. Σιὸς pro Θεὸς Doricum erat & Æolicum: Dorico-Laconicum Σιὸρ. Ita enim Heſychius Σιὸρ, Θεὸρ, Λάκωνες. Hinc Lampitûs Lacænæ fœminæ per Dioſcuros juramentum, ναὶ τῷ Σιῷ, apud Ariſtophanem in Lyſiſtratâ, idemque apud Plutarchum in Apophthegmatis Laconicis. Iiſdem igitur Σειὸς ἀνὴρ, *vir divinus*, ut teſtis eſt Ariſtoteles Ethic. Eudem. lib. vi. c. 1. Adde Athenæum lib. viii. ubi αὐτὰς τὰς Θεὰς (inquit) οἱ Λάκωνες Σιὰς φασί. Pari modo pro ἀγαθὸς dixerunt illi ἀγασὸς. Ariſt. in Lyſiſtrata ſub ipſum finem, & pro παρθένος, παρσένος. Σιὰς, Deos, non Θεὰς appellabat (Varro) Æolico genere dicendi Lactantius, lib. i. CHISHULL.

Not. l. 4. ἠμὰν,] i. e. ἠμὴν. Vox in jurando ſolennis, non hic tantum ſed & in Magnetum cum Smyrnæis fœdere, & apud LXX verſionem Exod. XXII. 12. item Hom. Il. A. ver. 77. ſæpius etiam apud Thucydidem lib. vi. c. 72. CHISHULL.

L. ult. *adde*, Lapſus eſt etiam doctiſſimus Meurſius in notis ad Phlegontem Trallianum, c. 35. ubi ὀρεῖον tanquam vocem Græco-barbaram ex Latino *horreum* deducit. Scribe vero apud Phlegontem ἐν τοῖς ὠρείοις [non ὁρίοις] τεταριχευμένος. CHISHULL.

MON. ATTAL. p. 148. l. 5. Κοινὸν τῆς Ἐχίνε συμμορίας] i. e. *Dionyſiacorum artificum ſodalitium* ab Echino dictum. Veriſimilem nominis rationem ſubminiſtrare videntur Epigrammata Græca in Anthologia l. vi. p. m. 554. unde dicitur Echinum Dionyſi donis infeſtum Dionyſo ſuſpendi ſuetum.

Κώμαυλος τὸν Ἐχῖνον ἰδὼν ἐπὶ νῶτα φέρονθαι
Ῥᾴγας, ἀπεκθεῖνεν τῷδ' ἐπὶ θηλοπέδᾳ.
Αὐήνας δ' ἀνέθηκε φιλακρήτῳ Διονύσῳ
Τὸν τὰ Διωνύσε δῶρα λειζόμενον.

Et antea p. 553.

Ὀξέσι λαχνήενθαι δέμας κέντροισιν Ἐχῖνον
Ῥαγολόγον, γλυκερῶν σίνορα θηλοπέδων,
Σφαιρηδὸν ραφυλῆσιν ἐπιπρολαλονθαι δοκεύσας
Κώμαυλος Βρομίῳ ζῶον ἀνεκρέμασεν.

Eodem nimirum merito, quo—

—*Baccho caper omnibus aris*
Cæditur.

CHISHULL.

L. 6. Συμμορία] *Sodalitium* quod tamen ordinarie *Decuria* vertitur. Sed utrumque conjunxit Gruterus p. xxxv. 5. & hujuſmodi decurios ſodalitia fuiſſe operarum ſcenicarum demonſtrant inſcriptiones a Fabretto relatæ pag. 660. DEC. III. SCAMILLAR. OPERAE. VETERES. A. SCAENA. aliter pag. 603. OPERAE VRB. SCATIL. Sed vide locos. CHISHULL.

P. 149. l. 23. πράτ]ονσας] h. e. ποιοῦσας τὰς θεωρίας. De quo vide Euſtathium ad Odyſſ. Θ.—οἱ κατ' ἀγῶνας εὐπρήσσεσκον ἄπαντα. Vide Epigraphen nummi apud Vaillant in gente Sulpitia ultima ΤΑΡΚΥΤΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΙΣΚΟΥ ΕΞ. ΥΠΑΤΟ. *ΠΡΑΤΤΟΝΤΟΣ. CHISHULL.

MON. STRATON. p. 156. l. 3. *Stratonicenſium*] Notatur quod de beneficiis Stratoniceæ urbi conceſſis attulit Spanhemius de Orbe Romano, inter Antiq. Rom. tom. ix. p. 115. 119. CHISHULL.

P. 158. l. 28. παιδονόμ.] Is qualis fuerit vide apud Xenophontem in Lacedæmoniorum πολιτείᾳ cap. 2. § 2. 11. vid. & Straboncm lib. x. p. m. 332. καθ' ἕκαστον δὲ ἄνδρειον καθέστηκε παιδονόμος. CHISHULL.

P. 160. l. 24. Nota ψήφισμα παιδικῆ a pædonomo conſcribendum, in quo notatu non indignum ſcribi σῦπαν, ἀναγελίων, literis ob ſequentes π & γ non mutatis, in eodem ὦτα numquam reperies affixum dativis. Hoc nempe Romanis qui ad lectionem inſtituerentur impedimento fuit, obſervante Quintiliano lib. i. c. 7. Erant vero inter Latinos Grammaticos qui e ſuis quoque Dativis illud *i* exulare juſſerunt. Teſte Agellio l. iv. c. 16. *C. Cæſar gravis auctor Linguæ Latinæ in libris Analogicis omnia iſtiuſmodi* (*puta, Senatu, Victa, Aſpectu,* &c.) *ſine litera i dicenda cenſet.* De Græcis verò Strabo lib. xiv. p. m. 446. πολλοὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ι γράφουσι δοτικάς, καὶ ἐκβάλλουσι τὸ ἔθος φυσικὴν αἰτίαν ἔχ ἔχον. CHISHULL.

P. 162. l. 46. *Dele* Quamquam, &c. *uſque ad* videtur, l. 49.

P. 163. l. 11. *Adde,* Et Mamertinus in Genethliaco ſive Panegyrico Maximiani cap. x. *non opinione traditus, ſed conſpicuus & præſens Juppiter cominus invocari.* Vegetius vero de re militari, l. ii. c. 2. *Imperatori cum Auguſti nomen accepit tanquam* PRÆSENTI & CORPORALI DEO *fidelis præſtanda eſt devotio.* CHISHULL.

L. 15—28. Hæc incertus auctor an deleat, necne.

L. 24. *lege,* At fucatus ille apud Zoſimum poeta Sibyllinus & Leunclavius, &c. CHISHULL.

MON. ANCYR. p. 171. l. 24. *adde,* Emendationes aliquot in Mon. Ancyr. vid. in Biblioth. Choiſie, tom. VIII. p. 328. MASSON, MS.

* ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΥΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΑΝ.

Not.

Not. l. 4. *Adde*, nec non et præſtantiſſimus Spanhemius, in ſecundo illo *De præſtant. & uſu Numiſm.* volumine, p. 362. CHISHULL.—ubi tamen cl. viri [Spanhemii] periodus manca. Inde etiam liquet iſtam *Tournefortii* copiam minus accuratam fuiſſe illa exarata a *P. Luca*, vel potius a *Le Fevre*, qui per plures annos Ancyræ degeret, et a cujus hæredibus exemplar habuit *P. Lucas*, ut mihi narravit *Dr. Sherard*, qui ultra decennium Smyrnæ conſul Anglorum fuit.—P. Montfaucon, Palæogr. p. 162. *Faure* illum vocat. MASSON, MS.

P. 172. l. 18. COMPARAVI] Cicero Phil. IV. p. 296. *Cæſar fertur in cœlum, qui contra te, Antoni, exercitum comparavit.* Phil. VII. p. 324. *Ei porro honores a Senatu decretos immortales et ſingulares, quod contra M. Antonium exercitum comparaviſſet.* MASSON, MS.

Ibid. OBSTINATIONE] Jac. Gron. legit DOMINATIONE.—Vell. ii. 60. *Aperte deinde Antonii ac Dolabellæ conſulum ad nefandam* DOMINATIONEM *erupit furor.* FABRICIUS.

L. 19. DECRETIS HONORIFICIS ab Senatu IN ORDINEM SUM adlectus ſed CONSVLIBVS mortuis in vacantem LOCVM exercitus IMPERIVM MIHI DEDIT, &c.

Ibid. HONORIFICIS] Ea ſunt quæ refert Dio, p. 310. D. FABRICIUS.

Ibid. ornatus decretis honorificis non probatur a Gronovio eſſe locutionem Romanam. Aliud eſt *ornari laudibus, honoribus, teſtimoniis, verbis ampliſſimis.* Dein dicitur *adlectus* AD et COOPTATVS IN. Grut. Inſcript. p. 300. n. 1. 2. Nec voculæ *ornatus* locus eſt in vulgari vel Coſſoniano exemplari. Forte igitur poſt VINDICAVI locus ſic ſupplendus: *quam ob cauſam Senatus* DECRETIS HONORIFICIS IN ORDINEM SVVM *cooptavit. Et ut cum* CONSVLIBVS *in exercitu auctoritatem* LOCVM*que haberem, im*PERIVM MIHI DEDIT *extraordinarium* RESPVBLICA, *quo pro* PRAETORE SIMVL CVM *Hirtio et Penſa* CONSVLIBVS *bellum gererem.*—Vel ſic; VINDICAVI. *Eam ob cauſam Sena*TVS DECRETIS HONORIFICIS IN ORDINEM SVVM *me cooptavit. Et ut cum* CONSVLIBVS *in bello contra hoſtem* LOCVM *haberem* IMPERIVM MIHI DEDIT *extraordinarium* RESPVBLICA, *quo pro* PRAETORE SIMUL CUM *Hirtio* et *Panſa* CONSVLIBVS *exercitui præeſſem.* MASSON, ibid. Hæc forte id ſpectant quod Vell. l. ii. c. 61. *Eum Senatus honoratum equeſtri ſtatua—proprætore; una cum conſulibus deſignatis, Hirtio & Panſa, bellum cum Antonio gerere juſſit.* Suet. l. ii. c. 10. *Juſſuſque comparato exercitui Proprætor præeſſe, et cum Hirtio ac Panſa, qui conſulatum acceperant, D. Bruto opem ferre,* &c. Tac. Ann. l. i. c. 10.

Mox

Mox imperium ubi decreta Patrum faſces et jus Prætoris invaſerat, &c. Dio, l. xlvi. p. m. 422. *Paulo poſt, priuſquam de Antonii ſententiâ fierent certiores, tumultum urbi impendere cenſuerunt, veſtem Senatoriam exuerunt, bellum contra Antonium conſulibus et Cæſari, cui prætoriam poteſtatem tribuerant, injunxerunt*, &c. vid. et p. 426. Cicero Philip. v. p. 310. *Conſulibus totam rempublicam commendandam cenſeo.* Phil. iii. p. 283. *Quouſque enim tantum bellum privatis conſiliis propulſabitur? Cur non quam primum publica accedit auctoritas? Caius Cæſar adoleſcens, pæne potius puer, incredibili ac divina quadam mente atque virtute, tum cum maxime furor arderet Antonii, cumque ejus a Brunduſio crudelis et peſtifer reditus timerctur, nec poſtulantibus, nec cogitantibus, nec optantibus quidem—firmiſſimum exercitum invicto genere veteranorum militum comparavit; patrimonium ſuum effudit, &c. qua peſte Remp. privato conſilio (nec enim fieri potuit aliter) Cæſar liberavit.—Cui quidem hodierno die, P. C. tribuenda eſt auctoritas, ut Remp. non modo a ſe ſuſceptam, ſed etiam a nobis commendatam, poſſit defendere.* Vid. et Ep. Fam. l. xi. 7. Masson, MS. Vid. et Cic. ad Brut. Ep. xiv. p. 405. *Tantum dicam Cæſarem hunc adoleſcentem*, &c. Ad Fam. Ep. l. xii. ep. 25. Phil. v. p. 306. Idem, ibid.

Ibid. F. *Electus in eum ordinem* SVM *admiſſus.* G. Clarke.

L. 22. *ſuffectum*] F. *ſolutum legibus conſulem*—ſcil. lege annuali conſulum ætati præſtituta. Mamertina cæteris.

L. 24. *conivrati*, &c.] Vel *conjuratione facta interfecerant* IN, &c. Masson, MS.

L. 31. DEDVXI, &c.] Vix Latinè dicitur; *deducere* IN *colonias.* W. B.

P. 173. l. 2. PATRITIORVM] Vid. Tacit. Ann. xi. c. 25. Dio l. LII.

L. 3. SENATVM] Cenſor, Collega L. Philippo legerat. Val. Max. l. VIII. c. 13. Sic et Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. vii. c. 48.

L. 8. De civium Romanorum in Imp. Claud. Cenſura, vid. Tacit. Annal. xi. c. 25. cum Lipſii notis. Masson, MS.

L. 9. Leg. PROCONSVLARI ex Dione l. LV. p. 557. ubi prodit Auguſtum ut recenſionem in Italia perageret, *Proconſulare imperium accepiſſe.* Masson, MS.—Imo, quod Dio narrat, ad Italiam, hoc vero ad Romam ſpectat; adeoque omnino *Conſulari* retinendum. Idem, ibid.

L. 51. PRINCIPEM IVVENTVTIS, &c.] Gronovius legerat ex Coſſoniano exemplari, *Principem Juventutis* ROMANORUM *parmis utrumque et haſtis argenteis.*

Recte

Recte tamen vidit Cl. Spanhemius De præſt. Num. tom. II. p. 361. vocem ROMANORUM haud convenire: et quidem ex Lucæ exemplari patet legendum; *utrumque eorum parmis et haſtis argenteis*, &c. quod mox confirmat ex alio exemplari, quod Cl. viro communicatum a *Chiſwell*, innominato tamen, liquet, quodque is a Cl. *Tournefort* habuerat. Hunc enim deſignare voluit nomine *Tournebæntil*. Nec etiam rem clare ſatis exponit p. 361, 362. Quinimo periodus omnino manca eſt. MASSON, MS.

L. 54. *Adde*, [I. Cong.] *

L. 56. *Adde*, [II. Cong.] *

* Ex his et ſequentibus patet Congiaria *ſepties* Auguſtum dediſſe; I. Patris nomine; et ſuo nomine V. Plebi urbanæ, et I. Coloniis ſuorum Militum. MASSON, MS.

P. 174. l. 2. *Adde*, [III. Congiar.]

L. 5. *ad ſeſtertIVM*] ad hominVM vel potius civiVM.

Ibid. ad ſeſtertIVM MILLIA] Oudanius explevit *ad hominum millia, nunquam minus quinquaginta & ducenta.* Et quis non ita expleret, quum in ſeqq. ſemper exprimatur numerus *hominum*, qui Congiaria acceperunt. Ver. 15. 320000 plebis urbanæ; dein v. 19. *hominum* 120000 in triumphali Congiario; v. 21, denique *paulo plura quam* 20000. Notandum eſt in hiſce Congiariis ab Auguſto plebi Rom. ſuo nomine datis, ſingulos hominos accepiſſe ſemper *Quadringenos nummos*. Vid. Tab. iii. ver. 12. 13. Jam vero ſi in iis Congiariis ſumma univerſa fuit 250000 nummorum, unusquiſque habuit 400 nummos, ne mille quidem homines, immo, ſi rectâ ratione ſubducas, tantum ſexcentos & viginti quinque reperies nummos accepiſſe. PERIZON. Diſſ. de morte Judæ, c. x. L. Bat. 1702. Chiſhullius in eundem errorem labitur, atque etiam falſa computatione novas tenebras obducit.

L. 7. *Adde*, [IV. Congiar.]

Ibid. SEXAGENOS] Sic et Dio, l. LIII. vid. Modi. ad Livium, p. 423. MASSON, MS.

L. 8. *Adde*, [V. Congiar.]

L. 9. SINGVLA] Sic Sueton. in Aug. c. 101. Legavit—Prætorianis militibus SINGULA MILLIA *nummorum*. et c. 40. SINGULA *millia nummum a ſe dividebat*. c. 48. SINGULA *nummorum millia*. Tac. An. i. c. 9. *Militibus* SINGULA *nummum millia*. MASSON, MS.

L. 10.

L. 10. VI. Congiar. Pl. Rom.]

L. 11. FRVMENTVM] Vid. Contarenum de Frument. p. 123. Hîc Jacobus Gronovius exclamat, " An expectaviſti unquam ab Caſaubono, ut ſtatueret " Auguſteo ævo dictum fuiſſe, *milites accipere Congiaria?* Spartiano et ſi- " milibus id relinquatur, non Auguſto." Quidni vero non et Auguſto, cum jam fuerit in uſu anno Urbis 710, paucis poſt Julii necem menſibus, ut liquet ex Cic. ad Att. XVI. 31. ep. 7. ubi de tribus Legionibus Macedonicis *Hæ*, ait, *Congiarium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt*, &c. Vid. ad Att. XVI. 8. et Savilii not. ad Tac. Hiſt. I. p. m. 15. et Annal. XIII. 31. *Coloniæ Capua atque Nuceria additis veteranis firmatæ ſunt, plebeique Congiarium quadringeni nummi viritim dati*, &c. Et Annal. iii. 29. XII. 41. XIV. 11. ac Script. de Orat. c. 17. Sueton. l. iii. 20. de Tiberii triumpho Dalmatico ad Ann. U. C. 765. *Prandium dein populo mille menſis et* CONGIARIUM *trecenos nummos viritim dedit.* MASSON, MS.

L. 15. SEXSIENS. F. *Sexagiens* vel *Sexcenciens.* MOX—QVAM *vero* COLONIIS et PRO *prædiis*—ut conjecerat MASSON in MS.

L. 19. ITEMQVE. C. ANTISTIO] F. ITEM VETERE C. ANTISTIO. MASSON, MS.

L. 21. CONSVLIBVS *pecuniam militibus quos* EMERITEIS. STIPENDIIS IN SVA MVNICIPIA *remiſi*—niſi malis pecuniam omittere, et *præmia* poſt *remiſi* inferere, quod melius convenire videri poteſt. MASSON, MS.—Feliciſſimam conjecturam confirmat iſtud exemplar.

L. 26. AD EOS QVI] Vid. Bibl. Choiſ. T. VIII. p. 328.

L. 31. F. *eo anno quo* [ſcil 736.]

L. 35. PORTICVM AD CIRCVM] De hac porticu Octavia ad circ. Flamin. vid. Donat. de urbe Roma, l. i. c. 21. p. 77. c. 24. p. 87. Nardini Ant. Rom. p. 333. MASSON, MS.

L. 41. IN PALATIO] In quo jam ante ſimulacrum erat Matris Deûm; teſte Dione l. XLVI. ad Ann. U. C. 711. MASSON, MS.

L. 50. CONSVL] Forte leg. *conlapſa* vel *conſumpta.* MASSON, MS.

L. 55. *Ad. id. . . .*] F. *a me* EMPTO. LIPSIUS et MASSON, MS.

L. 56. GENERI NITESCIT] F. GENERI *mei eſſet.* MASSON, MS.

P. 175. l. 7. MVNVS GLADIATORIUM] ut Suet. l. IV. c. 18. *Munera gladiatoria.* vid. l. iii. c. 7. MASSON, MS. Male Gron. *Spectacula Gladiatorum.*

L. 14. TEMPVS] Vox *tempus* pereat, inquit Jac. Gronovius. Imo ſubſtet, cum agatur de Ludis ſæcularibus. F. AD ID TEMPVS, de qua phraſi vide

Sueton. l. iv. c. 15. vel ſic legendum, *ſæculares* LVDOS *dedi, quales nullus viderat ante* ID TEMPVS. MASSON, MS.

Ibid. l. 15, 16. *beſtia*RVM AFRICANARUM] Sueton. l. iv. c. 18. *Edidit et Circenſes plurimas—interjecta modo Africanarum venatione, modo Trojæ decurſione.* De Africanis ſcil. Pantheris vid. Liv. l. XLIV. Cicer. Famil. l. VIII ep. 8 & 9. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. VIII. c. 17. Plin. Jun. l. VI. ep. ult. Suet. Calig. c. 18. et Claud. c. 21. MASSON, MS.

L. 33. *Atticis et Perſicis* CLASSIBVS] Legerem *Qui* CLASSIBVS PVGNAVERVNT PRAETER REMIGES MILLIA *hominum tricenta*, vel quid ſimile ex Lucæ apographo. MASSON, MS.

P. 176. l. 3. FILIVM MEVM REGI ARI-] Emendaverat Jac. Gronovius *Arme*NIAE *regnum per Tiberium* AR*taxiae ademptum Tigrani cui*DAM TRADIDI. ET POSTEA *illo mortuo Parthis adimentibus filio ejus* ARTAVASDI. *Ariobarzane*M QVI ERAT EX REGIO GENERE ARMENIORVM ORIVNDVS IN ID RESTITVI vel REDVXI.—At Tiberius tunc nondum fuerat adoptatus ab Auguſto. Vid. l. 19. MASSON, MS.

L. 7. *Siciliam*] Huc ego referendos exiſtimo nummos Auguſti qui reperiuntur cum literis modo IMP. IX. SICIL. modo IMP. X. SICIL. item IMP. XI. SICIL. et IMP. XII. SICIL. JAC. GRONOV.—Vid. Biblioth. Choiſ. t. VIII. p. 336. MASSON, MS.

L. 9. COLONIAS, &c.] De Auguſti Coloniis vid. Suet. l. ii. c. 46. MASSON, MS.

L. 10. PR*aeter praeſi*DIA] *Poſt legitima ſtipendia*, vel *poſt emerita ſtipendia*, vel *poſt acta ſtipendia*, vid. Tac. Ann. VI. c. 3. *Peractis ſtipendiis* Val. Max. l. VII. c. 7. n. 1. MASSON, MS.

L. 15. SPOLIA ET SIGNA] Tac. An. ii. 1. Τρόπαια habet Strabo l. VI. p. Ed. nov. 441. et l. XVI. p. 1085. MASSON, MS.

L. 19. PRAEER*at exercitib*VS] F. PRAETORIVS, vel PR*opractor me*VS. Sic Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 75. 73. MASSON, MS.

L. 53. *Senatus et eque*STER ORDO POPVLVS*que* ROMANVS] De eo vide Plinium l. 33. c. 2. & Manilii Aſtronomicorum lib. 5. in fine.

P. 177. l. 30. *Adde*, Emendationes aliquot in hoc monumentum vid. Biblioth. Choiſie, tom. VIII. p. 327.

P. 181. l. 3. ſolummodo] Imo, et ex Ovid. Faſt. V. 527. MASSON, MS.

P. 182. l. 3. ſtatimque ab eo natali] VIX STATIM ab eo natali die; nam

ex variis Ciceronis Epiſtolis demonſtrari poteſt, menſe demum *Octobri* iſtius anni MDCCX (non vero *Septembri)* Octavianum Veteranos circumſcribere, exercitumque contra Antonium ducere cœpiſſe; cum jam *undeviceſimum* ætatis annum modo abſolviſſet, ac jam auſpicatus eſſet *viceſimum*; quo labente & U. C. MDCCXI. haud multum adulto M. Antonium armis vicit fugavitque. MASSON, Vit. Ovid. p. 114. et Jani Templ. Refer. p. 333.

P. 183. l. 3. *Adde,* Idem de Lepido vide apud Grut. p. CCXCVII. CHISHULL.

L. 34. ἓν ᾗ εἴκοσιν] Sed Grammaticam deſidero: abs quo enim ſubſtantivo dependet ἓν. Si Dionem libeat mutare, ego malim ἑκαιεικοσάκις. Sed rotundo uſum numero credimus: ἐν εἴκοσιν intelligo ἔργοις, quod continuo præceſſerat. Extat certe nummus apud Goltzium IMP. CAESAR. DIVI. F. AVGVSTVS. IMP. XXI. ♓ PONTIF. MAXIM. TRIBVN. POTEST. XXXVI. et vid. Tacit. Annal. i. 9. J. REINOLD. Cenſus habitus naſcente Chriſto, p. 17.

P. 184. l. 17. *Adde,* Quin & primus hic Auguſti cenſus in Collectione quadam Hiſtorica Chronographica inter Caniſii Lectiones Antiquas, tom. II. p. 174. Simili loquendi modo, quanquam numeris paulo variantibus, ſic narratur. *Cenſu Romæ agitato inventa ſunt civium Romanorum* XLI *millia centena, &* LXIV *millia. Hæc deſcriptio* XIII *anni Imperii Octaviani facta eſt. Clariſſimum,* &c. CHISHULL.

L. 24. *Adde,* Ecce igitur Hebraiſmum in ipſa aurei ſeculi Latinitate: non aliter ac in Horatiano illo, *Neſtor componere lites—Inter Peliden feſtinat & inter Atridem.* & A. Hirtii de Bello Hiſpan. c. 4. *Oppidani diſcordare cœperunt fere inter Cæſarianos & inter Pompeianos.* Hoc enim pare eſt Hebræum, ut Gen. I. 14. בין היום ובין הלילה quod & Septuaginta ad verbum ſic verterunt ἀναμέσον τῆς ἡμέρας ᾗ ἀναμέσον τῆς νυκτός. & ſæpius alibi. Vide Clericum ad Homeri Iliad E. ver. 769. CHISHULL.

L. 49. *Adde,* Notandum vero exemplar iſtud Marmoris Ancyrani ſatis habere præſidii ex integritate ſua contra conjecturas & argumenta Joannis Maſſon, qui in libello cui tit. *Jani templum Chriſto naſcente reſeratum,* p. 280—283, contendit alterum luſtrum cenſumque minime U. C. 746. *Cenſorino & Aſinio* Coſſ. factum eſſe, nec recte lacunam, prout olim patebat, iſce nominibus ſuppleri. " Nulla apud Dionem, inquit, cenſûs mentio " per totum U. C. 746, conſulatumve Aſinii Galli & M. Cenſorini, vel " proxime ſequentem, Tiberii & Piſonis, etiamſi in hujus biennii hiſtoria

" vel

" vel minimum lacunæ defectuſve indicium non appareat: Verum præ-
" terea in U. C. 743 actis diſerte tradit, Auguſtum tunc cenſum, ἀπογραφὰς
" egiſſe, & ſenatum legiſſe, l. 54. p. 545. Etſi vero non expreſſe ſcribat
" *luſtrum* quoque tunc temporis conditum, id tamen haud obſcure ſigni-
" ficat, dum prodit *Senatum ab Auguſto lectum.* Etenim ex hiſtoria patet,
" Cenſores, numero et facultatibus populi cognitis, deinde cum luſtrum
" condituri erant, Senatum in curuli ſella ſedentes legiſſe. Quinetiam
" ex tabulis Ancyranis perſpicuum eſt Auguſtum toties Senatum legiſſe
" quoties luſtrum condidit: nam initio dicitur, *Juſſu populi & Senatus Se-*
" *natum legi.*—Igitur auctoritate et teſtimonio Dionis fulti aſſerere poſſu-
" mus ſecundum populi cenſum mediumve luſtrum U. C. 743, non au-
" tem 746 actum conditumque fuiſſe."

P. 185. *virorum*] Forte Suidas vel ipſius auctor ſcripſerat ſive ſignis, ſive vocibus integris, *quadragies decem myriades et millia* λζ. quæ ſumma illi reſponderet quæ Latinis numeris in monumento hoc reperitur: ſicque verbatim Græce redderetur. Igitur reſcribendum τεσσαρακονθάκις δέκα μυριάδες ᾗ χίλιοι τριακονθαεπθά. Kuſter ſic Latine interpretatur, *Et inventi ſunt qui Romanarum ditionem inhabitabant, quadragies et ſemel centena millia, mille et ſeptendecim.* Vide de hoc Suidæ loco Rualdi Animadv. in Plutarch. p. 106. Dion. Halic, l. v. c. 75. p. 324. de Cenſu T. Lartii Dictat. A. U. 258. ἑπθακοσίας πλείας εὑρέθησαν οἱ ἐν ἥβῃ Ῥωμαίων πενθεκαίδεκα μυριάδων, ſcil. CL millia et DCC. MASSON, MS.

L. ult. IMP. XX.] Lege vero IMP. XXI. ut apud Occonem. Extat nummus apud Goltzium, IMP. CAESAR. DIVI. F. AVGVSTVS. IMP. XXI. ☧ PONTIF. MAXIM. TRIBVN. POTEST. XXXVI. Qui ergo in Tribunicia poteſtate XXXVI. erat IMP. XXI. non potuit eſſe IMP. XX. in Tribunicia poteſtate XXXVII. Monum. Ancyranum tab. I. ET APPELLA*tus ſum viciens et ſ*EMEL. IMPERATOr. Et Tacitus Annal. l. i. c. 9. de Auguſto, *nomen Imperatoris ſemel & viciens partum.* J. REINOLD. Cenſus habitus naſcente Chriſto, p. 17. Vid. ſupra p. 183.

P. 188. l. 31. *utrumque eorum*] Jo. Eberhardus Raue, de tumulo Caii et Lucii Cæſ. p. 91, A. D. 1738, legit *principem juventutis* CAIVM. Quòd (inquit vir idem doctus) is ætatis prærogativâ præ fratre Lucio *Princeps Juventutis*, ſicut Auguſtus *Princeps Senatus*, ſalutandus eſſet ex voluntate Auguſti relicturi eum ſucceſſorem imperii: idcirco in nummis qui-

buſdam, & primum quidem excuſis, ſolus Caius cernitur una cum Auguſto; non item Lucius. Poſtea vero et hunc eodem honoris titulo populus Rom. condecoravit; quamobrem uterque ſcriptoribus et in nummis *Princeps Juventutis* audit. Quæ ratio fugit Caſaubonum in Animadverſionibus in lapidem Ancyranum. Atque hæc de filiis fieri a Senatu populoque Rom. Auguſtum, ſpecie recuſantis, flagrantiſſime cupiiſſe, Tacitus prodidit Annal. l. iii.

P. 191. l. 12.—4*s*. 10*d*. $\frac{1}{8}$] *Lege* 2*l*. 8*s*. 5*d*. $\frac{1}{4}$. Ita TRECENOS cum Plutarcho *trecentos* rectè interpretabere, non *triginta* cum Dione; qui etiam in Auguſti commentariis, trecenos *denarios* viſus eſt legiſſe, non *ſeſtertios*. v. lib. 44. p. 258. Hoc autem nimis amplum Dio dum extenuare voluit, *trecenos* Græcè reddidit τριάκοντα.

L. 14. *Adde*, Ut apud Hirtium de Bello Alexandrino, § 5. *Eâ plebes ac multitudo contenta eſt neceſſario*. B.

L. 33. *ad ſeſtertium millia*] 50,200,000 HS. quam ſummam notare *ſeſtertium millia quinquaginta & ducenta* falſo Chiſhullius autumavit. Hæc verba deſignant ſolummodo 250,000 HS. Unde clare oſtenditur lacunam non poſſe ad hanc modum ſuppleri. Vid. p. 174.

L. 35. 125500] 125500 viri. Plebs——viritim 400 HS.

L. 37. *militum meorum*] An credibile eſt, Auguſtum, qui civilitatem ſtudioſiſſime affectabat, & ſuam Reip. ſpeciem relinquebat, milites Reip. appellaturum palam in hoc monumento *ſuos milites?* Nemo id facile ſibi perſuaſerit. Sine dubio alios ergo hic loci deſignavit Auguſtus. Nam de *Militibus* demum in ſequentibus egiſſe videtur. At quos deſignaverit incertum, quum in Schedis Coſſonianis legatur tantum *millium meorum*. Niſi nimius eſſet *Hominum* numerus qui ſequitur, crederem ſcripſiſſe Auguſtum TRIBVLIVM MEORVM, quos ex duabus habebat tribubus. Sed aliud quid latet. PERIZON. Diſſ. de morte Judæ, c. ult. p. 87.

P. 193. l. 14. *Adde*, quem tamen feliciſſima conjectura emendaverat Perizonius p. 47. Reſp. ad Nuperam Notitiam de Var. Æliani, &c. locis, L. Bat. 1703. Ubi & pro *quinquiens* mavult *quinquagiens*.

L. 38. *Chalcidicum*] De eo vide quæ habet Florens Chriſtianus in Obſervationibus ad Ariſtophanis Lyſiſtratam in ipſo fine, & Reineſium claſſe ſeptimâ Inſcript. xv. ubi legitur *Mammios Rufos Scholam & Chalcidicum feciſſe* Herculanii ſive Pompeiis ad radices Veſuvii. CHISHULL.—De Minerva Chalcioœca Pauſan. Phoc. l. x. c. v. p. 810. ed Lipſ. an. 1696. vid. Triſtan.

Triſtan. Comment. p. 25. ed. 1. ad Domit. num. XI. Spanheim de Num. tom. I. p. 573. Vid. et Biblioth. Choiſ. l. VIII. p. 339. MASSON, MS. *Odium* addit Caſſiodor. in Chronic. 9. L. Vid. Cuſpinian p. 411. et nota quod habet ex vulg. codd. Suetonii in Domit. c. 5. *et ſtudium et Methodium*, ſcil. pro *Minervæ odeum*, ut mihi videtur. MASSON, ibid.

P. 196. l. 18. Adde etiam quod de Antiocho retulit Polybius Legat. 383. πενθήκοντα μὲν τάλαντα miſiſſe eum, tanquam χέφανον Ρωμαίοις.

P. 198. l. 21. *Adde*, Oroſius quoque l. VI. cap. 18. *Cæſar animo ingens viginti millia militum exautoravit, triginta millia ſervorum dominis reſtituit, ſex millia quorum domini non extabant in crucem egit* *. CHISHULL.

P. 199. l. 22. *Adde*, Hanc Auguſti navigationem Euroboream Strabo videtur ignoraviſſe. Sic enim ille l. vii. p. 203. Τὰ δὲ πέραν τῦ Ἄλβιος τὰ πρὸς Ὠκεανῷ παντάπασιν ἄγνωστα. CHISHULL.

L. 24. *Adde*, de Cimbris vero ſacrum Auguſto lebetem offerentibus teſtis eſt Strabo l. vii. p. m. 202. CHISHULL.

L. 27. *Adde*, Oroſio lib. VI. c. 7. Arudes.

P. 200. l. 25. *Trans Hadrianum* hic Cæſar, quod Ionium mare vocat Nicolaus Damaſcenus, ejuſdem Auguſti victorias mire extollens Latine datus a Grotio in Epiſtola 264. p. 95. CHISHULL.

P. 201. l. 1. *Lege*, poſt victoriam Ægyptiacam.

P. 202. l. 9. *Adde*, De deductis vero in Macedonia colonis legatur Spanhemius *de Præſt. & Uſu Num.* vol. II. p. 600.

L. 25. *imperio*] *Adde*, Ibique, ut auctor eſt Florus, *Viriatus—inſignia trabeis & faſcibus noſtris, quæ ceperat, in montibus ſuis tropæa fixit.*

P. 203. l. 6. pag. 526.] Jac. Gronov. ait quid ſignis illis fuerit factum docemur nunc ab ipſo Auguſto, cum antea id ſciremus ſolummodo ex Dionis libro, 54, &c. Imo, ex Ovid. Faſt. V. 527. MASSON, MS. Vid. ſupra, p. 81.

L. 16. *Adde*, Vide tamen Maſſon, Vit. Ovid. qui unum ſolummodo templum MARTI VLTORI dicatum contendit, p. 108.

L. 22. *qui tum*, &c.] Vel TVM ERAT PRO*praetor* MCVS. MASSON, MS.

P. 204. l. 26. *Adde*, Aliàs vero notum ex Strabone Britannicos quoſdam dynaſtas amicitiam Auguſti petiiſſe & donaria in Capitolio dedicaſſe. Strab. l. iv. p. m. 138. forſan igitur legendum BRITAN*norum* DAMNO BELLA.....

* To crucify 6000 ſlaves becauſe they had no maſter, muſt be allowed to be a noble piece of cruelty in the mild, at leaſt openly ſo, Auguſtus!

ET

ET TIM... ita tria hic intimentur regulorum a Britannia nomina, quorum quod primum habetur ad Damnonios non obſcure ſpectat. CHISHULL.

DE NUM. CKΩΠΙΙ, &c. p. 2. l. 27. Cereris] Quæ tamen in lapide haud nominatur; cum ſit modo ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΥ ſcil. potius *Deæ* Matris Deorum, *Sipylenæ*. MASSON, MS.

P. 4. l. 15. *Adde*, & apud Smetium in Antiq. Neomagenſ. p. 98, 99. in hac ſenſu explicata à Batteley Antiq. Rutup. § 60.

L. 38. Chriſtianum] qui Torpacion cognominabatur. Vid. Vandale Diſſ. VIII. p. 719.

L. 40. Euodium] *Euodum* dicendum fuerat. MASSON, MS.—Euodus Severi Libertus fuit, Vid. Dion. Caſſ. I. 76. &c. p. 862. 867. et Bochart Geogr. II. c. 16. p. 854. IDEM.

L. 42. præfectus.] *Adde*, Sic Pamelius ad d. l. Tertulliani, quod recte rejicit Vandale Diſſ. p. 719.

χρῆμα τῆς ἐυωδίας θαυμαςὸν, *res optimi odoris*; Ariſtid. Orat. Sacr. III. t. I. p. 556. Loquitur de Pharmaco ex tribus compoſito.

Iſtam Chiſhulli interpretationem recte rejecit Cl. *Pet. Weſſeling*. Probabil. p. 205. MASSON, MS.

L. 44. *Adde*, Firmat hanc conjecturam cognomen illud *Torpacion* ſive *Dropacion*, ut vir doctus Samuel Petitus rectius ſcribendum autumat. Merito enim *Dropacion* Proculus cognominari potuit a frequenti & ſolenni Dropacis Medicamenti uſu. Hoc verò quale fuerit teſtatur Suidas in voce Δρωπακίζειν, h. e. τὸ μεθ' ἁλοιφῆς τινὸς χρίεσθαι τὸ σῶμα πρὸς ψίλωσιν τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς τριχῶν, i. e. *unguento quodam corpus delibare ad pilos in carne minuendos*. Quod quidem proprium erat Balnearum, & Balneatorum opus. Quam neceſſarius vero fuerit Euodiæ Procurator, ad rem ſcil. Euodiæ curandam, notari poterit ab Excerptis Polybianis p. m. 1493. ex Athenæo citatis, ubi μῦρον habemus κρόκινον, κινναμώμινον, νάρδινον, τήλινον, ἀμαράκινον, ῥόδινον, πάνθα διαφέροντα ταῖς ἐυωδίαις. CHISHULL.

ANTIQ. ASIAT. vol. II. p. 6. l. 3. *Adde*, Οἱ vero, non αὐτοῖς aut σφίσι, quippe variatur aliquando numerus, ut Epheſ. iii. 13. ἐν θλίψεσι—ἥτις ἐςὶ δόξα ὑμῶν, & 2 Petri iii. 1. διεγείρειν ἐπιςολὴν, ἐν αἷς. Item Horat. 2 Sat. vi. ver. 65.

O noctes cœnæque Deûm, quibus ipſe, meique,
Ante Larem proprium veſcor——Non veſcimur. CHISHULL.

Vol. I. p. 59. Noſtrum quod hic exhibetur Jovis Urii Epigramma doctiſſimus quidem & acutiſſimus, quiſquis is fuit, Ariſtarchus hoc modo emendavit. [viz. CAROLUS ASHTON, S. T. P. Coll. Jeſ. Cant. Cuſtos.]

Οὔριον ἐκ πρύμνης τις ὁδηγητῆρα καλεῖτω
Ζῆνα, κατὰ προλόνων ἱςίον ἐκπεῖράσας.
Εἴτ' ἐπὶ Κυανέας δίνας δρόμος, ἔνθα Ποσειδὼν
Καμπύλον εἱλίσσει κῦμα παρὰ ψαμάθοις,
Εἴτε καῖ' Αἰγαίην πόντε πλάκα νόςον ἐρευνᾷ,
Νείσθω, τῷδε βαλὼν ψαιςὰ παρὰ ξοάνῳ.
Ὧδε τὸν εὐάντητον ἀεὶ θεὸν Ἀντιπάτρε παῖς
Στῆσε Φιλὼν, ἀγαθῆς σύμβολον εὐπλοίης.

Urium e puppe quis viæ ducem invocet
Jovem, cum rudentibus velum expandit.
Seu ad Cyaneos vortices curſus ſit, ubi Neptunus
Curvum volvit fluctum ad arenas litoris,
Seu per Ægæi maris æquor reditum quærat,
Proficiſcatur, cum ad hanc fuderit liba ſtatuam.
Hic propitium ſemper Deum, Antipatri filius
Poſuit Philo, ſecundæ ſignum navigationis.

Verſio altera.

Urion inclamato Jovem comitemque ducemque
Navita, cum ventis pandere vela parat.
Sive ad Cyaneas immani in vortice petras
Tendat, ubi horrificis æſtibus unda fremit;
Sive iter Ægæi ſcopuloſa per æquora tentet,
Tutus, ubi huic ſtatuæ liba ſacrârit, eat.
Huncce Deum hic poſuit nautis lætabile ſignum,
Præſidiumque Philo, filius Antipatri.

NOTAE.

Ver. 3. Εἴτ'] Whelerus de verſu parum ſolicitus vocalem hic in marmore ſcriptam prætermittit: Sponius autem ἐς' exhibet, quod tamen loco minus convenit. Chiſhullius igitur mutatâ literâ legit ἔἴτ', i. e. ἔἴτα, *tum*; & recte quidem quod ad literam attinet, ſed ad Poetæ mentem accommodatius mihi videtur ἔἴτ' *ſive*, ut ſit, ἔἴτε δρόμος ἐςὶ (vel ἦ) i. e. *ſive curſum inſtituat*; cui conſonat ἔἴτε νόςον ἐρευνᾷ verſu 5to. Nempe nautæ proſperum utroque

utroque verſum iter pollicetur, ſeu in Euxinum, ſeu contra in Ægæum navigare velit.

Ver. 5. Εἴτε] Apte hoc reſpondet ſuperiori εἴτ'. Atque ita legendum eſſe offendit plane Sponius, qui male notatis literarum ductibus ineptum illud ΕΠΕ pro ΕΙΤΕ exhibuit. Wheler vero, non ſatis certus antiquitatis auctor, legit ἔτα, quod Chiſhullius iterum male arripit, & præter Poetæ mentem perperam hoc diſtichon Latine reddit, *Tum reditum Ægæi meditans*— nam qua quæſo meditatione, quove Dei ductu, nauta qui a Jovis Urii fano ad Symplegados profectus eſt ad idem *tum* fanum per Ægæum redire poſſit? mecum vero facit Chiſhull. not. 4.

Ib. νόϛον] *Reditum* propriè; hic autem συνεκδικῶς totum iter, prorſum rurſum denotat. Sic νέεσθαι, unde νόϛος, utrumque, et ire et redire ſignificat; quin & νοϛῆσαι interdum (ut in Hom. ὁ. 119. notat Euſtath.) pro ἁπλῶς ἐλθεῖν ponitur. Antiqui certe νόϛων ſcriptores ſub eo titulo non reditum tantum, ſed totam ab initio navigationem complectabantur. Sic apud Apollonium feminæ proſperum Argonautis iter univerſum a Diis precantes νόϛα ſolum meminerunt.

Εὐχόμεναι νόϛοιο τέλος Θυμηδὲς ὀπάσσαι. Arg. 1. 249.

Ita & mulieres Lemniæ de iiſdem Argonautis vota faciebant.

Εὐχόμεναι μακάρεσσιν ἀπήμονα νόϛον ὀπάσσαι. Ib. ver. 884.

Uno ſcil. iſto verbo νόϛον itum æque ac reditum comprehendentes *. Idem enim Jaſoni mox explicatius vovet Hypſipyle.

Νέεσθαι, καί σε Θεοὶ σὺν ἀπήμοσιν αὖτις ἑταίροις
Χρυσέιον βασιλῆι δέρος κομίσειαν ἄγοιϭα. Ib. ver. 888.

Ibid. ἐρευνᾷ] Sic lego, auctore Sponio, qui e marmore deſcriptum exhibet ΕΡΕΥΝΑΙ, cum τῷ ι ſcilicet priſco more poſt α adjecto, quod in ἰῶτα poſtea ſubſcriptum tranſiit. Sic τιμαι olim ſcriptum pro hodierno τιμᾷ, Ἄππιαι pro Ἀππίᾳ, & (ut in re notiſſima pluribus ſuperſedeam) hoc in epigrammate ver. 6. τωιδε ξοανωι pro τῷδε ξοάνῳ. Miror igitur hoc Sponio viro Antiquitatis ſtudioſo in mentem non veniſſe: atque mirandum ſane magis erit ſi (quod ejus verſio indicare videtur) hic legerit ἐρεύναι, quaſi eſſet Aoriſt. 1. Opt. cum ab ἐρευνάω ibi non ἐρεύναι, ſed ἐρευνήσαι formetur. Wheler autem quem ſequitur Chiſh. habet ἐρεύνων (l. ἐρευνῶν) quod non ſatis aptè convenire videtur cum verſu tertio; atque rectius, opinor, legiſſet ἐρευνῶ, ſc. εἴτε δρόμος γένοιϭο, εἴτε νόϛον ἐρευνᾷ. Sed omnino retinendum arbitror ἐρευνᾷ.

* If one wiſhes a perſon a ſafe return, that is ſufficient for the purpoſe, becauſe the going is tacitly included, not that Return means Going: and ſo in many caſes of the Scholiaſts.

Ver. 6. *νείσθω*] *Proficiſcatur*, fidenter *eat*, *νεέσθω*, *πορευέσθω*. Schol. in Hom. Il. Γ. 159. & al. ſæpe. *νεῖσθαι*, *πορεύεσθαι*, Heſych. Sic Apoll. ſupra *νείσεο*, *proficiſcere*. Chiſhullius male vertit *fac redi* pro *fac redeas*, ſeu potius *redeat*. *νείσθω* enim eſt tertiæ perſonæ & nautam quemlibet deſignat: ſic verſ. 1. *νῆα καλείτω*. Sed quorſum nautæ ut redeat præcipis, cui nihil magis in votis eſt, quam ut incolumis redeat? *νείσθω* vero, ut ante dixi, ſonat hic, *eat* vel *pergat*.

Ibid. *βαλὼν ψαιρὰ*] Hoc poſt reditum fieri vult Chiſhullius, ego vero ante iter inceptum. Nauta nempe invocato Jove hæc ei *ψαιρὰ* tanquam *ἐπιβατήρια* offerre jubetur, ut *σὺν Θεῷ* ſalvus ire redire poſſit. Sic apud Apollonium Jaſon navem conſcenſcurus Apollinem invocat:

Αὐτὸς νῦν ἄγε νῆα σὺν Ἀρτεμίεσθιν ἑταίροις
Κεῖσέ τε καὶ παλίνορσον ἐς Ἕλλαδα—— Arg. I. 415.

Deinde manu tendens *ἐλοχύτας* dicit,

Νῦν δ' ἴθι καὶ τήνδ' ἡμὶν Ἐκηβόλε, δέξαι θυήλην,
Ἥν τοι τῆς δ' ἐπίβαθρα χάριν προτεθείμεθα νηός.

His autem dictis ſacra confeſtim porricit;

Ἦ, καὶ ἅμ' εὐχωλὴν προχύτας βάλε——

Hujuſmodi vero *προχύται*, *ἐλοχύται*, *ψαιρὰ*, &c. etſi victimarum fere *προθύματα* erant, ſæpe tamen (ut hic Jovi) per ſe ſola Diis offerebantur, ob iter ſcil. terra marique faciendum, aut ejuſmodi aliâ de cauſâ. Nam ſicut libaminum (notante Euſtathio) ſic & horum erat Καιρὸς, *ἐ μόνον ὁ καθὰ τὴν θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κατ' ἀρχὴν ὁδοιπορίας καὶ ἀποπλοὸς*, &c. in Hom. Il. A. 462. In eo igitur erraſſe videtur vir doctiſſimus quod verbum *νείσθω* de reditu tantum intelligi poſſe exiſtimaverit, atque idcirco judicaverit rerum ſeriem eodem ordine procedere quo ſtant in verſu verba. At hic, niſi fallor, eſt verus verborum ordo; *βαλὼν ψαιρὰ παρὰ τῷδε ξοάνῳ νείσθω*, *oblatis libis huic ſtatuæ pergat ire*.

Ibid. *παρὰ ξοάνῳ*] Turpiter hic hallucinati ſunt Antiquarii ambo, quorum alter orthographiâ metroque repugnantibus legit *παρὰ τῷ ζοάνῳ*, alter multo pejus *παρὰ τῷ ἄνω* (lat. *ſuperne*) quod nec Græci ſermonis ratio nec res ipſa patitur. Eorum utrique, ut opinor, erroris cauſam præbuit priſca litera Ξ forma non ſatis intellecta (de qua vide Monfauc. Palæogr. 153, 185, 233, 236): utcunque vero ea ſe res habeat certiſſima eſt hæc ſagaciſſimi Chiſhullii emendatio *παρὰ ξοάνῳ*, quem & ſequens diſtichon confirmat, & metri ratio plane poſtulat.

Ver. 7. ὧδε] Uterque hic Antiquarius exhibet ὅδε, nulla metri ratione habita, quod τόνδε potius exigit. Rectiſſime vero vir acutiſſimus correxit ὧδε, etſi minus recte *quà* Latinè reddidit, ſc. *quâ poſuit*, pro *hic* vel *hoc loco*. ὧδε ἐνταῦθα, Heſych. ὧδε ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνθάδε Suidas, qui & exemplis rem demonſtrat.

His ita reſpondet E. Chishullius.

" Gratias ago huic doctiſſimo, quicunque is fuerit, Ariſtarcho: & quod τὸ ΕΙΤΕ bis, loco τοῦ ΕΙΤΑ, reponendum, emendationem facile accipio. Huc etiam ipſe prius propendebam, ut ex nota 4. recte deprehendit vir eruditiſſimus. At vero ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ quod attinet, vocem illam Whelerianam omnino retinendam cenſeo; pro qua Sponius ſubſtituit ΕΡΕΥΝΑΙ, cum poſt edita Wheleriana interpretationem inauſpicato eſt aggreſſus. Jam vero omnia quadrabunt, ſi modo nova hæc diſtinctionum nunc demum habeatur & admittatur ratio:

Οὔριον ἐκ πρύμνης τὸν ὁδηγητῆρα καλείτω
Ζῆνα, καλὸν πρωτόνων ἶσιον ἐκπέτασας,
Εἴτ' ἐπὶ Κυανέας δίναν δρόμος (ἔνθα Ποσειδὼν
Καμπύλον εἰλίσσει κῦμα παρὰ ψαμάθοις)
Εἴτε κατ' Αἰγαίην Πόντου πλάκα. Νόστον ἐρευνῶν
Νέισθω, τῷδε βαλὼν ψαιστὸν παρὰ ξοάνῳ.
Ὧδε τὸν εὐάντητον ἀεὶ θεὸν, Ἀντιπάτρου παῖς
Στῆσε Φίλων, ἀγαθῆς σύμβολον εὐπλοΐης.

Sic cape conſtructionem epigrammatis. Ἶσιον τὸν ἐκπετάσας ὁδηγητῆρα καλείτω Ζῆνα Οὔριον, εἴτε ἐπὶ Κυανέας δίναν, εἴτε κατ' Αἰγαίην πόντου πλάκα, δρόμος ἔστω. Νόστον δὲ ἐρευνῶν νεέσθω παρὰ τῷ ξοάνῳ τῷδε βαλὼν τὸν ψαιστόν. Ita inter ſe recte opponentur δρόμος & νόστος. Δρόμος enim navis eſt proficiſcentis, Anglicè *Outward-bound*; Νόστος vero redeuntis, Anglicè *Homeward-bound*.

Urion excelſa ductorem e puppe vocato
Nauta Jovem, intento vela radente ferens,
Sive ad Cyaneas decurrat (ubi acer arenis
Commiſcet tumidas Ennoſigæus aquas)
Seu maris Ægæi petat æquora. Dumque redibit,
Sic eat, huic ſtatuæ ſi modo liba dabit.
Ecce! deum hic poſuit, nautis lætabile numen
Propitiumque Philo, filius Antipatri.

Horum

Horum hæc nunc eſto verſio. In qua verbum νείσθω de reditu quidem intelligo; non vero de peracto (ubi male me accepit vir doctiſſimus) ſed de incepto nec finito. Quippe nautam hic alloquitur Poeta, non ex fano Jovis Urii ſolventem, & ad idem iterum redeuntem; ſed præter illud fanum, Euxinum inter & Ægæum, ultro citroque vela facientem. Monet igitur peregre utrovis proficiſcentem, ut in curſu invocet Jovem Urium. Monet etiam domum utrovis repetentem, ut, in reditu, liba ad Jovis ſtatuam profundat. Hoc ſibi volunt tria priora diſticha. Ultimum nunc lubens verto magis ad mentem hujus Herculis mutatum, ſic enim ex pede metior: proque accepto habeo, quod qui clava confligere potuit, ſuadelâ maluit.

Mon. Miles. p. 71. εὐαγγέλια τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσε, i. e. Evangelia diis ſacrificavit. Evangelia vero eodem ſenſu intellige ac Εὐαγγέλιον apud Homerum Od. Ξ. hoc eſt mercedem pro accepto bono nuntio repenſam. Chishull.

Ἐκτενῶς, Tacito interprete *intentè*, idem quod Homero paſſim ἐνδυκέως. Chishull.

Κοσμηΐειρα Ἀρτέμιδος, i. e. ut videtur Sacerdotiſſa ejus maxima, ad quod nota Theocritum de Arſinoe inſtruente feſtum Adonidis Idyll. xv. ver. 24. ἀκέω χρῆμα καλόν τι—κοσμῆν τὰν βασίλισσαν.—Sacerdotiſſa cuſtos templi Epheſii & curatrix & ornatrix Dianæ aliquando, & Κλειδοῦχος dicta, nempe ab auctore Phoronidis apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.

Καλλιθόη κλειδοῦχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης
Ἥρης Ἀργείης ἠ ξέμμασι καὶ θυσάνοισι
Πρώτη ἐκόσμησεν περὶ κίονα μάκρον ἀνάσσης.

Ibid. apud Theocritum Idyll. xv. ver. 24.—κοσμῆν τὰν βασίλισσαν. Chishull.

Ἀρχισκηπτοῦχος Ἑρμιππος, Epheſiorum forte Archiſacerdos, uti Βασιλεῖς ἱερεῖς, & ἀνακτοτελεσταὶ, de quibus Caſaub. ad Sueton. Aug. c. 31. Vide vero Strab. l. 14. initio. Chishull.

Mon. Adul. p. 84, l. 28. Errat Scholiaſtes Theocriti dum ait Arſinoen Lyſimachi filiam fuiſſe Philadelphi uxorem primam, Arſinoen vero ſororem ejus uterinam uxorem poſteriorum. Utræque ſane uxores, ſed diverſo ordine, teſte Pauſania: οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἐγένοντο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης, ἣ τῆς αὐτῆς, Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ θυγατρὸς.

θυγατρὸς. Τὴν δὲ συνοικήσασαν ἀδελφὴν κατέλαβεν ἔτι ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα, i. e. *Huic liberi ſuperſtites extiterunt ex Arſinoe, non ſorore, ſed Lyſimachi filia. Nam ita contigit quod ſoror ejus, quæ illi prius matrimonia juncta fuit, deceſſerat, nullis poſt ſe liberis relictis.* Actum eſt igitur, inquies, de Monumento Adulitano, in quo Ptolemæus Euergetes FILIUS dicitur Regis Ptolemæi & Reginæ Arſinoes, *Deorum* FRATRUM. At hæc cum Pauſania ſatis conveniunt.

Par. II. p. 1. Ἑρμόδωρον Ἐφεσίης ἄνδρα, &c. de eodem vide Lexicon Stephani Ciceronianum, p. 142. & Menagii in Laertii librum nonum Obſervationes, p. 229.

P. 5. l. 29. De conjecturâ *Chiſhullii*, vid. Conject. in N. T. Acts. xix. 38. [ed. 4to. 1781. p. 261.]

Mr.

Mr. BOWYER'S NOTES

ON

CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES.

*** The Notes diſtinguiſhed by this mark (†) are now for the firſt time printed; the others are copied (with occaſional corrections) from the edition of BLADEN's Tranſlation, 1750, to which the references are made to correſpond.—The page and line of Mr. DUNCAN's Tranſlation, 1755, to which moſt of theſe notes are equally applicable, are placed in the margin.

† P. x. l. 29. *Two incomparable maſters, the preſent Biſhop of Rocheſter and Sir Roger L'Eſtrange*] Two very different *maſters*, the latter of whom this author choſe to imitate in his vulgar expreſſions; as, p. 2. *caſilier.*—p. 9. *To ſerve the Swiſs on the* SCORE *of his marriage.*—p. 10. *Cæſar reprimanded Dumnorix, telling him he was well acquainted with his* PRACTICES: It is a mercy he did not ſay, PRANKS.—p. 15. *Demanded of Cæſar a private audience, that they might* DISCOURSE *him about an affair.*—p. 17. *The Swiſs were* MIGHTILY *encumbered with their target.*—ibid. *Cæſar having heard their complaints bade them ſhake hands with Deſpair*, for he would do them what ſervice he could.—p. 21. *Cæſar had a particular eſteem for this Legion, in whoſe courage he placed a* MIGHTY *confidence.*—p. 83. *The day being ſpent, he reſolved to beſtow the reſt* ON'T *in*, &c.—p. 89. *Not one veſſel loſt*, FOR ALL *the ſhips were ſo numerous.*—p. 96. *Much* TO DO *maintained their ground* ‡. —" Bladen tranſlates Britannia by *England*; and as he affects to modernize " the names of the ſeveral people, he renders the Morini by *Tercäennis*, " a country hardly heard of in England ſince the reign of Henry VIII, " who took that city." PEGGE.

† P. xvi. *who was actually with the ſhips in perſon*] It is not ſaid Labienus had joined the ſhips. *Ipſe poſt paullò, ſilentio egreſſus cum* III. *legionibus eum locum* PETIT, *quo naves appelli juſſerat.* The Gauls, on the other hand, left one part of their forces in their camp; another party were to go

* Of this gentleman an account is given in the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 224.

‡ Theſe vulgariſms were removed by Mr. Bowyer, and the ſtyle in ſome degree corrected, throughout the edition of 1750.

to the place whither Labienus's ſhips were deſtined ; a third attended Labienus's motions. Cæſar had not joined them.—*Labienus milites cohortari, ut ſuæ priſtinæ virtutis—memoriam tenerent, atque ipſum Cæſarem adeſſe exiſtimarent*, lib. vii. § 62.

† P. xix. l. 25. *Flamen Dialis*] No one was created Flamen Dialis from 667 to 743. Tac. Annal. l. iii. c. 38.

L. 26. *affirms he did*] Affirms in theſe words : " Sequentibus conſulibus " Flamen Dialis DESTINATUS Corneliam duxit." He was *deſigned* for the office ; but Suetonius does not *affirm* that *he obtained it*. See Pet. Weſſeling. Obſ. l. ii. c. 18.

† L. 31. *pontificate*] Rather " prieſthood." Flamen Dialis was a *Sacerdotium*, but not one of the College of *Pontifices*. This makes afterwards, p. 311, Domitius Scipio and Lentulus contend about ſucceeding Cæſar in this Prieſthood of Flamen Dialis, which he himſelf ſuppoſes Cæſar never obtained. He was deſigned Flamen Dialis when a boy, U. C. 667. Suet. in initio ; Vell. Pat. ii. 43. but not inaugurated, by reaſon of the civil war between Marius and Sylla. He ſtood for the prieſthood U. C. 672, the third year after his father's death, and was hindered from obtaining it by Sylla. In 680 he ſucceeded Cotta in the Pontificate, and 691 was made Pontifex Maximus.

DUNCAN, p. 3. l. 5. † P. 1. l. 3. *Belgæ, Aquitains, and Celtæ*] In this triple diviſion of Gaul, Cæſar does not mention *Narbonenſis*, which had been before made a Roman province, and is called by him *Provincia*, whence that part of it adjoining to Italy ſtill retains that name. Gallia *Celtica* was ſituated between the Rhoſne, Garumna, and the Ocean. *Aquitanica* bounded by the Garumna, the Pyrenean Mountains, and the Ocean ; *Belgica*, by the Rhine, the Ocean, and the Seine ; *Provincia*, by the Mediterranean and the Alps.

P. 5. l. 9. P. 2. l. 25. 240 *miles*, &c.] In reality not above 172 miles in length, nor above 60 in breadth. A miſtake probably of Cæſar himſelf, not of the MSS, becauſe Julius Cæſar cites the ſame numbers. Life of Cæſar, i. 1.

P. 6. l. 20. P. 3. l. 15. *his relations, friends, clients, and debtors, to the number of* 10,000 *men*] Read " his ſlaves and domeſtics to the number of 10,000 men, beſides his clients and debtors, who were very numerous." It is in the original *omnem ſuam familiam coegit*, which word in its proper and original ſignification is uſed to expreſs a family of ſlaves, ſubjected to the authority of the proper *paterfamilias*, as appears from Briſſon, " De verborum ſignificatione,"

ſignificatione," voce *Familias*; from l. 9. ff. de juriſdictione; from the title de Ædilitio edicto; from l. i. § 16. and ſeveral other places of the title *De vi et de vi armata*; from both the rubric and the laws of the title *Si familia furtum fecisse dicetur*; from l. 195. ff. "De verborum ſignificatione," and from numberleſs other places in the Pandects. And that the Gauls had domeſtic ſlaves appears further from Bell. Gall. vi. 13. "Plerique cum aut "ære alieno, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuria potentiorum premun-"tur, ſeſe in SERVITUTEM dicant nobilibus." See Diſſertation on the Numbers of mankind, in antient and modern times, p. 315.

† P. 4. l. 35. *caſt up an intrenchment*, &c.] Read "carried on a wall P. 9. l. 3. "from the lake of Geneva, where the Rhoſne flows into it at the moun-"tain Jura which divide the people of Franchecomte from the Swiſs, [illegible] high, and XIX miles in length." Voſſius has clearly ſhewn, that [illegible]s rampart was raiſed on *this* ſide the river Rhoſne *; not, as has been vulgarly ſuppoſed, from Nion to Mount Jura near Gingen. The proofs are theſe: 1. The Helvetians ſeem already poſſeſſed of the country on the *other ſide*; for the place of their rendezvous was on the banks of the river, between Geneva and the Straits of *Cluſium*. 2. Cæſar, when he came to Geneva, broke down the bridge there. A very impolitic ſtep, had he been on the other ſide of it, by which means he would have cut off his own retreat, without in the leaſt incommoding the enemy. 3. Cæſar cannot be underſtood on the other ſuppoſition. The Helvetii, after they had been refuſed a paſſage, *navibus junctis, alii vadis Rhodani perrumpere conati.* It is plain then they attempted to force the intrenchment, but without ſucceſs; and it is plain, the means they uſed was by croſſing the river firſt. 4. There were only two paſſes from Switzerland into Gaul; one by the *Allobroges*, the other by the Streights of *Cluſium*, § 6; the latter of which was from Mount Jura, the only paſs practicable for an army, according to Viginere. Suppoſing the rampart carried on from *Nion* to

* I had long been *certain*, from Cæſar's own account, that his works were on the Geneva ſide of the Lake. When Profeſſor Martyn went abroad about three years ago, I drew up my reaſons, and deſired him to conſult the Literati on the ſpot; he did ſo, and reported that there was no doubt. At the ſame time he ſent me over a tranſlation, by himſelf, of a Geneva Phyſician's treatiſe to prove the ſame point. He uſes every argument exactly as I had done. I had been much confirmed in my opinion by Sir G. Shuckburgh's excellent plan of the environs of Geneva, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. G. A.

Gingen,

Gingen, both paſſes were cut off at once; and yet Cæſar ſays, after the Helvetii were repulſed, *relinquebatur una per Sequanos via*, one of the two he had mentioned before, § 5. From theſe arguments then, it is plain, Cæſar's rampart was on this ſide of the Rhoſne. But what ſhall we do with *ad montem Juram—murum—foſſamque perducit*, which the geographers all place on the *other* ſide the Rhoſne? To ſolve this difficulty, Voſſius fairly removes the mountain to this ſide; and would ſtrike out the words *qui fines Helvetiorum à Sequanis dividit*. But Butin, at the end of Spon's Hiſtory of Geneva, interprets *ad Juram* to be the ſame as *adverſus Juram*; which clears all the difficulty. The rampart is ſaid to have been carried on for XIX miles, which ſome think too ſmall for the ſpace it extended, and Clewer alters it to *decem*. But in the year 1699, the diſtance from Geneva to the Straits of Cluſium was meaſured, and, following the winding of the river Rhoſne, was found to be exactly XIX miles. From Nion to Gingen on the North of the Lake is but five, beſides being in every reſpect unſuitable to the deſign of the Helvetians. I need not obſerve that *murus* does not imply a wall made with lime, but a rampart of earth or any materials. And here I cannot but note a ſimilar paſſage in Polybius, which has led the Geographers into a like miſtake; and the two may ſerve to correct each other. That hiſtorian ſays, Molo made himſelf maſter of *Parapotamia* as far as the city *Europus*, and of *Meſopotamia* as far as *Dura*, τὴν δὲ Μεσοποταμίαν ἕως Δέρων. Ptolemy, ſpeaking of the country of Babylon, ſays, Par. II. p. 717. Παρὰ δὲ Εὐφράτε ποταμὸς μέρος, αἵδε Ἰδικάρα, Δέραβα. NEAR THAT PART *which is waſhed by the Euphrates, are Idicara and Duraba.* By *Duraba* is meant *Duro* on the *South ſide* of the Euphrates, to which the country of Babylon adjoins. But Stephanus, and Cellarius after him, place it on the *North-ſide* in Meſopotamia; not being aware that ἕως Δέρων in Polybius means only *Meſopotamia* on the ſhore OVER AGAINST *Dura*. This laſt obſervation is owing to Lakemacherus, Obſ. Phil. Par. VII. Obſ. I. § 13.

P. 12. l. 26. † P. 6. l. antep. *whoſe daughter*] Julius Cæſar had married Calpurnia his fourth wife, who ſurvived him U. C. 695. She was daughter of L. Piſo. Suet. c. xxi.

P. 14. l. 20. P. 8. l. 1. *not to deliver hoſtages, but to receive them*] This was what the Romans had been witneſſes of. In the battle wherein Caſſius was defeated, the Romans redeemed themſelves with half their goods. Liv. ep. lxv.

P. 9. l. 3. *Obtain the empire themſelves*] This tranſlation is better than Mr. *Duncan's*; and is more agreeable to the Greek interpreter and Jurin. P. 16. l. 10.

P. 10. l. 7. *without the privity or conſent of Cæſar*] It may be aſked, why Dumnorix was obliged to obtain Cæſar's conſent to let the Helvetii paſs through the country of the Ædui, ſince they were a neutral power as well as the Sequani. It is anſwered: 1ſt, Becauſe they were become, as it were, allies of the Romans, by an act of the ſenate, which obliged the magiſtrate who ſhould obtain Gaul for his province to take the Ædui, and the other friends of the Roman people, into their protection, l. i. c. 35. 2dly, Becauſe Cæſar had reſtored the Ædui to the power they held in Gaul, and ſo was become their patron, l. vi. 12. *Hotoman.* We ſee by his treatment of the *Lingones*, c. 26, that he would allow no power to be neutral that ſuccoured his enemies. P. 18. l. 7.

† P. 14. l. 34. 92,000 *bore arms*] Dr. Halley (Phil. Tranſ. in Low-thorp's Abridgement, vol. iii. p. 669) proves that the number of men at Breſlaw fit to bear arms (viz. from XVIII years old to LVI) were about a fourth of the whole number of ſouls, male and female, which agrees exactly with this account of 92,000 out of 368,000. Strabo, in another relation, l. iv. p. m. 205. confirms the ſame proportion. Auguſtus Cæſar, he ſays, when he rooted out the Salaſſii, who dwelt on the Alps, ſold 36,000 perſons for ſlaves, of whom 8,000 were able to bear arms. By Dr. Halley's rule, there ought to have been a few above 9000. But this difference is juſtly accounted for, by ſuppoſing more than 1000 of their beſt men killed before they were ſubdued. Diſſertation on the Numbers of Mankind in antient and modern times, p. 91. P. 25. l. 10.

† P. 16. l. 1. *Roman ſenate*] He had travelled to Rome, and returned without having his petition granted, as Cæſar tells us, l. vi. c. 12. Cicero mentions the ſame circumſtance, Div. l. i. c. 41. from which laſt paſſage it farther appears he was one of the Druids. *Davies.* P. 27. l. 10.

† P. 25. l. 25. *C. Valerius Caburus*] The Romans were diſtinguiſhed by their *names*, and by being entered in the *Cenſor's* books; *nominibus et cenſu*, ſays Aſconius ad Cicer. Proem. in Verrem, c. viii. for which reaſon it was uſual for thoſe who were admitted to the freedom of Rome to take a Roman name, and generally the *Prænomen* and *Family* name of him by whoſe favour they obtained that privilege. So *Caburus* is called here *Caius Valerius* from *Caius Valerius Flaccus.* So again, Bell. Afric. c. 28. § 2. *Forte incidit in navem in* P. 42. l. 32.

qua erant duo TITI, *Hiſpani adoleſcentes, tribuni legionis* V. *quorum patrem Cæſar in Senatum legerat.* And in Cic. l. ii. in Verrem, c. 8. *Sextus Pompeius Chlorus*, and *Quintus Cæcilius Dio*; the former from *Sextus Pompeius*, the latter from *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, as appears from the ſame Oration, c. 7. Sometimes they aſſumed another name, as fancy ſuggeſted. See Cic. Ep. ad Fam. l. xiii. ep. 35. *J. Arntzenius*, Diſſ. binæ, p. 183.

P. 28. l. ult. † P. 28. l. ult. *general diet.*] The Proconſuls and Prætors in their ſeveral provinces allotted the winter for the diſtribution of juſtice, leaving the ſummer open for war, or at leaſt for gathering in the harveſt and fruits of the earth. They publiſhed by their edict throughout the province where and when the courts would be held, that the towns of each reſpective diſtrict might attend them. A plan which is in a great meaſure ſtill preſerved in the circuits of our Judges.

P. 63. l. 16. †. P. 36. l. 36. *heavy baggage*] F. *Whilſt they were encumbered with their knapſacks.* The Roman ſoldiers on their march, beſides their arms, carried proviſions, tools, and faſcines [*vallum*]. Without theſe they were ſaid to be *expediti*; with them *ſub onere*, or *ſub ſarcinis*. Bell. Civ. l. i. c. 66. *Veriti ne noctu impediti ſub onere confligere cogerentur.* B. G. l. iii. c. 24. *Sub ſarcinis inferiores animo adoriri cogitabant.* Hirt. viii. 27. *perterritoſque ſub ſarcinis in itinere aggreſſi.* Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. II. *Arma membra eſſe militis dicunt, quæ quidem ita geruntur, ut ſi uſus fuerat, objectis oneribus, expeditis armis, ut membris, pugnare poſſint.*

P. 88. l. 8. † P. 56. l. 32. *once in ſix hours*] bis ſemper *accidit horarum* XII *ſpatio.* As the new philoſophy aſcribes the tides to the attraction of the moon on one ſide of the globe, and to the centrifugal force on the other, there can be from thoſe two cauſes but two tides in the circumvolution of that planet round the earth. And yet all the Mſſ. read *bis* XII *horarum ſpatio*, except one at Oxford, which leaves out *bis*. Or read *bis horarum* XXIV *ſpatio*, either of which, as Dr. Jurin ſays, is agreeable to truth. So in Dugdale's Hiſtory of the Fens, in Lincolnſhire, p. 216. *that the river mentioned in that preſentment then was, and long had been, an arm of the ſea, whereinto the tides did ebb and flow twice in 24 hours.*

P. 89. l. 28—34. † P. 51. l. 27. *without fear of the rocks*] *minus commodè ſcopulis continebantur.* Scaliger and others of the moderns read *minus* INCOMMODE *ſcopulis continebantur*; could ſhelter themſelves with ſafety among the flats, without fear of the rocks, as Edmonds.—Perhaps, we ſhould read *Copulis*,

which are uſed for harpoons; and for iron fetters in Plaut. Epid. V. 1, 11. *in manibus geſtantes* COPULAS *ſecuncias*. Theſe ſhips were ſo high, that it was difficult to *grapple* them. *Jurin.*

† P. 55. l. 7. *The Roman province*] *ex his regionibus* in the text was probably added by another hand, and is not in the Greek verſions. *Jurin.* P.95.l.27.

† Ibid. l. 33. *copper mines*] æraria ſecturæ. *metalla æris, metalla æraria*, &c. in Pliny, were likewiſe called *æraria*. *Sectura*, or, as others, *ſtrictura*, is a gloſs. The Greek πολλῶν ὄσσων χαλκειῶν. And in l. vii. 22. *magnæ ſunt ferrariæ*. Jurin. P.96.l.19.

† P. 56. l. 21. *Sertorius*] Sertorius had followed the faction of Marius and Cinna; and when Sylla had overthrown both the elder and the younger Marius, he fled into Spain, and there maintained the quarrel on foot againſt Pompey and Metellus, and overthrew them in many battles: but in the end was treacherouſly ſlain by Perpenna at a banquet. See Epit. Liv. I. xcv. Plutarch in his Life, Appian, B. C. l. 1. Florus, l. iii. 22. *Edmonds, Glandorp.* P.97.l.29.

† Ibid. l. 37. *the auxiliaries*] *auxiliis in mediam aciem conjectis*. He placed them in the middle that he might keep them the more eaſily to their duty. Wherever there have been ſet battles fought, the ſtrength conſiſted always in the wings, as the two principal inſtruments of the battle. *Edmonds.*—It is ſtrange to ſay that the wings were the principal inſtruments. Perhaps common relaters may divide an army groſsly into two parts only, and then no wonder if all is done by one wing or the other. J. N. P.98.l.16.

† Ibid. l. 41. *better*] *tutius eſſe arbitrabantur*. Probably it ſhould be *ſatius*. *Tutius* would denote to gain a *bloodleſs* victory. *Jurin.* Ib.l.22.

† P. 57. l. 9. *enemy were afraid of them*] *quum ſua cunctatione atque opinione timidiores hoſtes*. Read, *quum ſua cunctatione atque opinione* TIMIDIORES [jam facti] *noſtros alacriores ad pugnandum* EFFECISSENT, as the Mſſ. *Clarke, Jurin.* Ib.l.34.

† P. 66. l. 34. *their name alone*] *opinione et amicitia Pop. Rom.* Read, *opinione amicitiæ*, the credit of their friendſhip would be a ſufficient defence. *Jurin.* P.116.l.22.

† P. 70. l. 3. *about eight miles off*] I am inclined to think this port was either Gravelin, or near it. For it was only VIII miles from Portus Itius, from whence he tells us he ſet out, in his ſecond expedition, B. G. v. 2; and the wind, that carried the ſhips from this latter port to Bri- P.121.l.19.

tain, prevented the other ſhips at the former port coming to Portus Itius. Now a ſouth-weſt wind would do both, which is the wind that Cæſar expreſsly tells us he ſailed by in his ſecond expedition; and by Cæſar's ordering the horſe to the other port and to follow him, one would be emboldened to think that the ſame wind which carried him from where he was to Britain, would alſo ſerve at the other port for the ſame purpoſe, which is manifeſtly true of Gravelin and Calais. He calls theſe ports *portus ſuperior* and *portus inferior*, c. iv. 26 and 21; and, ſpeaking of the two ſhips that miſcarried in their return to Britain, he ſays they were carried *farther down*. Ib. iv. 32. Now the upper haven is the farther to the north or north-eaſt, as Gravelin is with reſpect to Calais higher up on the coaſt. If Boulogne be the port from whence Cæſar ſailed, Calais was probably the other port to which the horſe marched. The diſtance indeed between them is too great, computed to be xx miles: and Cæſar ſays it was only eight. But if Calais was then uſed as a port, it is highly improbable that Cæſar would ſay of any other place, when compared with it, that the paſſage from thence to Britain was the moſt convenient and ſhorteſt. Calais is therefore moſt probably Cæſar's *Portus Itius*, whence he ſet out, and Gravelin where the horſe were detained. Horſley, B. I. c. 1. p. 11, 12.

P. 121. l. 20. † P. 70. l. 13. *about one in the morning*] *tertia fere vigilia*. The watches, containing three hours each, were computed from ſix in the evening. Therefore *fere tertia vigilia*, is one in the morning. Bp Gibſon tranſlates it, I know not why, *about three in the morning*. There were four watches in the night; and four in the day; the fourth is mentioned by St. Matthew, xiv. 25; conſequently of three hours each, which it is ſtrange the Biſhop ſhould be ignorant of, and more ſtrange Paulus Manutius ſhould miſtake in Cic. ad Att. l. iii. c. 7. *Nox in* TRES *vigilias, &* QUATERNAS *horas vigilia dividibantur*; he ſhould have ſaid *in* QUATERNAS *vigilias, &* TRES *horas vigilia dividebantur*.

Ib. l. 23. † Ib. l. 18. *about ten in the morning*] *hora dici quarta*, i. e. the fourth hour, reckoning from ſix in the morning, which conſequently is *ten*; which Bp. Gibſon tranſlates, *four o'clock*.

Ib. l. 26. † Ib. l. 20. *the impending hills*] *montibus anguſtis*. Read, *abruptis*. So Julius Celſus: *rupes præruptas pelago impendentes*. Such the mountains at Dover are. *Jurin.*—But Q. if *abruptæ* is ever joined to *rupes*. What if it were to be read *auguſtis?* J. N.

† P.

† P. 70. l. 36. *a plain and open ſhore*] At what place Cæſar attempted to land, as well as where he landed at laſt, is uncertain: Richborough was at that time the moſt noted port, and agrees as well at leaſt with his account as any other. Dr. Halley [Phil. Tranſ. vol. xvii. A. D. 1690. Num. 193.] thinks he made at firſt for *Dover*; and finding that place not convenient for him, he landed at *Deal*. Dio, l. xxxix. ſays, Ἄκραν τινὰ προτέχουσαν παραπλεύσας ἑτέρωσε παρεκομίσθη. Καντᾦθα τὰς πρυμνήσας οἱ ἐς τὰ τενάγη ἀποβαίνοντι νικήσας, ἔφθη τῆς γῆς κρατήσας, i. e. *Wherefore doubling a certain headland, he made to the ſhore on the other ſide, where he overcame thoſe that ſkirmiſhed with him at the water's edge; and ſo got well on ſhore.* Thus Dr. Halley tranſlates it. But τένεαγος never ſignifies the ſea-ſhore, the *water's edge*, but *marſhy ground*. Accordingly Stephens tranſlates it *in paludibus*. Dr. Halley, however, has the authority of Suidas, who ſays, τενάγος πελαγία ἰλύς, or the *ſea-mud*, properly the ouſe on the ſea-ſhore, and eaſily uſed for the ſhore itſelf where the ouſe is found. Gent. Mag. July 1774, p. 308. Ariſtotle περὶ ζώων ἱστορίας, v. 15. expreſsly diſtinguiſhes between ἀμῶδες and τεναγῶδες. And Plutarch, ſpeaking of the ſtandard-bearer's exploit in this deſcent, ſays it was ἐν τόπῳ ἑλώδει καὶ μεστῷ ὕδατος, and near ῥεύματα τελματώδη, in *a marſhy place*, and *near a muddy river*, which exactly agrees with *Richborough* or *Sandwich*; marſhy by reaſon of the river *Wantſum*, where, as Cæſar obſerves, § 26, his ſoldiers could not have good footing. This was ſuch a port as Cæſar wanted, *ad majorem navium multitudinum idoneus*, c. 20. Where he landed was about xi miles from *Geſſoriacum*, or which is ſuppoſed the ſame *Portus Iccius*, from whence he ſet out, as he himſelf tells us, Gall. v. 2. or, which is the ſame thing, 320 ſtadia, according to Strabo, l. iv. p. 305. which agrees with the diſtance between *Bologne* and *Sandwich* or *Richborough*. J. Batteley, Antiq. Rutupinæ, § 38. But Ptolemy, as Dr. Halley informs us, places Geſſoriacum in the ſame latitude with Ἴκιον ἄκρον, but half a degree more to the eaſt. From thence concludes that Geſſoriacum was not Bologne, but at Gravelin or Dunkirk. Horſley, Brit. Rom. P. 122. l. 8.

† P. 72. l. 41. *it being full moon*] A peace was concluded four days after Cæſar's arrival, which concluſion happened to be *at full moon*. It was full moon this year after midnight, Auguſt 30, or 31, in the morning before day. Conſequently he landed Auguſt 26, four days before (*Halley* ubi ſupra) in the year before Chriſt 55, on the Kentiſh ſhore of the Downs, and the P. 125. l. 16.

the place he ſet out from Calais. Phil. Tranſ. N° 193. See alſo Gent. Mag. for July, 1774. Chifflet had ſettled *Portus Iccius* at Mardyk; Somner, at Boulogne; Dufreſne, Camden, and Ortelius, at Witſan. Horſley follows Halley, who follows H. Lloyd. Monſ. Schœpflin, Hiſtoriographer Royal of France, in an Eſſay on the ſubject, p. 385—387, of his Commentationes Hiſtoricæ et Critic. Baſ. 1741. 4to. ſums up the evidence in favour of Witſan. See Mr. Gough's Britiſh Topography, p. 2.

P. 129. l. 5. † P. 75. l. 22. *the autumnal equinox approached*] The equinox muſt in Cæſar's time have fallen on the 24th of September, which, by the Julian calendar, falls now upon the 12th or 11th. The Julian calendar was not ſettled indeed till a few years afterwards; but all things are related as they fell out according to the new computation. He left the iſland probably about the 20th of September, when he had continued here about three weeks. Horſley, p. 10.—Doth not this ſhew that the Commentaries were not written at the time, or have undergone a ſubſequent correction? J. N.

Ib. l. 13. † Ib. l. 30. *In theſe two veſſels were about three hundred ſoldiers*] By the ſame proportion, eighty ſhips would carry twelve thouſand. And Cæſar ſays he had got together eighty tranſports, which would be ſufficient for two legions. c. 20. Therefore, there were ſix thouſand to a legion; ſo conjectures Mr. Horſley, p. 5. But, from undoubted authority, the legions at this time were not ſo numerous, and contained only 4000 or 4200 foot, and 200 or 300 horſe, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Bell. Civ. III. c. LXXXIII. And of ſuch numbers Cæſar tells us his actually conſiſted on this occaſion, Bell. Gall. V. c. XLI. See Rualdus in Plutarch. Animad. II. The Britons may abate 2000 of the number of thoſe who are ſuppoſed to have invaded this iſland, but who ſurveyed it rather than conquered it.

P. 130 l. ult. † P. 76. l. ult. *twenty days*] *dierum* XX *ſupplicatio.* A thankſgiving at firſt did not extend to above one or two days at moſt, as appears by Livy l. III. Upon the victory obtained againſt the Veii by Camillus it was granted for four days, to which one was afterwards added; which was the uſual time of ſupplication, till Pompey ended the Mithridatic war, when ten days ſupplication were granted him. It was afterwards extended by Cæſar to XV days, B. G. II. and now to twenty, the greateſt that was ever before granted. *Edmonds.*

P. 139. l. 10. † P. 81. l. 23. *ſouth wind*] ſouth-weſt wind, Dr. Halley; and Horſley, p. 7.

† P. 81.

† P. 81. l. 40. *having landed his army*] Probably in the month of May, and left this iſland again before the middle of September. Quintus Cicero, who accompanied Cæſar into Britain, had writ four letters to his brother Marcus; the laſt, dated Auguſt 10, was received September 13, Cic. ad Quintum Fratrem, l. iii. c. 1. Allowing the ſame diſtance of time for each of the other letters, it will bring us back to May. He was come to the ſhore, in order to make ready to reimbark September 1, as appears from the ſame letter, ſub fin. Some days paſſed before he ſet ſail. Horſley, Brit. Rom. p. 10, 11. Ib. l. 33.

† P. 83. l. 15. *fourſcore miles.*] From Rutupiæ or Richborough, where Cæſar firſt landed, for eighty Roman miles to Otelands in Surrey, where ſtakes were driven into the Thames to oppoſe his paſſage *. There are the remains of a large Roman encampment up in the county directly ſouthward about a mile and an half diſtant from that ford, and pointing to it; where it is natural to imagine Cæſar intrenched his troops to give them time to recover after their difficult marches, and to prepare for paſſing the river with their whole force. But the difficulty is how the Thames could be ſaid to divide Caſſivellaun's territories about LXXX miles *à maritimis civitibus*. Now Mr. Horſley ſuppoſes that Caſſivellaun's territories were LXXX miles from Ritupæ, or the neighbouring *maritime* places of Kent, Cæſar beginning his computation from the place where he landed. Of Kent he ſays, *Regio eſt maritima omnis*, l. v. c. 10. And in Antonine's Itinerary from Ritupæ to London, according to the courſe of the military way, is LXXVII miles; in the more direct way it may not be above LXX; ſo that Cæſar's LXXX miles will bring us near to Kingſton in Surrey; where it is probable the foot forded the river, and where it is now in many places not above five feet deep, and where the Romans afterwards (as Dr. Gale obſerves, Anton. Itin. Brit. p. 71, 72.) firſt paſſed the river Thames by a bridge, who uſually in their ſubſequent expeditions followed the courſe of their former victories: a bridge then afterwards built by them is a preſumption that they had found there a ford before. Brit. Rom. p. 15. Others ſuppoſe at *Cowey ſtakes*, near Oatlands, ſeven or eight miles above Kingſton; of which ſee preſently. P. 141. l. 31.

* We are told that theſe ſtakes ran *croſs* the river in a *ſtrait line*: but would ſuch a diſpoſition ſtop the paſſage of an army? J. N.

† P. 83.

P.142.l.10. † P. 83. l. 28. *For money they uſe braſs and iron rings.* BLADEN. *They uſe braſs money and iron rings of a certain weight.* DUNCAN. *Utuntur aut ære aut taleis ferreis pro nummo.* CÆSAR.] Mr. Duncan, after many others, ſuppoſed, that, according to Cæſar's account, the Britains at this time had *braſs money* ſtamped. But no money of theirs was ever found of Julius Cæſar's time; it was an art which they learnt of the Romans after they had, under Cunobelin, ſome intercourſe with them: Cæſar, therefore, tells us what they uſed at this time inſtead of coin ſtamped. The paſſage in the original ſhould be pointed a little different from the editions, thus: *Utuntur aut ære aut taleis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo;* the word *examinatis* being connected both with *ære* and *taleis ferreis*, not with the latter only. See Pegge's account of Cunobelin's coins, 1766.—For *taleis* ſome read *laminis*, or *anulis*, as the Greek δακτυλιοις, I ſhould think, *circulis ferreis;* without *ære*, which Cæſar ſays was *imported*. Jurin.

P.145 l.10. † P. 85. l. antep. *ſharp ſtakes*] ſuppoſed by Camden, and many others, to have been at *Cowey Stakes*, near *Lalam*. Within our memory, when Molſey-bridge was built, theſe very ſtakes were diſcovered and pulled up. The Right Honourable Arthur Onſlow, late Speaker, had a ſet of knives and forks, the handles of which were made of the wood; and many of the ſtakes are, if I am rightly informed, in the poſſeſſion of other gentlemen.

P.146.l.17. † P. 86. l. 35. *they readily performed*] It is obſervable, that as the *Trinobantes* were the firſt of the Britains who ſubmitted to the Romans; ſo they have ſince been the ruling precedent for ſubmiſſion under every revolution. *Mandubratius*, as Mr. Camden obſerves, is by Eutropius, Bede, and the more modern writers, always called *Androgeus*, which in the Britiſh language ſignifies *vir malus*, a bad man; a name of infamy fixed upon him, for having been the firſt who betrayed his country. Camden, Brit. *Trinobantes*, Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. in voce.

Ib. l. 25. † P. 87. l. 3. *Caſſivellaunus's town*] Which ſome think to have been Old Verulamium, others at Caſſiobury, both in the hundred of Caſſiobury in Hertfordſhire, which retains the name derived from Caſſibelanus.

P.147.l.10. † Ibid. l. 21. *Segonax*] This termination is neither Britiſh nor Roman. The name was originally *Segomar*, or *Sigomar*, and contracted into *Sigmar*; thence from the ſimilitude of the German *r* and *x*, made *Segonar* by the editors. *Reineſius*, Pref. to his Syntagma Inſcript. p. xiv.

† P. 95.

† P. 95. l. 13. *an account of the action*] This was the greateſt loſs that ever befell Cæſar at once, from the time he was proconſul in Gallia to the end of his dictatorſhip. In the two overthrows at Dyrrachium he loſt not above 1000 men; in that of Gergovia not ſo many; but here 15 cohorts were cut to pieces, amounting to 6000 men. *Edmonds*, p. 118. P. 158. l. 14

† P. 96. l. 13. *Cicero ſent away couriers*] In this action Quintus Cicero's behaviour deſerved as great reputation as ever his brother Marcus gained by his eloquence. And if it had been the fortune of the latter to have performed the like ſervice, he would have made it the greateſt exploit that ever Roman had atchieved by arms. Particularly he is ſo praiſed for raiſing ſo many towns in ſo ſmall a time; for providing the night before ſuch things as were neceſſary for the next day's defence; for making ſo many ſtakes hardened at the end with fire for defence of the rampart; and for the ſtore of mural piles, which reſembled the form of the ordinary pile, but were far greater and heavier, as they were to be caſt from the rampart, and conſequently would do greater execution. *Edmonds*, p. 119. P. 159. l. 18.

† P. 97. l. 16. *carry it in their cloaks*] *manibus* SAGULIS*que terram* EXHAURIRE *cogebantur*. The tranſlator ſupplies what is not in the text, when he ſays, *they* CARRIED IT AWAY *in their cloaks*; a liberty which Oroſius took before him, lib. VI. 10. who explains the paſſage by *gladiis concidendo terram & SAGULIS exportando*. But it ſhould be read TRAGULIS*que terram exportare cogebantur*. *Tragula* was a ſort of bearded dart, as appears from Gell. x. 25. and uſed by the Gauls, as appears above, § 35. 38. and from lib. I. 26. *Markland*, Quæſtio Grammatica, p. 62.—We may in ſome meaſure judge of the form of this weapon from our Engliſh word TROWEL derived from it. P. 161. l. 7.

† P. 116. l. 22. *were obliged to attend them to another world*] *juſtis funeribus confectis*. Perhaps *mutuis vulneribus confecti*, Markland, in T. Bentley's edition. P. 190 l. ult.

† P. 128. l. 17. *ſenate's decree*] Upon the deſtruction of Clodius by Milo, there were ſo great tumults at Rome, that Aſcon. Pedianus tells us, Argum. Milon. that *the ſenate paſſed a decree, that the interrex, the tribunes of the people, and Pompey, who was proconſul then in the city, ſhould take care*, ne quid detrimenti Reſp. caperet; *and that Pompey ſhould levy troops throughout Italy*. Hottoman. Vol. II. P. 5. l. 15.

P. 10. l. 11. † P. 132. l. 39. It muſt be obſerved, that the Rutheni were two different people; one part ſubject to the Romans, before Cæſar's arrival, called here the *Provincial Rutheni*; the other who ſided with the Gauls againſt them; to ſecure whom from inſurrections, Cæſar winter-quartered one of his legions in their neighbourhood. [See B. V. § 27. p. 151.] Accordingly Pliny diſtinguiſhes the two *Rutheni*, making the one part the province of Narbonne, N. H. iii. 4. and the other bordering on it, *Narbonenſi provinciæ contermini*, N. H. iv. 19. which is agreeable likewiſe to Strabo, who places the *Gabali* and *Rutheni* on the confines only of the province, i. e. of the Rutheni which was not ſubdued, part of Gallia Celtica, afterwards made part of Aquitania by Auguſtus. Dom. Vaiſette and the authors of the Collection of the Gauliſh Hiſtorians think that the Provincial Rutheni were thoſe whom Cæſar had conquered, and afterwards incorporated with the Roman Province; and others of the Rutheni, who had voluntarily ſubmitted to him, were indulged with the exerciſe of their own laws. But it is manifeſt, from B. G. i. 45. that when Fabius Maximus conquered the Rutheni, he did not reduce them to a province; and from the paſſage before us, that a part of the Rutheni were before his arrival included in the province of Narbonne. To ſuppoſe that he paſſed over the conqueſt of them in ſilence, is not conſiſtent with the exactneſs of the detail of his commentaries, or with the importance of ſuch a conqueſt. When the Rutheni were made a province, can only be collected from hiſtorical circumſtances, not from any expreſs teſtimony. Livy, Epit. 73. ſays, *C. Cæcilius in Gallia Tranſalpina Saliios rebellantes vicit*, U. C. Var. 664. The king of the Salii, Teutomalus, after his defeat by C. Sextius, U. C. 630, took refuge among the Allobroges. Theſe drew the Arverni into their alliance, to whom the *Salii* were probably feudatories. For, according to Strabo, the territories of the Arverni extended to Narbonne, and from thence to the territories of Marſeilles. In the defeat, therefore, of the *Salii*, other nations that joined them were probably included; and if the Arverni, we may conclude the Rutheni.

P. 13. l. 22. † P. 134. l. 19. *a town belonging to the county of Berry*] *Biturigum poſitum in via*. Theſe words ſhould poſſibly be omitted. See Oudendorp and Jurin.

P. 56. l. 23. † P. 164. l. 3. *between the gates of their camp*] *anguſtioribus portis relictis*. The Gauls, when they drew a ditch round their camp, left the gates narrower

rower than uſual. Bell. C. ii. 9. *Feneſtras reliquerunt.* Hirtius, B. Al. 38. *Non ita magno intervallo relicto.* D. Voſſius, without reaſon, is for leaving out *anguſtioribus.* Jurin.

† P. 186. l. 34. *When they came to the interview*] Oudendorp, in his laſt edition, has given a reading, which, if it had authority, would render the place clearer. *Quum in colloquium ventum eſſet, et ut convenerat, manum Commii Voluſenus arripuiſſet, centurio, vel ut inſueta re permotus* VEL *celeriter a familiaribus protitus Commii, conficere hominem non potuit, graviter tamen,* &c. the words *vellet Commium interficere* being left out. P. 92. l. 2.

† P. 202. l. 12. *Cæſar's letter*] The beginning of this book is ſuppoſed to have been loſt; and *a Fabio* at leaſt to have been inſerted. The beginning of Suetonius is likewiſe periſhed, beginning in the King of France's Mſ. *annum agens ſeptum decimum.* So that we have no account of Julius Cæſar before his XIVth year. *Jurin.* P. 121. l. 1.

† P. 203. l. 20. *thoſe of them who were of his party*] We ſhould obſerve here a ſeeming difficulty in the original, which has puzzled all the commentators. "Miſſo ad veſperum Senatu, omnes, qui ſunt ejus ordinis, "a Pompeio evocantur. Laudat Pompeius, atque in poſterum confir-"mat." So all the Mſſ. and old editions read. *Ejus ordinis* are undoubtedly of the ſenatorian order. As Cicero in Catil. II. *princeps ejus ordinis.* But in the firſt place, it cannot be ſuppoſed that ALL the ſenators in general were called out by Pompey, whether there were 400 or leſs. How then ſhall we reſtrain, OMNES *qui ſunt ejus ordinis?* An ingenious critic would read, "omnes SUI ejus ordinis—evocantur," the word SUI being corrupted into QUI. But the whole difficulty is removed, if the comma at *ordinis* we place after *Pompeio.* "Omnes, qui ſunt ejus ordinis a Pompeio, evocan-"tur." *All, that were of Pompey's party, were called out.* Then follows, in the Nominative, "Laudat Pompeius," &c. But, 2dly, ſay the commentators, we ſtill want a word to oppoſe to "*ſegniores caſtigat.*" Why ſo? He calls out ALL of his PARTY, confirms the reſolute of them, reproves the timid and wavering. The paſſage is originally right in the Mſſ. and only confounded by the commentators. P. 122. l. 1.

† P. 204. l. 4. *the prætorſhip*] Pompey and Craſſus, who were conſuls, A. U. 684, when Cato ſtood for the prætorſhip, joined with Cæſar in oppoſing him, becauſe he ſuſpected he would not bear their adminiſtration, and were unwilling to ſtrengthen him with a legal power againſt themſelves, Ib. l. 32.

ſelves, as Dio tells us, l. xxxix. p. 117. Cæſar, with ſome artifice, aſcribes Cato's enmity to him to that oppoſition to him, which was formed jointly by all three, and which therefore ſhould have made him now an enemy to Pompey as well as Cæſar. The one indeed was his competitor, but the other two oppoſed his intereſt.

P. 124. l. 29. † P. 234. l. 33. *the ſeventh day after the entrance upon their charge*] They were created Dec. 10, according to Liv. xxxix. 52. Dec. 5, Cicer. Proœm. Ver. c. 10. Dec. 13, Dion. Halic. Urſinus and Ciacconius greatly miſtake, in ſuppoſing this apprehenſion of danger was on the ſeventh day from their entering on their office, which is to be underſtood the VIIth day from the commencement of the year, which was Jan. 1. Afterwards, for towards the VIIIth month of their adminiſtration, ſhould probably be the XIIth month. J. Vossius.

P. 125. l. 18. † P. 205. l. 9. *which he hoped might have reduced all differences to a peaceable ſtate*] The propoſals which Cæſar made were ſent in a letter by Curio, viz. 1. That Pompey ſhall retire to his government in Spain. 2. That the forces the ſenate had raiſed ſhall be diſbanded, and the garriſon evacuated. That he, on the other hand, would deliver up the farther Gaul into the hands of Domitius; and the nearer Gaul into thoſe of Conſidius Nonianus; the perſons to whom theſe provinces had been reſpectively allotted. That he would reſign his right of ſuing for the conſulſhip in his abſence, and return to Rome to ſue for it in perſon. Cic. Ep. Fam. l. XVI. 12.

Ib. l. 30. † Ib. l. 23. *Mauritania*] Not that any part of Mauritania, either Tingitana, or Cæſarienſis, was ſubject to the Romans till U. C. 716, after Julius Cæſar's death, as appears from Dio, l. xlviii. who tells us, that the Tingitani revolting from their king Bogud, Bocchus ſeized the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by Auguſtus, and the people admitted to the privileges of the city. And that Mauritania Cæſarienſis was likewiſe exempt from the Romans, is plain from Hirtius, Bell. Alex. c. 62. who tells us, that Pompey, the ſon of Pompey the Great, *went from Utica into Mauritania, and entered the kingdom of Bogud*, and, having ſuffered there a great defeat, was forced back to his ſhips. And Aſinius Pollio, in an epiſtle written the year after Cæſar's death, ſays, that Balbus the quæſtor, having got together a great quantity of gold in further Spain, ſailed from thence *into Bogud's territories.*

territories. In this place, therefore, we muſt underſtand that part only of Mauritania which was ſubject to the Romans; or that Fauſtus Sylla was ſent with a hoſtile intent againſt both kings, who were not very favourable to Cæſar. This Spanheim did not rightly underſtand, Numiſm. Diſſ. IX. p. 768. nor Patin on Sueton. c. 65. nor J. Voſſius, on Pomp. Mela, II. c. 6. See Noris, Cenotaph. Piſana, Diſſ. II. p. m. 88. It is further to be obſerved, that Fauſtus Sylla is here ſaid to be ſent *Proprætor*; and yet he is called, by Cicero to Atticus, l. IX. Ep. 1. *Proquæſtor*. To reconcile this, we muſt ſuppoſe, as Cæſar ſays, that Philip the tribune forbad his going with that character, but that he went under an inferior one, *Proquæſtor*. J. Vossius.—But as the Mſſ. read here *propere*, inſtead of *pro-præt.* that ſhould be the true reading, which confirms the hoſtile intention of the ſenate.

† Ib. l. 29. *two conſular provinces*] Under the republic the conſular pro- P. 126. l. 3.
vinces were thoſe which were governed by ſuch as had been conſuls; the prætorians by ſuch as had been prætors. They were obſerved here to be given *privatis*, to perſons who were out of office. And this was agreeable to the law procured by Pompey, U. C. 701, that no one ſhould enter on the conſular or prætorian provinces till five years after he had been conſul or prætor. And yet this law was not preciſely adhered to in this inſtance; for though L. Domitius Ænobarbus was conſul, A. U. 700, five years before, yet the other, Q. Metellus Scipio, was conſul with Pompey but three before, U. C. 702. Cæſar obſerves, that Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus and L. Marcius Philippus were poſtponed, who had fairer pretenſions than the other two, having been conſuls, U. C. 698, two years before the firſt of them. I read, therefore, with Voſſius and Pighius, Marcellinus, not Marcellus as the copies print it. We may here obſerve, that Cardinal Noris confines the ſenſe of *privati* too narrowly, when he ſuppoſes, Cenotaph. Piſan. Diſſ. ii. c. 9. that it means thoſe who had never ſerved any magiſtracy: *Si cui privato, qui nullos antea in urbe magiſtratus geſſerat, belli adminiſtratio committebatur, is dicebatur pro prætore vel pro conſule, bellum gerere*. He inſtances in Auguſtus, who was made pro-prætor at XIX years of age; and Pompey, who was ſent with proconſular power againſt Sertorius in Spain, while he was only a Roman knight. But on the other hand, Domitius and Scipio are both here expreſsly ſtyled *privati*, though they had been conſuls. Laſtly, we ſhould obſerve, that this Scipio was father-in-law to Pompey, who had married his daughter Cornelia, the widow of Craſſus who was ſlain by the Parthians, Paterc. ii. 54.

† P. 205.

P. 126. l. 13. † P. 205. l. ult. *The conſuls, &c.*] Duncan tranſlates it thus: *The conſuls left the city, a thing unheard of till that time:* which is not true. The word *conſuls* ſhould probably be tranſpoſed, and it ſhould be read, *departed for their ſeveral commands in a military habit; a thing unheard of till that time. The* CONSULS *left the city, and lictors, &c.* Davies and Jurin.—Suppoſe we were to read, *Conſules, quod ante id tempus acceſſerat nunquam, ex urbe proficiſcuntur privati, lictoreſque,* &c. The Conſuls left the city *as* private men, which had never happened before: and other really private perſons were attended by their officers. G. A.

Ib. l. 30. † P. 206. l. 14. *oppoſed by arms*] When the ſenate decreed that Cæſar ſhould diſband his army, and Pompey keep his, only two ſenators diſſented, Cæcilius and Curio. Dio, xli. p. 171. Notwithſtanding this conſent of the ſenate was almoſt unanimous, yet the tribunes, M. Antony and Q. Caſſius, as they had a right, put a negative to it. This interceſſion of the tribunes, as it was called, being diſregarded, and the tribunes themſelves threatened, gave Cæſar's cauſe a plauſible colour, which he does not fail to ſet in an advantageous light to his army. Yet this very man, who now defended the ſacred character of the tribunes againſt the ſenate, afterwards procured the ſenate to depoſe and expel from the houſe two other tribunes, C. Epidius and L. Cecilius Flaccus, becauſe they remonſtrated to the public that they were abridged by Cæſar of their freedom in the exerciſe of their functions, and becauſe they had proſecuted one of his party for calling him king. Dio Caſſ. l. xiv. p. 277.

P. 127. l. 2. † Ib. l. 18. *their ancient liberties*] *Dona etiamquæ habuerant ademiſſe. Dona* is, by Dr. Davies and Dr. Duncan, interpreted the *privileges* or *prerogatives* of the tribunes; but rights and privileges would here be called *dona*. We ſhould probably read OMNIA with a comma after it, *etiam quæ ante habuerat, ademiſſe: Pompey, who pretended to reſtore them to their ancient privileges, deprived them now of* EVERY THING, *even what* Sylla *had left.* From the contraction ōia for *omnia*, aroſe the corrupted word *dona*. Marklland, Quæſtio Grammat. p. 264.

P. 131. l. 10. † P. 209. l. 13. *Cæſar's van-guard*] In the original *primo ordine* in the ſingular, which can denote no more than the men in the very firſt rank, ten or twenty; which, as Voſſius obſerves, could not alone be ſuppoſed to begin an engagement. He therefore would read *agmine*, but it was more probably written *prim. ordin.* for *primis ordinibus*, as Livy IX. 39. *omiſſis equis, ad* primos ordines *per arma, per corpora evaſerint*, as Gronovius

novius reads it from the Mſſ. not *ad primos ordines peditum*, as the editions have it: *ordines*, as he obſerves, denoting always the foot, which Cæſar expreſſes by *ex primis ordinibus* MILITES. Markland, Quæſt. Gram. p. 265. ed. 2.

† P. 210. l. 1. *the neighbouring towns of Campania*] Circum FAMILIARES conventus Campaniæ, which is ill tranſlated by Dr. Duncan, and others, *among the* NEIGHBOURING *towns of Campania*. But Ph. Rubenius had obſerved, that for *familiares* we ſhould read *familias* Elect. l. 1. c. 8. And the uſe of *conventus* for the inhabitants in general of a town, has been abundantly proved by Gronovius, Obſ. l. iii. c. 22. What Cæſar here calls *familias conventus Campani*, Cicero, Att. l. VII calls, *patres familiarum qui eſſent Capuæ*. As the Romans divided their provinces into ſeveral diſtricts, ſo that in which the prefect reſided and adminiſtered juſtice, was called *conventus*, from the people reſorting thither. *Campanus* is the adjective from *Capua*, not *Capuanus*, as appears from Varro l. IX. and Virgil, X. 145. *Et Capys, hinc nomen Campanæ ducitur urbi. Conventus Campani* cannot denote the towns of Campania, but the town of *Capua*, which was the head of the country, and where the prefect reſided. P. 132. l. 9.

P. 214. l. 3. *ſix millions of ſeſterces*] about 50,000l. of our money. P. 138. l. 9.

† Ibid. l. 33. *he deſigned to wait upon him at Brindiſi*] *quoniam ad id tempus facultas conloquendi non fuerit, adque, ad ſe Brundiſium ſit venturus, intereſſe Reipublicæ*, &c. The ſenſe to the Engliſh reader is very clear; but in the Latin, one would naturally aſk, how *ad ſe* can refer to Pompey, whether Magius is ſuppoſed to ſay this, or Cæſar to write it? We ſhould therefore probably read, underſtanding theſe to be the words of Magius, *Quoniam ad id tempus facultas conloquendi non fuerit, atque* (i. e. ſtatim) *ad* TE *Brundiſium ſit venturus.* [Cæſar dicit] *intereſſe reipublicæ, et communis ſalutis,* SE *cum Pompeio conloqui: neque vero idem perfici*, &c. As it ſtands in the editions, *ad ſe Brundiſi*, Pompey is expreſſed *ad ſe Brundiſium ſit venturus*; and Cæſar by *ſe cum Pompeio conloqui*; which in the ſame ſentence is againſt all grammar and perſpicuity. Markland, Quæſt. Gram. p. 265. ed. 2. P. 139. l. 5.

† P. 215. l. 9. *that he might the more eaſily command the Adriatick*] quo facilius omne Adriaticum mare extremis Italiæ partibus regionibuſque Græciæ in poteſtatem haberet. It is aſked, what is *extremis Italiæ partibus* governed of? Mr. Markland offers *opportunum* to be ſupplied. Quæſtio Ib. l. 23.

Gram.

Gram. p. 266. ed. 2. If we were to ſuppoſe EX *extremis*, the firſt EX omitted by reaſon of the next following. But perhaps nothing need be ſupplied, and we ſhould underſtand it as the dative governed of *poteſtatem: that he might have the whole Adriatic Sea ſubject to the extreme parts of Italy and the country of Greece.*—I prefer CUM *extremis*, that he might have in his power [or command] the whole Adriatic *along with*, &c. G. A.

P.140.l.22. † Ib. l. 37. *had not yet returned with an anſwer to his meſſage*] But we have now remaining a Letter from Cæſar to Oppius and Balbus, in which he ſays, *Pompey has ſent Magius to me with overtures of peace; and I have anſwered him what I thought proper.* Ad Attic. l. IX. ep. 16. which confirms what Aſinius Pollio has told us, that theſe commentaries are not written with the ſtricteſt regard to truth. *Ciacconius.*—I do not ſee the juſtneſs of this obſervation, unleſs we knew the exact *date* of Cæſar's letter, and the *time* of his ſaying this. G. A.

P.147.l.5. † P. 220. l. 33. *the two patrons of their country*] Patronos civitatis; quorum alter agros Volcarum Arecomicorum et Helviorum publicos *iis* conceſſerit. As theſe are the words of the Maſſilians, for *iis*, we ſhould here read *ſibi*. The tranſlators refer *iis* to *civitatis*; by a ſyntheſis for which we want authority. The miſtake aroſe from ſibi being writ $\overset{i}{s}$, or ſi; from whence it by degrees was changed into *is*, and afterwards into *iis*. Markland, Quæſtio Grammat. p. 266. ed. 2.

P.154.l.18. † P. 226. l. 24. *had raiſed himſelf from inferior ranks*] Fulginius is here ſaid to be *ex primo haſtato legionis* XIV, which Lipſius ſays, De Mil. Rom. l. II. Dial. VII. ſhould be *Centurio primi haſtati*, the *ex* formed from a miſtake of the mark 7 for *Centurio*. But Gronovius, Obſ. IV. c. XX. thinks this is not the meaning of the place; that *ex haſtato* ſignifies one who had been heretofore Centurion of the Haſtati, and had raiſed himſelf by his merit *in eum locum:* but that place, or office, is not mentioned, and Dr. Jurin thinks ſomewhat is left out.

P.159.l.18. † P. 230. l. 12. *centurions*] *fortiſſimos viros anteſignanos, centuriones.* The *anteſignani* were in general termed the ſlighteſt ſort of ſoldiers, taken from the *Haſtati*, who fought before the enſigns. But others were called ſo who ſtood more immediately before the eagle, or other chief enſigns among the *principes*, or ſecond battle. Every maniple having an enſign in the midſt of the troop, the ſoldiers that ſtood in the front before the enſign

enſign were called *anteſignani*, and were the beſt ſoldiers in the company. *Edmonds*, p. 36.—It ſeems very ſtrange that the ſame term ſhould ſignify the beſt and worſe men. Suppoſing the Romans drew up ſeven deep, and the colours ſtood in the middle rank; why ſhould they place three bad rows in front, ſo as to allow the enemy to get eaſily at the enſigns? We know the Eagle, and to be ſure all the other colours ptoportionally, had good men placed before them. In § XLIV. the *anteſignani* being put into diſorder, the whole legion retreats. I believe Edmonds is very old-faſhioned in his doctrines. Though the Romans might fight in three diviſions before Marius's time (ſee p. 215), they hardly did ſo afterwards. Latterly, they had to oppoſe armies vaſtly more numerous than their own. Suppoſe they were 30,000 againſt 1 or 200,000 Cimbri or Teutones, what figure would 10,000 men make acting againſt 200,000, and 20,000 of their men ſtanding ſtill? Muſt they not be beat *en detail?* T. F.

†. P. 234. l. 20. *About midnight, &c.*] *Media circiter nocte* iis, *qui ada-* P. 164. l. 29.
quandi cauſa longius a caſtris proceſſerant, ab equitibus correptis, fit ab his certior Cæſar, &c. Iis correptis, qui—is not the language of Cæſar, who would rather have written *quibuſdam correptis*. As ſome Mſſ. read II *correpti ſunt*; by *ii* we ſhould underſtand DUO, which is the true reading; or elſe interpret *iis* for *duobus correptis*, as the editions now read. Markland, Quæſt. Gram. p. 266, 7. ed. 2. But why may not Cæſar's words very well expreſs, *that* ALL *that went out for water were ſurpriſed?* Why muſt we ſuppoſe only two? W. B.—Becauſe IIS will very well repreſent *duobus*, as letter figures are conſtantly uſed by Davies, &c. Becauſe two priſoners are vaſtly more valuable than one, as they may be examined ſeparately, and, in caſe their evidence agrees, may be ſafely truſted. Laſtly and chiefly, becauſe, as it was midnight, it is not probable that many ſtraggled out for water. T. F.

† P. 234. l. 36. *L. Decidius Saxa*] L. Decidius Saxa is ſent to take a P. 165. l. 20.
view of the country, in purſuance of his office, being at this time quarter-maſter in Cæſar's army; *Caſtrorum metator*, as Cicero contemptuouſly calls him, Philip. XI. To that orator's ſpleen againſt him, we are indebted for his further hiſtory, viz. that he was of Celtiberia in Spain, and from ſerving under Cæſar came to be tribune of the people. *Accedit Saxa neſcio quis, quem nobis Cæſar ex ultima tribunum plebis dedit, caſtrorum antea metator, nunc, ut ſperat, urbis.* Philip. ubi ſupra. Theſe invectives are a

tribute to his merit at the battle of Modena, where he ſupported Antony with great gallantry. He was afterwards employed by him as his lieutenant to tranſport levies from Italy and Epirus, in conjunction with Norbanus. With theſe forces he made himſelf maſter of the whole country as far as Pangæum; and, fixing his camp in the plains of Philippi, defended it againſt Brutus and Caſſius till Antony joined him. After the deciſive battle there, U. C. 712, Antony appointed him the following year his legate in Syria, where Labienus, U. C. 714, joining the Parthians, defeated him; and, purſuing him to Cilicia, whither he had fled, put him to death. Dio XLVIII.

P. 165. l. 30. † P. 235. l. 11. *the dread of diſhonour*] *at* LUCEM *multum per ſe pudorem omnium oculis, multum etiam tribunorum militum, et centurionum præſentiam adferre*] How can it be ſaid, that ſhame and diſhonour would affect the eyes of all the ſoldiers? Ciacconius very juſtly reads, *at* LUCE *multum per ſe pudorem omnium* OCULOS, *multos etiam tribunorum militum et centurionum præſentiam, adferre.* In the day, each man would have that dread of ſhame which the eyes of ſpectators excite. Davies in vain cites authorities to ſhew that the *ſeat* of *ſhame* is in the *eyes*. It is not that the *eyes* of the ſoldiers are affected with *ſhame*, but that the eyes of the *ſpectators* are the inſtruments of creating it. MARKLAND, *Quæſt. Gram.* p. 267. ed. 2.

P. 175. l. 26. † P. 242. l. 29. *out of each of the five legions*] *ex* V *legionibus*. Probably it ſhould be VI *leg.* for ſo many Cæſar had. He mentions c. 42. three then appointed to guard the camps, and he had in his army three more. *Jurin.*

P. 190. l. 8. P. 251. l. 3. *ſixty feet long*] For LX Lipſius reads IX, becauſe it would be difficult to get timber LX feet long, and two feet ſquare; and becauſe ſuch a length bears no proportion to the width, which was but four feet. See his Poliorc. l. 1. dial. ix. W. B.—Why need we ſuppoſe the beam to be all in one piece? It would do as well with 20 joinings. Galleries are not wide in proportion to their length any more than modern trenches, whoſe breadth and depth too are always the ſame nearly: but the length greater or leſs according to circumſtances.

P. 196. l. 29. P. 255. l. 14. *one hundred and ninety thouſand ſeſterces*] The number of theſe ſeſterces is almoſt incredible, conſidering how much they would amount to; therefore there is probably a corruption of the text: but what the certain number ſhould be, I ſhall not pretend to determine.

Every

Every Seſtertium, in the neuter gender, according to Budæus, was of the value of five pounds ſterling; or, as others will have it, ſeven pounds ten ſhillings. Bladen: who having firſt tranſlated cxc HSS. by 190,000 ſeſterces (much too little) confounded them with ſo many *ſeſtertia*, a thouſand times as much, and then was ſtartled at a ſum which amounts to 1,425,000l. of our money, reckoning what he calls Seſtertium at 7l. 10s. Hotoman interprets it *centies nonagies*, 19,000,000 of ſeſterces, which at 2d. each comes to 158,333l. 6s. 8d. But why may not the reading of the old edition be the true? cxc *millia*, which I would interpret *centies nonaginta millia nummûm*, 10,090,000 HS. or 84,083l. 6s. 8d. The 20,000 weight of ſilver by the ſame computation comes to 6666l. 13s. 4d.

† P. 259. l. 8. *Bagradas*] Which anciently lay betwixt *Carthage* and the *Caſtra Cornelia*; not where we find it at preſent. At this river M. Bebius, and the other Roman officers, who had been ſent by Scipio on an embaſſy to Carthage, and, being ill uſed by the populace there, had obtained a convoy to guard them back, were deſerted by it, *in ſight of the Roman camp*, [Dio, xxx. c. 25.] and ſaved themſelves by flying to it. "This river continues winding during its whole courſe, through a rich and fertile "country, and becomes thereby ſo ſaturated with ſoil, that it is of the "ſame complexion with the *Nile*, and has the ſame property likewiſe of "making encroachments on the ſea. To this we may attribute the "changes which have been made in the channel of it; and that an open "creek of the ſea, into which the *Bagrada* diſcharges itſelf, is now "circumſcribed by the mud, and become a large navigable pond." Shaw's Travels, 4to. p. 77. The whole extent of the ſea-ſhore from Carthage to this river lies in a ſemi-circular form, and the land for ſome miles is ſmooth and level. But Utica, which lay on this coaſt, is ſaid to have been under an eminence; Liv. xxix. 35. and there is now no promontory; which lay at a ſmall diſtance to the E. or N. E. and formed the harbour. P. 201. l. 31.

† P. 261. l. 21. *That it was lawful, &c.*] All the reſt of this paragraph is ſo corrupted and confuſed in the original, that it is impoſſible to make ſenſe of it; and we cannot be ſure of Cæſar's ſenſe by any emendation. P. 205. l. 14.

† P. 270. l. ult. The loſs ſuſtained by either party in this ſtage of the war was this: Pompey was driven out of Italy, loſt Marſeilles, and both the provinces of Spain. Cæſar received this loſs in Afric, beſides that P. 219. l. ult.

in the Adriatic ſea, where Antonius miſcarried, of which no mention is made in theſe Commentaries.—The fortune of both parties being weighed, it appears that Pompey had the worſe. *Edmondes.*

DUNCAN, Vol. II Part ii. p. 5 † P. 271. l. 22. *were choſen conſuls*] The conſuls and other magiſtrates having quitted Rome, and fled to Pompey at Epirus, there was no one left who could regularly hold the aſſembly for chuſing conſuls for the enſuing year; for the aſſemblies could not be holden by an inferior magiſtrate for chuſing a ſuperior one. *Lepidus*, therefore, the Prætor, got a law paſſed by the people, [ſee before, l. ii. 21.] that Cæſar ſhould be choſen *Dictator comitiorum habendorum cauſa*, Dictator for holding aſſemblies for election of magiſtrates. Accordingly, having finiſhed the ELECTIONS, and made ſome other regulations, he quitted this office, as it preſently follows, § 2. and went to Brundiſium, having obtained what he wanted, the office of *Conſul*, which enabled him to carry on the war for what he called the good of the ſenate. See Cic. Ep. ad Attic. l. ix. ep. xi. He was, after the defeat of Pompey at the battle of Pharſalia, U. C. 706. made for that year *Dictator* II. *rei gerendarum cauſa*, the year after *Dictator perpetuus*. See Noris, Ep. Syromaced. Diſſ. III. c. p. 196.

P. 6. l. 12. † P. 272. l. 23. *the Latin feſtivals*] *feriis Latinis.* Feaſts to Jupiter Latiaris, inſtituted by Tarquinius Superbus, on his conqueſt of Hetruria, to be kept upon Mount Alban. They were kept on ſuch days as the magiſtrates thought fit; and could not regularly be celebrated when the conſuls were abſent, which was another reaſon for creating a *Dictator*, and is often mentioned as one in Livy, *Dictator feriarum Latinarum cauſa.* See Pighius.

P. 7. l. 14. † P. 273. l. 18. *together with Antony's ſoldiers*] How Antony's ſoldiers came to be in the ſervice of Pompey is not mentioned in theſe Commentaries, from whence they are ſuppoſed to be imperfect, eſpecially from what is ſaid, c. 67. *T. Pulcio, who betrayed the army of C. Antony*, AS WE HAVE RELATED ABOVE, which no where in the book occurs. But Florus, l. IV. c. 2. tells us, that Cæſar, having ſent Dolabella and Antonius to ſeize upon the ſtreights and entrance into the Adriatic ſea, the one poſſeſſed himſelf of the coaſt of Sclavonia, and the other of that near to Corfu; when on a ſudden in came Octavius and Libo, Pompey's lieutenants, and ſurpriſed both the one and the other; where Antonius was conſtrained to yield up XV companies, which were the ſoldiers here mentioned. And ſee Dio, l. XLVI. XLII. *Ald. Manut. Edmondes, Davies.*

† P. 274.

† P. 274. l. 19. *the fifteenth of October*, BLADEN; *the fourth of January*, DUNCAN; *pridie non. Jan.* CÆSAR.] The Roman calendar was now so confused, that the kalends of Jan. fell this year on Oct. 11, of what was afterwards the Julian year; consequently *pridie nonas Jan.* or 4 Jan. was Oct. 14, U. C. Var. 706, according to the old reckoning. See more, Afric. war, 1, 2. This the ancient writers, who record these transactions some years after, were not aware of. Florus particularly, l. iv. c. 2. mentions it as an extraordinary circumstance, that Cæsar, *quamvis hyems* MEDIA *prohiberet tempestate ad bellum navigasse*; and Plutarch in the life of Pompey, that he [Cæsar] set sail *at the winter solstice:* Cæsar himself says, he set sail *pridie nonas Jan.* the fourth of January, as the year then was. See Usher's Annals, Per. Jul. 4665. p. m. 485. P. 8. l. 31.

† P. 275. l. 16. *so he might but intercept the supplies Cæsar expected.*] *Si in Cæsaris complexum venire posset.* The best Mss. have *si in Cæsaris* CONSPECTUM *venire posset.* But, by conjecture, I would read *si Cæsaris* COMMEATUS IMPEDIRE *posset.* Jurin. P. 9. l. ult.

† Ib. l. 22. *Cæsar had reason to bemoan*, &c.] *Se morte Curionis et detrimento Africani exercitus tanto. Proinde sibi*, &c. It is strange that Cæsar should speak of this loss of xx at most in Africa, with the exaggerating word *tanto*, when Pompey's loss is expressly put at cxxx cohorts. This inconsistency, and some others, will be easily removed by a little alteration: First, by inserting *illato* for *tanto*; then follows: *militumque deditione ad Corcyram, quantum in bello fortuna posset jam ipsum in commodis suis satis esse documento. Proinde sibi*, &c. Jurin.—If *illato* be admitted, should we not read *exercitui?* T. F. P. 11. l. 28.

† P. 279. l. 28. *the offices of ædile and prætor*, BLADEN; *ædileship and prætorship*, DUNCAN.] *inimicitiasque—cum Cæsare ex ædilitate et prætore conceptus.* That there was a quarrel between Cæsar and Bibulus about the Ædileship and Consulate, Suetonius tells us, c. 10. and 20. and Dio, l. XXXVIII. p. 60. But that the same happened about the prætorship is no where said. Yet all the Mss. read so. *Davies.* P. 16. l. 9.

† P. 282. l. 12. *should compound for half they owed*] *ut sexies seni dies sine usuris.* The place is corrupt, and thus restored by the greatest master in this branch of learning at least, *ut semisse in dies sine usuris creditæ pecuniæ solvantur*: J. F. Gronov. de Pec. Vet. l. iv. c. v. p. 635. P. 20. l. 3.

† P. 287. l. 7. *by way of loan*] It must be observed, that the provinces usually paid the contributions imposed on them every five years. Varro, P. 27. l. 3.

l. v.

l. v. de LL. ſays, *Luſtrum, nominatim tempus quinquennale, a luendo, hoc eſt ſolvendo, quod quinto quoque anno vectigalia et ultro tributa per cenſores perſolvebantur.* Cic. in Verrin. iv. *Quinto quoque anno Sicilia tota cenſetur. Erat cenſa Prætore Peducco. Quintus cum te Prætore incidiſſet, cenſa denuo eſt.* And ſee ad Att. vi. ep. 2. Now Syria was made a province by Pompey, U. C. Var. 690. The fourth Luſtrum conſequently began, U. C. 705. when Scipio was made *Proconſul of Syria*; which province ſuffered greatly, it ſeems, under the two years of his adminiſtration, paying the taxes of two years, and advancing a third before hand. But he being obliged to quit Syria, to go to the aſſiſtance of Pompey, U. C. 706. Antioch was eaſed of his immediate oppreſſion, and afterwards, U. C. 707, totally reſtored to its immunities, as will be obſerved § 102. Noris, Ep. Syromac. Diſſ. III. c. 5. p. m. 198, 199.

P. 28. l. 4. † P. 287. l. 36. *as a new loan*] *Quibus in rebus prolationem diei donationem eſſe dicebat—They are obliged to apply for a delay of payment, which at any price is ſtill accounted a favour.* Duncan.

Ib. l. 11. † Ib. l. ult. *the next year's tribute upon intereſt.*] *uti in ſorte fecerant.* G. Faernus, and Ciacconius, and R. Steph. in ed. 1544. read *in Syria*, againſt the authority of all the Mſſ. But Cæſar means the ſame thing as *they had done when they entered upon their lot the province of Syria.* Davies.

P. 38. l. penult. † P. 295. l. 32. *the corn began to ripen*] Towards the end of May corn began to ripen at Durazzo. Sueton. in Jul. c. 35. ſays, that *Pompey*, after he had been beſieged near four months [at Durazzo] *was defeated at Pharſalia.* The winter was far advanced before Antony embarked the troops [ſee c. 25.], ſuppoſe towards the end of January; four months brings us to the end of May. Appian ſays, that the ſeventh day after Cæſar broke up his camp, he removed to Pharſalia. And we ſhall ſee, c. 82. that Pompey within a few days followed him to Theſſaly. So that the deciſive battle was fought in June, as Cardinal Noris has ſhewn againſt Petavius, who places it May 12. See Ep. Syromacedon. Diſſ. III. c. 5. p. m. 189, 190, 4to.

P. 41. l. 29. † P. 297. l. ult. *ſix hundred ſixty ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and four pence ſterling*, BLADEN; *two hundred thouſand aſſes*, DUNCAN; *millibus ducentis æris gravis*, CÆSAR.] i. e. Aſſes of the old valuation, of ten to a Denarius, at which rate they were, till reduced to one ounce alone, U. C. 500, when XVI were made equal to a Denarius. At this time the method of expreſſing ſums was by ſeſterces; but the old valuation of the *as* is ſometimes,

ſometimes, though not very commonly, expreſſed by different authors. Two hundred thouſand *æris gravis* amounted to 20,000 *Denarii*, or 80,000 LL.S. 640*l.* of our money, as Perizonius has clearly proved in his *Diſſert. de ære gravi*. Upon this occaſion I will beg leave to mention an undoubted emendation I had from the mouth of the late Rev. Chancellor Taylor, of his favourite author Cornelius Nepos, in the life of Atticus, c. 13. who ſays of him, *Scimus non amplius quam terna millia æris peræque in ſingulos* menſes *ex ephemeride cum expenſum ſumptus ferri ſolitum*, i. e. that he expended no more than three thouſand aſſes of the old ſtamp, or 750 denarii, 3,200 LL.S. i. e. 24*l.* Engliſh per month *. And yet he kept ſeveral readers and librarians, of which nine are upon record; and we have many inſtances of his generoſity and munificence; particularly to Cicero, when he fled his country, he gave 250,000 LL.S. How can we reconcile this, which the hiſtorian mentions as an inſtance of his œconomy, but by changing *in ſingulos menſes* into *in ſingulas menſas?* The ordinary expence of each table was 24*l.* a month.

† P. 298. l. 2. *firſt centurion of the legion*] *ab octavis ordinibus ad primipulum duxit.* i. e. who was before the viiith centurion of the Triarii to be the *firſt* of them, ſays Aldus Manutius de quæſitis per Epiſt. l. ii. c. 3. But the promotion was from the tenth of the Haſtati to the tenth of the Principes; from the tenth of the Principes to the tenth of the Primipili. Then from the ninth, the eighth, and, laſtly, to the firſt of each order in the cohort. Thus from the firſt of the Haſtati to the firſt of the Principes, thence to the firſt of the Primipili. Vegetius, l. II. c. 8. *Vetus conſuetudo tenuit, ut ex primo principe legionis promoveantur primipili.*— *Primi ordinis* are thoſe of the firſt cohort, the firſt centurions of the Haſtati, the firſt Princeps, and the firſt Pilus. Tacitus, l. III. c. 22. *Urgebatur maxime ſeptima legio nupera Galba conſcripta; occiſi ſex primorum ordinum centuriones.* Six, therefore, all the centurions in the firſt cohort, were ſlain, *Lipſ.* de Militia Rom. l. II. Dial. 8. p. 79, 80. The *Triarii*, who are mentioned in the ancient Militia, were laid aſide in the new under Marius, and before, and called Decimus, Nonus, &c. *Primi pili.* See Aquina's Lexicon Militare, voc. TRIARII. So of Pulſio and Varenus, Cæſar ſays, *jam primis ordinibus appropinquabant*, they were very near the dignity of the firſt cohort. See *Edmondes*, p. 28. P. 41. l. 30.

* The reader will find this ſubject diſcuſſed more at large in the ſucceeding Tracts. J. N.

† P. 307.

P. 55. l. 13. † P. 307. l. 19. *apprehenſive his convoys might be cut off*] Cæſar having incloſed Pompey within ſome works he had thrown up to facilitate the paſſage of his own convoys, and to hinder his enemies, c. 43. and Pompey having broken through thoſe works, c. 65. and Cæſar having quitted them, c. 73. he was conſequently now ſolicitous for his convoys, which the other, who was ſuperior to him in horſe, might poſſibly cut off. *Jurin.*

P. 57. l. 5. † P. 308. l. 20. *eight miles*] Lipſius, upon the authority of Vegetius, l. I. c. 1. ſays, that *the ſoldiers marched* XX *miles in five ſummer hours, and with ſpeed* XXIV *miles in the ſame time.* Lipſ. de Mil. Rom. l. V. c. 14. But he is confuted from this place, where Cæſar is ſaid to have marched VIII miles *iſtum iter*, and from B. Gall. VII. c. 7. where two days march is ſaid to be about XV miles. See Edmondes; and Vignolius, Diſſ. II. Apologetica de anno primo imperii Severi Alexandri, c. I. p. 5.—Fifteen miles a day, i. e. from one town to another capable of lodging them, is the ordinary march of our ſoldiers in changing quarters: and there is no doubt of their performing the double in caſe of neceſſity. I believe Vegetius is only ſpeaking of their *exerciſe* in the Campus Martius, or parade: and I very well remember ſeeing a memoir (I think) in Acad. des Inſcriptions, that the French miniſter referred to them for a determination of this very paſſage, and that they anſwered, that the French ſoldiers did exactly the ſame, i. e. XX and XXV miles in 5 hours. T. F.

P. 62. l. 4 † P. 311. l. ult. *Cæſar's prieſthood*] This premature competition was between three who were already of the College of Prieſts; what each therefore wanted was to ſucceed J. Cæſar in the *High-prieſthood*, which office was filled up by the whole College of Prieſts themſelves, and not, as the prieſts now were, by the voice of the people. For this reaſon, the ſeveral competitors here mention their reſpective merit; the one his age; another his intereſt with the city; and the third his alliance with Pompey. See Noris, Cenotaph. Piſana, p. 61.

P. 66. l. 5. † P. 314. l. 22. *an hundred and ten cohorts*] Voſſius and others in vain ſay, that CX cohorts made L thouſand men, and that probably Cæſar wrote ſo. Legions, at different periods, conſiſted of different numbers of men. At the battle of Cannæ they were encreaſed from IV thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, to five thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, Liv. XXII. c. 36. Polyb. l. III. c. 107. But that in theſe later times they

were ſunk to four thouſand is very manifeſt*. A cohort contained 400 men, and a legion, being ten cohorts, 4000 men, at this time and afterwards. Appian l. II. ſays, Pompey had XI legions, which is CX cohorts, as Cæſar himſelf ſays here, or 44000 men. The ſame Appian ſays, Cæſar had XXII thouſand men, and that Pompey had double the number, XLIV thouſand, at 400 to a cohort. Plutarch, Life of Cæſar, p. CXLVI. is expreſs XLV thouſand men. Even in the ſedition raiſed after the death of Auguſtus, at the commencement of Tiberius's reign, Tacitus ſays, that the ſixty centuries in the legion, containing each LX men, roſe againſt their reſpective centurions. Now ſixty times 60 makes 3,600, beſides ſubaltern officers. Rualdus in Plut. vol. I. ed. Bryan, p. 5. 6.

† P. 321. l. 1. *not to come near Antioch at their peril.*] The attachment of this city to Cæſar, whoſe ſide it eſpouſed, was a great happineſs to it, after Scipio's extortions exerciſed in it. For when Cæſar had ſtaid nine months in Ægypt, arriving here he confirmed to them the privilege of uſing their own laws, which they had purchaſed at firſt of Pompey, and which they were apprehenſive of loſing, from the tyranny they had lately felt, and he remitted to them thoſe taxes which Scipio had exacted of them. In gratitude for which favours they commenced a new æra, dating it not from the year, U. C. 707, when theſe immunities were granted, but from two years before, viz. U. C. 705, when their effects took place. Uſher ſuppoſes it commenced U. C. 705, becauſe that year Cæſar was firſt created dictator for XI days only, from whence he was made conſul; but Noris thinks that was not notorious enough for the Antiochians to be acquainted with. Noris, Ep. Syromaced. Diſſ. III. c. 4. p. 165, ed. 4to. This æra continued many years. Two coins in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Duane, one of Galba, the other of Otho, preciſely determine when this æra commenced, and are a treaſure the King of France would be proud to be poſſeſſed of. P. 75. l. 15.

† P. 339. l. 37. *Peluſium*] This city had always been famous for guarding the paſs into Egypt, for which reaſon a royal palace was very antiently built there.—It is obſervable, that a paſſage in Lament. i. 9. has been miſunderſtood, by interpreters taking *Pelaim* in the original for an appellative, which is no other than a difference of name of Peluſium. P. 103. l. 26.

* See before, p. 197. Mr. Gibbon makes the legion 12,000. B. Civ. III. c. 106. only 3200 men in two of Cæſar's legions. T. F.—In that controverted paſſage of Livy VIII. 8. each legion conſiſted of 5000 men. See Stedman on the Roman Legion, Edinb. 1773. 4to. p. 6.

P. 121. l. 15. † P. 351. l. ult. *veteran ſoldiers and ſelect Spaniards*] Betones, or Vettones, a people of the Provincia Bœtica. BLADEN, following the emendation of Hadr. Valeſius. But the Mſſ. read *Berones* or *Barones*, which antiently ſignified the king's ſervants and attendants in the palace; whence in after-ages the word was applied to denote nobility. See Du Freſne.

P. 124. l. 1. P. 354. l. 5. *the thirtieth legion*] We are to ſuppoſe TITIUS's report was falſe, but occaſioned by the loſs of the four cohorts mentioned; elſe how came the thirtieth legion to attend CASSIUS at Carmona? BLADEN. The objection is juſt; and Dr. Jurin's emendation, if admitted, very happily clears it another way, who at the beginning of this ſection for *L. Titius tribunus militum in leg. Vernac. nunciat fama legionem* XXX—reads *L. Titius nunciat* eam a *legione* XXX, *&c.* i. e. L. Titius tribune of the Legio Vernacula informed him that that legion had revolted from the XXX^th^, &c.

P. 127. l. 4. P. 356. l. 30. *having joined to the legion*, &c.] *Adjungitque ei* legionem, *quam ſecum adduxerat; complureſque cohortes auxiliares*, i. e. and joined him with the legion he brought with him, and ſeveral auxiliary cohorts, *&c.* But how (as Dr. Jurin obſerves) could BOGUD join CASSIUS, who was ſurrounded by MARCELLUS's work? That ingenious critic therefore reads, *adjungit ei* legioni *quam ſecum adduxerat, complures*, &c.

P. 353. l. 13. †. P. 358. l. 22. *in every country* [*city*] *of note*] Julius Cæſar, after the death of Pompey, ſtaid nine months in Egypt. From thence, U. C. 707, he ſet out on his march through Syria againſt Phraates. He was at Antioch May 2, of that year, as appears from Cic. Ep. ad Att. l. XI. 19. And as Laodicea was upwards of LX miles nearer Egypt, he was there probably in April, where he left ſuch laſting impreſſions of his favours, that the inhabitants from this year inſtituted a new Epocha, beginning it from Autumn of U. C. 706, as the Macedonian year uſed to begin at that time. And this city bore the name of JULIA LAODICEA, as inſcriptions and coins teſtify to this day. See Noris, Ep. Syrom. Diſſ. III. c. VIII. 5. 2. p. 272.

Ib. l. 27. † Ibid. l. 34. *Tarſus*] *No mean city*, ſays St. Paul; *oppidum fere totius Ciliciæ nobiliſſimum fortiſſimumque* [f. *firmiſſimumque*] ſays our author. And, like Laodicea, it retained the name of Julius Cæſar, being called *Juliopolis*, Dio, l. XLVII. and was a free city, as appears from coins which are inſcribed ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΕΛΕΥΘ ΤΑΡC. i. e. *Senatus liberæ Tarſi*; from whence many have concluded it was made a Roman Colony, or had the freedom of

of Rome given it by Mark Antony; and that St. Paul being born there was from thence entitled to that privilege, Acts xxii. 28. But it has been learnedly proved by Joseph Arntzenius, Dissert. binæ, 1725, that the title of *free* cities, *liberæ civitates*, was never given to those who were free of Rome, but to such as enjoyed their own magistrates and laws; and which are likewise said to be *immunes*, when they were exempted from tribute: that this city, though favoured by Julius Cæsar, so far as to be called *Juliopolis*, and by other emperors, so as to be called by their respective names, *Hadriana*, *Severiana*, *Alexandrina*, *Antonina*, *Macriniana*, &c. was neither a colony nor municipium: that therefore St. Paul's freedom must be fetched from some other source. See the note (in next page) on *Leptis*.

P. 359. l. 14. *use his brother too severely*] What security then did CÆSAR give ARIARATES against the absolute power of his brother? He made him king of Armenia the less: and so this place should be supplied. See the foundation for this emendation in Dr. Jurin. P. 354. l. 9.

† P. 364. l. 18. *thirtieth of September*] *ad* XIV *kal. Jan. in Lilybæum pervenit*; i. e. December 19, according to Julius Cæsar's calendar, which was not introduced till his return from Africa. Consequently the dates are all here reckoned by the old calendars; according to which XIV kal. January, or December 17, were on September 30, the calends of January being now run back to October 13 of the Julian reckoning. The long reformation year, consisting of 445 days, was brought about the very next year, when Cæsar entered into his fourth consulship, and was Pontifex Maximus, 45 before Christ, U. C. Var. 709; Per. Jul. 4669, which the late learned Dr. Ashton has drawn out at length, in his ingenious Dissertation on that subject in Biblioth. Liter. 1722. P. 365. l. 8.

† P. 365. l. 25. *the eighth of October*] Cicero de Divinat. l. ii. c. 24. says, Cæsar set sail for Africa, *ante brumam*, which the Aruspices had forbidden him to do, understanding by *bruma* the winter Solstice, as it is often used: P. 367. l. 24.

Bruma novi prima est, veterisque novissima solis. Ovid. Fast. I. 163.

For the intention of their stale cant, which they would have put upon Cæsar, was that no new enterprize was to be gone upon in the dead of the year, before the days began to lengthen, as is observed by Donatus on Ter. Phorm. Act. iv. Sc. 4. Now the winter Solstice was always in the old calendar fixed to VIII. kal. Jan. or Dec. 25. But at this time the Kal. of Jan. were run back to the third of the Ides of Oct. i. e. to Oct. 13; and

the 6th kal. Jan. to Oct. 8, when he ſailed. Conſequently, as the ſeaſon of the year ſtood fixed, though the months varied, he went out eleven weeks *ante brumam*, as Cicero ſays. [Dr. *Aſhton*, Tully and Hirtius reconciled, Bibl. Lit. N° VII. p. 29.] Plutarch in Cæſ. & Dio l. XLIII. though they ſpeak of Cæſar's reformation of the Calendar, yet mention his ſetting ſail about mid-winter, without obſerving that the winter months were at that time fallen down into autumn.

P. 369 l. 14. † P. 367. l. 26. *Leptis, a free town*] i. e. both in the exerciſe of its laws, and in its exemption from tribute to the Romans; which is implied in the word *immunem*. This epithet is carefully expreſſed: So Cic. in Verr. III. c. 6. *Quinque ſine fœdere immunes civitates ac liberæ*. See likewiſe pro Font. c. 8. In Verr. v. c. 21. Pro Balbo, c. 8. Suet. in Aug. XL. c. 7. and Ez. Spanheim, du uſu Numiſm. Diſſ. IX. p. 676. Such cities are called ἐλευθέρας καὶ ἀτελεῖς by Appian, B. C. l. L. p. 668. Joan. Arntzenius, Diſſertat. binæ, ed. 1725. p. 140.

P. 376. l. 33. P. 372. l. 16. *Pharſalia*] The original is from *Brindiſi*: but that is a palpable error, for Brindiſi was in CÆSAR's cuſtody long before the battle of Pharſalia. BLADEN.—But the inconſiſtency is removed, if we tranſlate it, "Which, after POMPEY's defeat, he had brought along with him, "having before tranſplanted them from Brindiſi." However, ſee GLANDORPIUS.

P. 393. l. penult. † P. 385. l. 8. *About this time*, &c.] *Per id fere tempus*; i. e. about the IV or III of the Kalends of February in the old calendar, or November 8 or 9th of the Julian. For after he had told us, c. XL to XLII, what Cæſar did VI kal. Feb. and alſo what paſſed in the mean time at other places, he ſubjoins this ſtrange accident: Vergiliarum ſigno confecto circiter vigilia ſecunda noctis; i. e. *about the ſecond watch in the night*, i. e. about 9 or 10 at night, *when the winter was begun*. About November 11, a *ſtorm aroſe*, &c. Cellarius aſks, what ſetting of the Vergiliæ this could be; ſince it could not be *Coſmicus*, nor *Heliacus*, nor *Achronychus*; whereas the ſun being in *Piſces*, the *Vergiliæ* cannot but ſet *vigilia ſecunda noctis*. But how? Not in the way of *annual* obſervation, mentioned by Cellarius (which all the Romans think new), but by *daily* rotation. As if Hirtius had made an aſtronomical calculation of the daily motion and diſtances of the ſun and ſtars, and ſo told us, like an almanack-maker, about what hour the ſeven ſtars ſet. A piece of ſkill, which very few, if any, of the Romans then had. They had no other notion of the ſetting of the *Vergiliæ* or any

other ſtars, than with reſpect to the ſeaſons of the year, in one or other of thoſe ways we have mentioned. However, allowing the calculation which the Doctor has made for Hirtius to be exactly right, he has only brought him to a tautology, ſince, according to him, the *occaſus Vergiliarum* in February, and *Vigilia ſecunda*, mean the ſame time of the night. We muſt then have recourſe to its denoting the ſeaſon of the year. The Vergiliæ or Pleiades, it is well known, are a conſtellation in *Taurus*, which when the ſun is in that ſign riſe together with him *coſmicè*, and conſequently when he *riſes* in the oppoſite *Scorpio*, they muſt ſet *coſmicè*. Now the time of the Sun's entering into *Scorpio*, according to antient obſervations, was about the 18th of our October, for they generally ſuppoſed the xv of the Calends, or thereabout, to be the day of the Sun's entry into every ſign. The Sun then was in Scorpio from about October 18 to about November 17; when the Vergiliæ, being in the oppoſite ſign, muſt by their account ſet *coſmicè*.—Now this ſtrange thing, as we ſaid, happened about the 4th or 3d kal. Feb. in Numa's year, which is the 8th or 9th of November in the Julian year.—But after all, I obſerve that the antients in fixing the four ſeaſons, make the *Occaſus Vergiliarum* to denote one particular day, that is *Initium hyemis*, Plin. ii. 47. Some place the 8th, 10th, or 11th of November, upon which day the Vergiliarum Sidus was properly ſaid to be *confectum* (i. e. *peractum*) in the introduction of winter. And according to this, I take Hirtius's true meaning to be, that when winter was begun, about November 11, the tempeſt of hail and lightning was. Dr. *Aſhton*, ubi ſupra.—I cannot but obſerve, that the wonder of the fact conſiſts partly in the time of year, when thunder and lightning do not ſo commonly happen at Rome at leaſt, but chiefly in its adhering to the tops of their ſpears, and is a proof of the truth of the ſtory; iron being a conductor of lightning, which we all know now, though Hirtius did not.

† P. 391. l. 15. *his left wing*] *Habuit in ſiniſtro cornu.* In the firſt place, here is no mention of the tenth legion, which Cæſar always places on the left wing. 2dly, The line is ſaid to extend to the *middle* legion, when there were only eight legions in the wings and main body. 3dly, He had ten legions with him; we have an account of only nine; eight as I have mentioned, and the fifth to ſuſtain the cavalry. Read the whole thus: *The ninth and* XXVIIIth *form the left wing; and the* Xth *and thirtieth the right; the thirteenth, fourteenth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ſixth, the main body.* Jurin. P. 402. l. 27.

† P. 391.

P.402.l.31. † P. 391. l. 19. *the right wing*] *Ipſum autem dextrum cornu, ſecundam aciem fere, in earum legionum partem collocaverat.* Read, *Ipſo autem dextro cornu*, ſecunda IN *acie* VETERANARVM *legionum partem*, &c. Mſ. Leid. Oudendorp. Jurin.

P.405.l.21. P. 393. l. 21. *the ſame wind*] The *Cothon*, or port of Adrumetum, was to W. or S. W. of the promontory; which as Cæſar in his purſuit of Varus was not able to double, he was obliged to lay at anchor before it, i. e. to the eaſt of it. Cæſar directed his courſe from *Leptis*, or *Lempta*; no other than a ſoutherly or weſterly wind could have brought him hither. It is certain, an eaſterly wind, from the very ſituation of this port and promontory, would have eaſily conducted him within both. *Hamamet* therefore, as ſome pretend, could not have been the *Adrumetum*, becauſe as that place lies nearly in the ſame direction with *Lempta* and *Herkla*, the ſame wind which brought Cæſar to the promontory of *Hamamet*, would have conducted them within the port that was formed by it. Neither have we a view from *Hamamet*, or the bay before it, of the coaſt of *Clybea*; a circumſtance which agrees with the ſituation of *Herkla*, and is one proof among many others of its being the *Adrametum*. See more in Shaw's Travels, p. 106. ed. 4to.

P.406.l.7. P. 394. l. 8. *caverns under earth*] It is more probable, that theſe pits, or *mattanores*, as they are now called, were contrived in theſe earlier ages, as they continue to be to this day, for the greater eaſe and convenience of the inhabitants. For it cannot be ſuppoſed that either the ancient *Nomades*, or the preſent *Arabs*, would be at the expence of erecting ſtore-houſes of *ſtones*, when they could at a much cheaper rate, and at every ſtation, where they encamped together in their harveſt, be ſerved with private caves to ſecure it from the enemy. Shaw p. 140, ed. 4to. The ſame cuſtom is uſed in Hungary, where, as Dr. Edward Brown obſerves, "they do not uſe "barns, or ſtacks of corns, but have many deep and large caves under "ground, wherein they lay it up ſafe, both from robbers and ſudden in-"curſion of the enemies." Travels into Hungary, &c. p. 12. ed. 4to. 1673.

P. 417. l. ult. † P. 498. l. ult. Cæſar began the war in Gaul with ſix legions, continued it with eight, and ended it with ten.—He began the civil war but with one; he arrived at Brunduſium with ſix; he followed Pompey into Greece with 15,000 foot and 5,000 horſe; and ended that war with 22,000 foot and 1000 horſe.—He began the war at Alexandria with 3,200 foot, and ended it with ſix legions.—He began the war in Afric with ſix, and ended it with eight legions. Thus he imitated natural motion, ſtronger in the end than in the beginning. *Edmondes*, p. 128.

CHRO-

CHRONOLOGICAL ANECDOTES OF CÆSAR's LIFE.

U. C.

654 Born, Coſſ. M. Antonius, and A. Poſthumius Albinus. Hooke, p. 301. 4to.

iii. Id. Julii Julius Cæſar born, according to Macrobius, in the conſulſhip of C. Marius, and L. Flaccus.

Thirteenth of July (but changed by the Triumvirs to the 12th as Macrobius, Saturn. xii. reports); Vignoles, in Maſſon Hiſtoire Critique vol. XII. p. 23; that is, the 20th of the Julian year, p. 25.

Caius Julius Cæſar, ſon of Caius by Aurelia, had for his inſtructor at home M. Antonius Gnipho.

664 Marius dies. Weſſ. Prob. ii. c. 18. p. 27.

667 Cæſar this year probably æt. 13, deſigned by Marius and Cinna to ſucceed Merula in the Prieſthood of *Flamen Dialis*, but was prevented by *Sylla*, (Petr. Weſſ. Obſ. ii. 18. ex Suet. i. Vell. ii. 43.) Takes the manly gown at 14, and is betrothed to Coſſutia, of equeſtrian family, and very rich. Sueton.

669 He loſt his father, when he was in his 16th year. Sueton. c. 1.

The firſt office he obtained by the ſuffrage of the people, was that of *military tribune*, Hooke III. p. 303.

Cinna iv Coſ. whoſe daughter J. Cæſar married next year, was killed this year in his office, and Cn. Carbo his colleague held the conſulſhip alone for the remainder of the year. Pigh. Ann. Weſſel. Prob. p. 219. 221. Sueton.

670 Puts away his firſt wife, Coſſutia, in his 18th year. Sueton.

671 The civil war between Marius and Sylla; when the latter being conqueror would have obliged Cæſar to have put away Cornelia; but on his refuſal, deprived him of his eſtate and the prieſthood of *Flamen Dialis*, which he had not yet been inaugurated into. He was now, as Velleius obſerves, in his 18th year. L. ii. 41. Weſſel. Obſ. l. ii. c. 18. Hooke, p. 161.

672 He applies to the people to be one of the college of prieſts, juſt before the Cornelian law was made this very year for the prieſts to fill up their own body by their own choice.

U.C.

672 Having married Cornelia the daughter of Cinna, and being nephew to the wife of Marius, he was very near being put to death among the proſcribed enemies of Sylla, Hooke, p. 161. 302.

673 Serves firſt in Aſia. Goes to Nicomedes king of Bithynia. Gains a civic crown, for ſaving a citizen's life, in taking Mitylene. Suet. c. 2.

674 Serves under Servilius Iſauricus in Cilicia.

675 Hearing of the death of Sylla, quits his province, and returns to Rome. Suet. c. 3.

676 Compoſes a civil ſedition: he accuſes Dolabella of bribery. Sueton. In the 23d year of his age. Pigh. Annal. vol. III. p. 286.

677 The Grecks plundered by P. Antonius cite him before M. Lucullus the prætor, when Julius Cæſar pleaded their cauſe. Aſcon. ad Orat. in toga candida.

678 Sails to Rhodes, is taken by pirates, and detained 28 days, near the iſle of Pharmacuſa, when Junius was prætor of Aſia. Suet. c. 4. Vell Pat. ii. 42.

679 Studies under Apollonius at Rhodes, a celebrated orator.
Cotta dying this year or the next;

680 Julius Cæſar, though abſent, was choſen *Pontifex* in his room. Cic. in Piſon. c. 26.

689 Made Ædile. Midd. I. 143. Hooke, p. 326.

690 When out of Edileſhip is made Judex quæſtionis. Ib. p. 327.
One of the aſſiſtant judges to the prætor. Ib. p. 306.
Julia died, the widow of Marius, and aunt of Julius Cæſar, who made a ſpeech in the forum in praiſe of her. Ib. p. 304.
His wife Cornelia dying, he made her funeral oration. Ibid.

691 Made Pontifex Maximus [nondum prætorius], in the room of Metellus Pius. Dio. l. 37.
A law, ſays Dio, being repealed at the inſtance of Labienus, which reſtrained the choice to the college. In which Dio is miſtaken, for the choice was always in the people, in their *comitia tributa*. See Noris, Diſſ. ii. p. 124. in which Dio is miſtaken, and miſleads Mr. Hooke. See p. 168. 306.
Octavius Auguſtus born.

692 Prætor. Hooke, p. 380.

693 Had the province of Further Spain allotted him.

694

694 Upon his return, ſues for a triumph and the conſulſhip. But as the former obliged him to keep out of the city, while the latter demanded his preſence within, he ceaſed his purſuit of a triumph to ſue for the conſulſhip. Hooke, p. 399. Dio.

695 Is choſen conſul I. with Bibulus. Marries Calpurnia, who ſurvived him, daughter of L. Calpurnius Piſo, who was next year to ſucceed him in the conſulſhip.

The firſt triumvirate formed between Craſſus, Pompey, and Cæſar.

696 Sets out for the war in Gaul. B. G. i. 7.

703 Syria ſuperior made a Roman province by Pompey (Vell. Paterc. l. ii.) who was now at Ravenna, the laſt town in his province.

Cæſar harangues the VIIIth legion; next day paſſes the Rubicon, and arrives at Rimini, where the Tribunes waited for him. B. Civ. i. 8.

The city alarmed and deſerted. Pompey went towards Campania, and deſigned to get into Apulia.

Propoſals of peace carried by L. Cæſar and Roſcius from Pompey. Ibid.

704 Several towns in Italy having ſurrendered to Cæſar, he lays ſiege to Corfinium, takes it in ſeven days, and marches immediately after Pompey, who was then in Brundiſium. B. Civ. i. 24.

VII Id. Mart. Dec. 26, Cæſar arrives at Brundiſium. Cic. ad Att. IX. 16.

705 XVI. Kal. April.=*Jul. Jan.* 3. Seven days after Cæſar's arrival at Brundiſium, Pompey quitted it, and ſailed to the other ſide of the Adriatic to raiſe all the forces he could. (Ep. ad Attic. IX. 18.) for which Cæſar allowed him a year. Next day Cæſar entered Brundiſium; and having harangued the people, ſet ſail for Rome, deſigning to be there before the Kal. of April, (Ib.)

After he was come to Rome, he releaſes *Ariſtobulus*, whom he ſends into Syria, to ſecure that province: but he is poiſoned by the Pompeians. Joſ. Ant. XVI. 13. Bell. Jud. I. 7.

And *Alexander* his ſon is beheaded by Scipio in Syria. Ibid.

Cæſar leaves Rome, and having reduced Spain, returns to Rome about the *autumnal equinox*.

Here, by the means of Lentulus, he is created *Dictator for holding the comitia, and the Feriæ Latinæ*; and declares himſelf conſul. In

eleven days lays down his dictatorſhip, and comes a ſecond time to Brundiſium before *Kal. Jan.* or *Oct.* 11 Julian. Bell. Civ. iii. 2.

From the time of this dictatorſhip, the Antiochian æra (ſee p. 217) commences, according to Uſher, U. C. 705. p. 484*.

Arrives at Ceranium non. Januarii, i. e. Oct. 15 of the Julian year. B. Civ. iii. 6.

705 Kal. Jan. [Oct. 22. 704.] Curio arrives at Rome, with a letter from Cæſar to the ſenate. Voſſ. p. 202.

VII Id. Jan. [Oct. 28.] decree of the ſenate to provide for the ſafety of the ſtate. B. Civ. i. 5.

Next day [Oct. 29] the ſenate aſſembled out of the city, and the provinces were aſſigned to the ſeveral perſons out of office, Syria to Scipio, and the conſuls left the city. Ib. c. 6.

VIII Kal. Mart. Dec. 11, the day of the Feralia (as in Grut. p. 153.) Cæſar ſet out from Corfinium for Brundiſium; and Pompey from Canuſium to the ſame place. Cic. ad Attic. l. VIII. 22. IX. 1.

Pompey ſends Scipio from Brundiſium into Syria to raiſe forces and a fleet. (Ep. ad Attic. IX. 1.) prid. nonas Mart. Dec. 23.

706 Antony embarked the troops, which Cæſar waited for, probably about the end of Jan. B. Civ. iii. 24. See note c. 49.

719 Killed in the ſenate, in the 56th year of his age. Pighius iii. p. 286.

His mother Aurelia died about the time that a legion of his was loſt at Gergovia † in the war with Gaul. Suet. i. 26.

* It is not eaſy to underſtand what connection a dictatorſhip of 11 days could have with an æra of ſo diſtant a city: did he decree in it any thing in their favour? Æras are much ſurer ſettled by later ſcholars, particularly the Medalliſts, as *Noris*, *Bozc*, *Belley*, *Froelich*, &c. T. F.

† Q. Boiorum, *or* Arvernorum? Perhaps the latter. See Bell. Civil. vii. c. 51. He owns the loſs of near 700. Sueton. in Jul c. 25. calls it *legione fuſa*. See p. 217. But it is by no means clear to me that his mother's death happened juſt at that time; but rather that he loſt her and two more relations during the nine years of his being in command. Sueton. c. 26. *T. F.*

LETTERS to and from Mr. BOWYER,

On the ſubject of ATTICUS's Expences, (ſee p. 215.)

I.

Mr. Chancellor TAYLOR to Mr. BOWYER.

SIR, 1762.

I FIND you very happy in calculations of Roman money. Pray untye this knot:

" Quum imprimis lautus eſſet Eques Romanus, & non parum libera-
" liter domum ſuam omnium ordinum homines invitaret, ſcimus non am-
" plius quam *terna millia æris peraeque in ſingulos menſes** ex Ephemeride
" eum expenſum ſumtui ferre ſolitum." Nepos in Attico, c. 13.

Three thouſand aſſes (*terna millia æris*) reckoning eight-pence Engliſh to a Roman Denarius, amount to *ten pounds* ſterling.

Is it poſſible, that Atticus, who was what we may call an hundred-thouſand-pound-man, and lived handſomely *(imprimis laute)* though with good œconomy, could be ſuppoſed, to maintain his family at 120*l. per annum?*

Only conſider how many he muſt have in family, ſlaves, &c. beſides the *omnium ordinum homines, quos domum ſuam non parum liberaliter invitavit.*

What is ſaid upon this in the notes is not to the purpoſe.

J. TAYLOR.

* " I have reaſon for thinking that Dr. *Taylor* entirely changed his ground, by reading " not *ſingulos menſes*, but *ſingulas menſas*. If this is right, and the *Romans* ſat down " only 9 to a table, then we have more than a guinea a head, and I think the King of " *Pruſſia* eats for a crown a cover." *T. F.*—The being unacquainted with the methods of reckoning the *Roman* money has led ſome very conſiderable authors into great miſtakes. Sir *George Wheeler*, in his Travels, mentioning an inſcription upon an arch at *Jadera*, or *Zara*, ſays " it coſt 630 ſeſtertia, which is a piece of money that weigheth about " two-pence halfpenny, and amounts to about twelve pounds ſterling; which was a " great deal of money in thoſe days." But, in his Preface, he corrects this eſtimate, as rather too high; that a ſeſtertium, or ſeſtertius, weighed not above two-pence of our money, ſo that the whole coſt was about five pounds five ſhillings of our money. If the numerals are read right, LLS. DCXX, the ſum could not be leſs than 5040*l.* The arch was erected by *Aelia Anniana*, to the memory of her huſband, and adorned with ſtatues. See Clarke on Coins, p. 517.

II.

Mr. Clarke to Mr. Bowyer.

DEAR SIR, *Feb.* 27, 1762.

I AM a little ſurpriſed that Dr. Taylor did not explain the difficulty he propoſed to you, about the Roman money in Nepos. Gronovius miſtook the matter quite, and I think your ſolution is not the true one. The paſſage in Paterculus is a different thing. When the ſort of money is not mentioned after the numerals, it is always ſeſterces; but when *æris* follows, it is the old way of reckoning, *per æs grave*, or the braſs pound. Though this was not ſo common, it was perhaps in the ephemeris of a clerk of the kitchen (where ſo many pence and half-pence muſt be brought to account) more convenient, and always as eaſily underſtood. From the time of the Papirian law, and under many of the firſt emperors, the As was half an ounce, and conſequently 24 Aſſes (which made one Denarius and a half, or 6 ſeſterces) were a pound of braſs. The paſſage in Nepos without an ellipſis would be, *terna millia pondo æris: mille pondo* was [*ſex millia ſeſtertiorum*, or] about 50*l.* *ſterling*, and *terna millia* [or 3 times *mille pondo*] juſt 3 *times* as much, or 350*l.* per month; i. e. 1800*l.* per year. This was the expence of Atticus' table, and a very moderate one, conſidering his great fortune, 10 or 12,000*l.* a year. The paſſage in Cæſar is the ſame way of reckoning. He preſented Scæva for his gallant behaviour *millibus ducentis* æris, WITH A HUNDRED POUNDS [Qu. 640?] or, as we ſhould now ſay, with a hundred guineas; for an exact preciſion in ſuch matters is ridiculous.——Gronovius's account of the paſſage in Nepos is not quite ſo bad as you repreſent it. He reckons the *terna millia æris*, not at 5*l.* 15*s.* per month; but at 12*l.* 5*s.* and conſequently, the whole year's expence, at 147*l.* But Gronovius, which is not uſual with him, falls here into a grammatical error, miſtakes the ellipſis which he had ſo often had occaſion to mention, and takes *terna millia* æris to be *tres mille nummi ærei*, which neither the language, nor the reaſon of the thing will bear. W. Clarke.

III.

III.

Mr. BOWYER to Mr. CLARKE.

REV. SIR, *March*, 1762.

YOU have made the expences of Atticus ſuitable to his character. But a ſmall objection ſtill remains, which I doubt not but you can remove. The ſubject of *Æs grave* has employed the pen of Perizonius, who makes it to conſiſt only in allowing ten Aſſes to the Denarius, according to the firſt valuation, inſtead of *ſixteen*, which was the alteration of U. C. 537. His opinion would be but an opinion, were it not ſupported by the authority of Plutarch, who deſcribes the ſum, which Livy calls 15,000 *æris* [gravis] to be 1500 Denarii, in the time of Cato the Cenſor. At this rate no conſideration is had of how many Aſſes made a pound, but only of the net proportion it bore to the Denarius, viz. of ten to one in the old pound in diſtinction to what it bore in the new pound of XVI to one. As you make the 3,000 *æris* of Atticus to be ſo many times 24 Aſſes, becauſe 24 Aſſes made then a pound: ſo in Cato's time, the As being one ounce, we ſhould ſay his 15,000 *æris* was ſo many times XII Aſſes, i. e. 180,000 Aſſes, or 11,250 Denarii. I want your *Pondo* to carry me through in both periods.

W. BOWYER.

IV.

Mr. CLARKE to Mr. BOWYER.

DEAR SIR, *March* 27, 1762.

I FIND, by your letter, that what I did to ſave Atticus's credit was at my own expence, and I thank you for bringing me back again to Perizonius's opinion. The accounts of the Roman *æris* can be adjuſted no other way: and there ſeems to be no difficulty, not even what Perizonius himſelf (as Mr. Ward repreſents him) ſeems to ſuggeſt. When the Aſſes were made *ſextantarii*, the old *aſſes librales* paſſed for ſix; when *unciales*, the *ſextantarii* were *dupondia*; and in the next reduction the *unciales* had that eſtimate. But the old proportion of reckoning ten aſſes to a denarius was never altered in their accounts; though in common currency a denarius paſſed for 16. My ſon tells me, that the Spaniards have at preſent an inſtance exactly of the ſame nature.—There was an old Spaniſh dollar, or peſo of 11 rials, 2 maravedies, which, though it has been now diſuſed for many years, and the current dollar, or piece of 8, is 20 rials; yet, in all

accounts whatſoever where the dollar is uſed, it is reckoned at the old eſtimate of eleven rials two maravedies.

What is now to be ſaid to the paſſage in Nepos? Nothing more, than that this is the true reading. This ſeems upon the whole to be a fair concluſion. Atticus was remarkable for his frugality. His expences ran no higher in *ſeſtertio centies*, than they did before in *ſeſtertio vicies*. But theſe *terna millia æris* were the expence of his own table, not of his houſhold. Plutarch ſays, that Cato, when he was prætor, and even conſul, ſpent no more uſually for *ſupper* than ὀσσαρι... τριάκοντα, 1·5*d*. Engliſh. The whole amount of this for a month would only be 2*l*. at moſt. Allowing half as much more for his *prandium*, which was generally *incoctum*, the whole would be 3*l*. per month. This could not poſſibly be his whole family expences—Atticus' *terna millia* were juſt *thrice* as much, and might probably ſupport a table at that time with tolerable elegance: for as no cuſtoms or inland duties were, for a great part of that time, paid in Italy, proviſions muſt be very cheap *. *Bina millia æris* was often given as a preſent by the Roman ſenate to ambaſſadors from foreign ſtates. This made Cæſar's reward to Sceva a faſhionable gratuity.

Theſe paſſages ſuggeſt to me a query or two that has ſome relation to them from your preface to Monteſquieu's Riſe and Fall, &c. There you place the aſſes *ſextantarii about A. U.* 490. *I know it is not poſſible to fix the time, but ſurely this is placing that event rather too high. The firſt Punic war began A. U.* 489, *and laſted* 24 *years.* Pliny ſays, *librale pondus æris imminutum bello Punico primo, cum impenſis reſpublica non ſufficeret.* This looks as if the war had continued ſome years before they were reduced to that neceſſity, and would induce one to fix that reduction nearer A. U. 500. Then you ſay, 47 years afterwards, A. U. 537, the *aſſes unciales* were introduced: that was certainly done, A. U. 537, when Fabius Maximus was dictator. Both Livy and the Capitoline marbles agree in this. The next ſtep, the reducing the aſſes to half an ounce, is more diſputed. You ſay, A. U. 676, when *Papirius Turdus was tribune;* Ainſworth when *Papirius* CARBO *was prætor* 586, ten years later: Pliny ſays, *mox lege Papiria*; which ſurely does not imply that this was done at a *greater diſtance than the former reduction, but came on ſooner.* Why therefore ſhould we not place it, A. U. 543, *When C. Papirius Turdus was tribune*, according to the Capitoline marbles, 8 years after a former reduction? W. CLARKE.

* The reaſon given is plauſible; but (I think) Dr. *Arbuthnot* has determined, that the neceſſaries of life were much the ſame as with us; but the luxuries much higher. *T. F.*

M R.

MR. BOWYER'S PREFACE

TO

MONTESQUIEU'S REFLEXIONS

ON THE

CAUSES OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 1759,

With his final Corrections.

THE learned author of this work having fallen into two or three miſtakes in relation to the Roman money, I ſhall take the liberty of pointing them out to the reader, to prevent his being miſled by ſo great authority. That we may be the better underſtood, it will be neceſſary to open the ſubject a little from the beginning.

Pliny [*a*], who is the moſt particular on this head, tells us, that, from the time of Servius Tullius, till the year 485, braſs was the only coin among the Romans; *viz.* the *as* of a pound weight, with ſome other pieces, which were ſubdiviſions of it; as the *triens*, of *four* ounces; and *quadrans*, of *three* [*b*].

[*a*] Nat. Hiſt. l. xxxiii. c 3.

[*b*] Pliny ſays, on one ſide of the *as* was the head of Janus; and on the other, the beak of a ſhip, *Roſtrum navis*; *in triente vero, et quadrante* RATES. And yet we find on the *aſſes*, which are now remaining, much the ſame form of the fore part of a ſhip, as on the *trientes*, and *quadrantes*. How then was *rates* the diſtinguiſhing mark of the two latter? The late worthy Preſident * of two literary Societies, and an ornament of the amiable part of human Society in general, obſerved to me, that he was inclined to think Pliny for *rates* uſed the word *rationes*, or ſomewhat like it, to denote the rate or value, which was at firſt ſtampt *only* on thoſe two coins, before any lower diviſions of the *as* were coined. For thus we find four round balls expreſſed on the *triens*, ſignifying four ounces, and three on the *quadrans*, ſignifying three. The words of Pliny will thus be very clear: *Nota æris fuit ex altera parte Janus geminus, ex altera roſtrum navis; in triente vero et quadrante rationes* i. e. All the braſs coin had on one ſide the head of Janus, on the other the beak of a ſhip; but on the *tridens* and *quadrans* [the only ſubdiviſions at firſt ſtampt the value moreover of each was expreſſed. Ovid, Faſti, i. 229. confirms this ſenſe, where, ſpeaking of this very circumſtance, he uſes *cur navalis forma*, and *cauſa ratis* as terms promiſcuous. He knew no difference between *navis* and *ratis*, on the coins, which was thought to diſcriminate them in the age of Feſtus.

* Martin Folkes, Eſq.

When

When ſilver was coined, A. U. 485, *viz.* five years before the firſt Punic war, the *denarius* was ſo called from its being worth ten *aſſes*, or pounds of braſs; *quinarius* worth five; and *ſeſtertius*, worth two and an half.

In A. U. 490, the firſt Punic war commenced; during which the *as*, from a pound, or xii ounces, was leſſened to *two* ounces; and the *denarius* was ſtill worth only x *aſſes*; the *quinarius* v, &c. as before. This war laſted xxiv years; and whether it was at the beginning of the war, or in the progreſs of it, that this change was made is uncertain, ſince Pliny only ſays, it was *cum impenſis reſpublica non ſufficeret*. Perhaps the reduction of the *as* ſhould be placed above A. U. C. Var. 500.

A. U. Var. 537, when C. Fabius Maximus was dictator, the *as* was diminiſhed to one ounce, and the ſubdiviſions of it in proportion; and ſixteen of them were now made equal to a *denarius*, as they continued ever afterwards.

A. U. 576 [*c*], when Papirius Turdus was tribune, the *as* was reduced to half an ounce.

From this general view of the alterations of the braſs and ſilver coin of the Romans, the reader will naturally aſk, What can the Baron mean, when, from the authority of a paſſage in the Moſtellaria of Plautus, he would prove, that in the firſt Punic war a ſoldier's pay was *ſix ounces* of braſs a day, which he calls in the note *three aſſes of ten ounces* [*d*]. And yet it is certain, as we have now ſeen, that no *aſſes* of ten ounces were ever coined. We muſt ſuppoſe then he intended to ſay, what ſome others have advanced from the ſame authority of Plautus [*e*], that the pay was at that time *three aſſes* of *two ounces*, *ten* of which *aſſes* were equal to a *denarius*.

Ubi ſunt iſti plagipatidæ, ferritribaces viri?
Iſti, qui TRIUM NUMMORUM cauſa ſubeunt ſub falas?

"Where are thoſe fellows, who ſubmit to be ſhot at for *three* PIECES a "day?" But here, if with Lipſius [*f*] and the Baron we ſuppoſe by *nummi* to be meant *aſſes* of *two* ounces each, it is inconſiſtent with the age of the poet, who wrote under the ſecond Punic war, when the *aſſes* were reduced to *one* ounce. If with Puteanus [*g*], that aſſes of *one* ounce are

[*c*] The editions of Ainſworth place it 586, when Papirius Carbo was prætor. But perhaps it was in the year 543 of the Capitoline Marbles, i. e. 544, according to the Varronian account, when we find C. Papirius Turdus Q. F. Q. N. tribune in Pighius's Annals, p. 190.

[*d*] Ch. xvi. p. 221. [*e*] Act I. Sc. 2. 9. [*f*] Elect. i. 2. [*g*] De ſtipend. mil. c. 3.

meant

meant, it is inconſiſtent with Polybius, who tells us (as we ſhall ſee preſently) that the pay was at this time *five* aſſes of one ounce: and it is not likely he ſhould ſpeak of *aſſes* which prevailed in his own age, and of a pay which was in uſe before. Againſt both it is contended, that Plautus always uſes *nummus* for the *ſtater* or two drachms [*h*]; but undoubtedly never for the *as*. In ſhort, the paſſage in Plautus has nothing to do with the ſoldiers pay: it is manifeſtly corrupted, and ſhould probably be read thus, as a very ingenious friend has obſerved to me:

Ubi ſunt iſti plagipatidæ, ferritribaces viri?
Vel iſti, qui trium nummorum cauſa ſubeunt falas?
Ubi illi, qui quindenis haſtis corpus transfigi ſolent?

That is, "Where are the ſlaves, the GLADIATORS, the ſoldiers?" The laſt verſe may be a compliment to the bravery of the Roman legions, which was then greatly diſtinguiſhed. But whether it is ſo or not, the ſecond line has not the leaſt reference to their pay. Whatever is here meant by *nummi*, it is a ſum far above the ſoldiers pay at that or any other time. If we take it for a *drachma* (as Plautus, *we* preſume to ſay [*i*], always uſes it; unleſs *aureus*, or *Philippeus*, is mentioned, and then it is the half *aureus*) inſtead of *five aſſes*, it is forty-eight a day. Or, if for a *didrachma*, as Gronovius imagined, then twice as much. The Baron was miſled by Lipſius, or rather by the Delphin editor of Plautus, who very roundly applies this paſſage to the ſoldiers. It is ſtrange that Gronovius, in his edition, ſhould let Lipſius's note paſs without any notice of the miſtake in it, ſince, as we have ſeen, he expreſsly ſays elſewhere, that *nummi* always ſignifies *didrachmæ*.

Having then ſet aſide the authority which miſled the Baron, let us ſee what clearer light hiſtory affords us, towards forming a judgement of their pay, under different periods of the republic.

The Roman foot firſt received pay at the ſiege of the Veii [*k*], U. C. Var. 347, and (as Livy has been underſtood) the horſe three years afterwards [*l*]. But he tells us, Servius Tullius [*m*] had deſigned for the horſe

[*h*] See particularly Plaut. De Pſeudol. iii. 2. 19. and Salm. De modo uſur. c. ii. Rab. Schelius, De ſtipendio milit. c. iii. Gronov. De pecun. vet. p. 123.

[*i*] See this clearly proved in Mr. Clarke's Connexion of Roman, Saxon, and Engliſh Coins, p. 236, & ſeq.

[*k*] Liv. iv. 59. v. 4. [*l*] Liv. v 7.

[*m*] An equos emendos dena millia æris ex publico data, et quibus equos alerent, viduæ attributæ, quæ bina millia æris in annos ſingulos penderent. Liv. i. 43.

a yearly pay before. How ſhall we reconcile this? The eaſieſt anſwer is, That at the ſiege of Veii, the horſemen or equites provided their own horſes [n], as the Epitome of Livy expreſſes it, and as it probably ſhould be read in the hiſtory itſelf. Before, a horſe was ſupplied by the government at 10,000 *aſſes* for ten years (that being the time preſcribed for ſerving in the army before they could enjoy any office [o] at home); and the horſemen's pay was 2000 *aſſes* yearly; but afterwards 3000 *aſſes* were paid to the ſoldier, and he procured a horſe at his own expence. The full pay of the cavalry is called *triplex ſtipendium* [p], it being three times as much as was paid to the foot. Gronovius [q] therefore concludes the pay of the latter was originally M *aſſes*, when they were at xii ounces each (which is two *aſſes* and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an *as* per day, reckoning, according to the cuſtom of the ancients, 360 days to the year), and that this continued the pay till the ſecond Punic war.

And yet it is not without probability that Schelius collects the yearly pay was originally, or at leaſt before the ſecond Punic war, MC *aſſes* in the year, ſomewhat more than three *aſſes* per day. In proof of this, it is obſerved, that at the end of that war, during which the horſe, from a ſenſe of the diſtreſs of the ſtate, rejected [r] all pay for ſome time, Porcius Cato adviſed the ſenate to reſtore it to its ancient ſtandard, and to give them 2200 [s] *æra* or *aſſes*. He takes no notice of the other third part of the pay, which perhaps had been continued without any interruption. Gronovius, with ſomewhat of diffidence, thinks *æra equeſtria* cannot ſignify 2000 *aſſes to be paid to the horſe*, but 2000 *horſe*, i. e. loca, or ſtipendia ærum, as *miles* XX *ærum*, a ſoldier who has received twenty years pay. In which ſenſe Cato's motion was, that they ſhould put 2200 horſe on the eſtabliſhment. But ſince *æs* is ſometimes uſed for the *as* (viz. *mille æris legaſſe*, Varro, L. L. viii. *Modius datur ære quaterno*, Mart. xii. 62.), circumſtances

[n] Tum primum equis [ſuis] merere equites cœperunt. Liv. v. 7. the very words uſed in the Epitome.

[o] Polyb. vi. 17.

[p] Liv. v. Polyb. l. vi. 33.

[q] De pec. vet. l. iii. 2.

[r] Manavit ea privatorum benignitas ex urbe etiam in caſtra: ut non eques, non centurio ſtipendium acciperent; mercenariumque increpantes vocarent, qui accepiſſet. Liv. xxiv. 18.

[s] Nunc ego arbitror reſtitui oportere ne quo minus duobus millibus ducentis ſit ærum equeſtrium. Catonis *orat. ap. Priſcianum*, l. ii. Read *quo ne minus*, as Liv. xxxiv. 6.

particularly

particularly lead us to think it uſed ſo here. The number of cavalry varied according to the number of legions raiſed, 300 to a legion: ſince thoſe depended on theſe, it was needleſs for Cato to propoſe multiplying them. There was no ſettled ſtandard, except of pay, to which he could want them to be *reſtored*. The very neceſſity which induced the forces to relinquiſh pay, obliged the State to keep up the number of them; and we find the war carried on, during the three laſt years of it, with xx, xvi, and xiv legions [*t*]. When times were mended, the propoſal was natural for reſtoring the pay to its former rate, not for augmenting the troops [*u*].

Under the ſecond Punic war, the pay was, as Polybius tells us [*x*], two *oboli* a day. The *obolus* was the ſixth part of a *drachm* or *denarius*, now raiſed to xvi *aſſes*; conſequently two *oboli* were ſomething above five *aſſes*, i. e. $\frac{1}{3}$. But this was as near as Polybius could expreſs it in his language, and perhaps he did not intend any greater preciſion. So that, inſtead of *three aſſes*, or *ſix oz.* of braſs in the firſt Punic war, the pay was *five aſſes*, or *five oz.* in the ſecond, as the Baron deſcribes it; in weight of braſs diminiſhed a ſixth, in number of *aſſes* raiſed above a third; inſtead of a *HS.* and half an *as*, it was now a *HS.* and an *as*; inſtead of 110$\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* in the year, now 112$\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* Pliny [*y*] ſays the *denarius*, when raiſed to xvi *aſſes*, in the ſoldiers pay, was ſtill valued at x only, *i. e.* in regard to their *former*

[*t*] Liv. xxx. 2. 27. 40.

[*u*] Here, I may be allowed to obſerve, Gronovius, in reply to Salmaſius, ſays there were more *equites*, or knights, under king Servius, than under the ſecond Punic war. He ſays ſo on a preſumption that many were *knights* by *eſtate*, who had not pay, nor a *public horſe* aſſigned them. And to the ſame purpoſe, the laſt learned writer on the Roman Senate, that many received *pay*, who were not knights. "The title of *equites* "was not given indiſcriminately to all thoſe who ſerved in the *Roman cavalry*, but to "thoſe only, who, by their eſtates, were placed in the equeſtrian claſs *." *Cavalry*, and not *equites!* what name then ſhall we find for them? He means, though they were *cavalry* or *equites*, they were not all of the *equeſtrian* order. But we will preſume, againſt Dr. Chapman, Gronovius, Sigonius, and other great names, in the firſt place, that though many might have the qualification for knights, the *cenſus equeſtris*, yet none were actually ſo, till they were placed on the eſtabliſhment by the cenſors, and had a horſe aſſigned them at the public expence. *2dly*, That the *Roman* or *Legionary* horſe, till the time of the Social war, conſiſted of none but ſuch knights ſo eſtabliſhed; a ſtanding militia, who ſeem to have been admitted by the cenſors to a third part of pay, an allowance for a public horſe; till they were drawn out as occaſion required, and put on whole pay, *æra equeſtria*, by the conſuls. This we have formerly obſerved on another occaſion: but for further proof of it muſt now refer to Sehelius, in his Comment on Hyginus in Grævius's Theſaurus, vol. ix. and to Grævius's Preface in vol. i.

[*x*] Lib. vi. 37.

[*y*] Nat. Hiſt. xxxiii. 13. ed. Hard.

* Dr. Chapman, p. 16.

pay of 1000 *aſſes*, upon every *ten* they received *ſix* additional *aſſes*; in the year 660 *aſſes*, and an advance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* or 40 *aſſes* more; making in all 1800 *aſſes*. Or take it in their daily pay, when the *denarius* went for *ten aſſes*, the ſoldier had *three aſſes* per day; when for *ſixteen*, he had *five*, i. e. he was paid juſt in the ſame manner, as he was before the *aſſes* were reduced. Polybius and Pliny ſay the ſame thing, only in different words. If, laſtly, we ſhould ſay, that the pay was originally 1125 *aſſes*, and that 675 were added to the new pay, to make up the value of the old, *viz.* $112\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* it would be more exactly conformable to Pliny. So that without any variation in ſilver, inſtead of an old *den.* of x *aſſes*, the ſoldier received a new *den.* of xvi. And what hinders this from being the caſe? The paſſage in Livy, concerning the pay of king Servius's horſe, admits of various interpretations, and might be no precedent for the foot 150 years afterwards. Cato, as is uſual in round numbers, might deſignedly omit mentioning the odd parts above the hundred: in this very ſpeech it follows, *De duobus millibus actum eſt*; when his words before were, *quo ne minus duobus millibus* DUCENTIS. 'Tis certain Livy [z] alludes to the pay of $112\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* even before ſilver was coined. He ſays, the Campanian knights, who refuſed to join their countrymen in their revolt againſt the Romans, U. C. Var. 414, had each a yearly penſion aſſigned them of 450 *denarii*; which is exactly four times $112\frac{1}{2}$; the pay of the foot, as we have ſeen, under the ſecond Punic war; and we now add, perhaps under the firſt. Scaliger throws out *denarios*, and underſtands *aſſes*. Mr. Hooke, following him [a], ſays the penſion was *near thirty Shillings*;—a poor reward for ſo ſignal fidelity. No, the Romans aſſigned them for life a quarter more than uſual pay, and made the revolters raiſe it. See the proceduro againſt the Latin colonies, Liv. xxix. 15. If we leave out *denarios*, it will be hard, I believe, to find *nummos* uſed for *aſſes*.

This continued to be the pay in ſilver through the remainder almoſt of the republic; though the *as*, U. C. Var. 576, being ſunk to half an ounce, the pay (in number of *aſſes* ſtill the ſame) in weight was only $2\frac{1}{2}$ *oz.* Julius Cæſar [b] doubled it. Accordingly the ſoldiers in a mutiny under Tiberius

[z] Liv. viii. 11. Denarios nummos quadringenos quinquagenos, i. e. of Engliſh money, 15*l.* ſterling reckoning the denarius at 8*d.*

[a] Rom. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 393.

[b] Legionibus ſtipendium in perpetuum duplicavit. Suet. Cæſ. xxvi.

complain

complain that they hazarded their lives for *ten* [*c*] *aſſes* a day, or v *oz.* which is 3600 *aſſes*, or 225 *denarii* in the year. Harduin, ſtrangely miſtaking the paſſage in Pliny, makes the pay advanced to a *denarius* a day under the ſecond Punic war: which leaves no room for Julius Cæſar's *doubling* it, and ſo contradicts the teſtimony of Suetonius as well as of Polybius. Say, Julius Cæſar raiſed it to a *denarius*. Then, inſtead of *doubling* it, he made it above *triple* to what it was. Unleſs we ſuppoſe, that, when the *as* was reduced to half an ounce, the pay was eight *aſſes*, or iv ounces per day; in the year 2880 *aſſes*, or 180 *denarii*; and that Julius Cæſar made it 360 *denarii*.

But this ill agrees with what Suetonius [*d*] and Zonaras [*e*] relate, who, compared together, prove three payments in the year of lxxv *denarii* every *four* months, ccxxv in the whole; and that a fourth payment was added by Domitian of lxxv *den.* in all ccc *den.* or 4800 *aſſes*, paid at four equal payments, every *three* months, which is, as the Baron obſerves, $13\frac{1}{2}$ *aſſes*, per day, *i. e.* twelve *aurei* per annum, as before there were only *nine.*— Here then we may reaſon backwards, ſince 225 *den.* was the pay before Domitian, it muſt have been only $112\frac{1}{2}$ before Julius Cæſar doubled it. It is further obſervable, that though we conſider the pay of the ancients, as we do that of the moderns, at ſo much per day, yet it was paid by even portions, every three months, four months, or twelve months. The ſeveral regulations then will ſtand thus:

	oz.	aſſes per day.	per ann.	den.
From Servius Tullius	12	$2\frac{3}{4}$	1000	
Firſt Punic war	6	$6\frac{1}{11}$	1100	110
Second Punic war	5	5	1800	$112\frac{1}{2}$
U. C. 576	$2\frac{1}{2}$			
Julius Cæſar	5	10	3600	225
Domitian	$6\frac{2}{3}$	$13\frac{1}{2}$	4800	300

I have added the eſtimates of the *as* and *denarius*, becauſe I do not ſee how a judgement can be formed of the value of the ſoldiers pay under the different periods in braſs only, without taking into conſideration the pro-

[*c*] Tacit. Annal. i. 17.

[*d*] Addidit et quartum ſtipendium militi, aureos ternos. Suet. in Domit. vii.

[*e*] Πέμπε γὰρ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ λαμβάνοντας ἑκατὸν ἐκέλευσε δίδοσθαι. Zonar. l. xi. c. 19. p. 580. ed. Par.

portion

portion it bore to ſilver. And I have purſued this ſubject the rather, becauſe Mr. Kennet, who is often commended to ſave the trouble of examination, treats it with great inaccuracy: telling us, That after Julius Cæſar doubled the pay, Auguſtus raiſed it to *ten aſſes* a day; and Domitian to xxv [*f*]: he would ſay, Auguſtus to xxv *den.* per *month*, and Domitian to xl *aſſes* per *day*, deſigning to follow Lipſius [*g*], who puts the *den.* at x *aſſes* under Polybius, and at xii under Auguſtus; but to all the errors in him he adds confuſion of his own.

Having entered thus far on the Roman money, ſhall I preſume to ſubmit one or two paſſages on this head, in the Baron's larger work, to his ſecond conſideration? If they are ſmall miſtakes, I am ſure no writer has more excellences to counterbalance them.

He thinks [*h*], againſt the opinion of ſeveral authors, that the law obtained by L. Valerius Flaccus under Sylla, and mentioned by Paterculus [*i*], related to the leſſening of intereſt, not to the diſſolving part of the principal. The Romans called twelve per cent. *aſſes uſuræ*; therefore *quadrans*, he thinks, ſignified a fourth part of that intereſt, or three per cent. He ſays, "Quadrans cannot ſignify a *fourth part* of the *principal* according to "the language of the Latin writers; in that ſenſe they ſaid, *tertia et quarta* "*pars*, not *quadrans*." Under favour, I would aſk (1) what ſhall we think of this paſſage, *Fecit palam te ex libella, me ex teruncio* [*k*]. Whatever ſum was here bequeathed (for which the reader may conſult Gronovius) it is plain a principal ſum is ſpecified, not an intereſt. So in Martial, l. xi. 51.

Mittebas libram: QUADRANTEM, Garrice, mittis:
Saltem SEMISSEM, Garrice, mitte mihi.

Again, l. viii. 9.

Solvere DODRANTEM nuper tibi, Quincte, volebat
Lippus Hylas: nunc vult ſolvere dimidium.

The commentators may interpret the laſt two paſſages of intereſt, but he that conſiders them impartially will make a different judgement. For (2) ſo far is *quadrans*, &c. from being the language of the Latin writers for

[*f*] Kennet, p. 218.
[*g*] Elect. l. i. c 2. op. vol. I.
[*h*] L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxii. c. 22.
[*i*] In hujus locum ſuffectus Valerius Flaccus, turpiſſimæ legis auctor, qua creditoribus quadrantem ſolvi juſſerat: cujus facti merita cum pœna inter biennium conſecuta eſt. Paterc. l. ii. c. 23.
[*k*] Cic. ad. Attic. vii. 2.

intereſts,

intereſts, that it is rarely or never ſo uſed in the ſingular number, if we may believe two great maſters [*l*] in this and every other branch of literature; and one of them aſſigns a very good reaſon for it. The Romans computed their intereſt by the month, whence Horace [*m*], *triſtes miſero venere kalendæ*. It was often paid, however, only half yearly, ſo that one payment contained the intereſts of ſeveral months. Thus *aſſes uſuræ* was one per cent. per month. Conſequently, *quadrantes uſuræ* (not *quadrans*) was the fourth part of that intereſt, or three per cent. per annum. (3.) The conditions of this Valerian law are deſcribed in Salluſt [*n*] thus: *Ac noviſſime memoria noſtra propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis*, ARGENTUM ÆRE *ſolutum eſt*. It is plain that *ſolvere quadrantem* in Paterculus, is the ſame with *ſolvere argentum ære* in Salluſt. Now if *aſſes*, a braſs coin, were paid for *ſeſterces*, a ſilver coin, at that time worth iv aſſes, a fourth part of the principal was paid for the whole. But ſuppoſe *quadrans* to ſignify three per cent. or a fourth part of *aſſes uſuræ*, it will be impoſſible to reconcile it with ARGENTUM *ære ſolutum*. The Romans denominated all their rates of intereſt by *aſſes*, and the ſubdiviſions of the *as*; is it poſſible they ſhould deſcribe the lowering ſuch *braſs* intereſt (if I may uſe the term) by ſaying they paid braſs for SILVER? A late learned Editor indeed of Cicero's *Familiar Epiſtles* [*o*] maintains, that Seſtertius *is not, as is commonly underſtood, the name of any particular coin*. He is not the only perſon who has been of this opinion: Sperlingius [*p*] went before him in it. It is however undoubtedly a falſe one; the paſſages we have been examining are alone a clear confutation of it: the repreſentations of this piece of money in books with the mark IIS, and the cabinets of the curious, will further give him ocular conviction; in particular, I believe, that repoſitory of learned curioſities, which is open to all the lovers of them, and which ſupplied him with the MS. of theſe Epiſtles. But what I would moſt recommend to the Reader's admiration on this occaſion is, the happineſs of our numerous tranſlators of Salluſt in the paſſage before us. The moſt reputed of them diſcreetly ſlides over the difficulty:—*in conſideration*, ſays he, *of the univerſal preſſure of debts, public authority intervened; and with the unanimous*

[*l*] Salm. De modo uſur. c. vii. Gronov. De pec. vet. l. iii. c. 13. p. 225.
[*m*] Serm. i. ver. 17.
[*n*] Bell. Cat. §. 34.
[*o*] Dr. Roſs, vol. i. p. 452.
[*p*] De nummis non cuſis, p. 229, 230.

voice of every good citizen, the creditors were obliged to take a compoſition. He leaves out, what his original tells us,—*of five ſhillings in the pound.* The author of a *free* tranſlation ſays, *braſs was made to paſs in payment for ſilver*, WEIGHT FOR WEIGHT. He had better have gone no further than *word for word.* The *as* was at this time half an ounce, the *denarius* the ſeventh of an ounce, and worth xvi *aſſes:* ſo that braſs was to ſilver as 1 to 56; conſequently the compoſition of the debtors would, at this rate, amount to not above $4\frac{1}{7}d.$ in the pound: and if the money pound was, as is uſually reckoned in round ſums, 100 *denarii*, it would not come to ſo much. A compoſition, which the legiſlature would hardly have been at the trouble of ſaving; but would with a better grace have cancelled the debt.

In the former law we have braſs offered us for ſilver: a ſimilar fraud has deceived the Baron, with many others, in the interpretation of the Voconian Law. Few monuments, he obſerves, have reached us of it [q], and as it has hitherto been ſpoken of in a moſt confuſed manner, he will endeavour to clear it up. "The Voconian law, he ſays, was made to hinder "the women from growing too wealthy; for this end it was neceſſary to "deprive them of large inheritances, and not of ſuch as could not give "riſe to luxury. Thus we find in Cicero (Orat. againſt Verres, l. i. 41.) "that women were rendered incapable of ſucceeding to thoſe only who "were *rated high in the cenſor's books. Qui cenſus eſſet*, which Dio explains "of him who had *a hundred thouſand*, i. e. of him who had the *firſt cen-* "*ſus*, as we may ſee in Livy, l. i. and Dion. Halicarn." Now, with ſubmiſſion, here ſeems ſomething of that uncertainty and confuſion, which moſt other writers have fallen into, who have treated of this law. 1. Cicero is ſuppoſed to ſay, that women are prohibited from ſucceeding to thoſe only who were *rated high in the cenſor's books*, without ſpecifying what that high rate was, which laid them under this incapacity. 2. Dio is ſaid to explain this high rate at *a hundred thouſand*, and yet to leave his reader in the dark whether it was ſo many pounds or pence. And 3. it is interpreted by the Baron (not by Dio) to be one who had the *firſt cenſus* according to Servius Tullius's inſtitution. Now that was c thouſand *aſſes æris gravis*. But Dio's words, in the age he wrote, were clear and determinate for a different *ſum* and a different *ſenſe*; who ſays the law

[q] L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxvii. c. 1.

forbad

forbad women ὑπὲρ δύο ἥμισυ μυριάδας κληρονομεῖν [r], *to inherit above two myriads and a half* of DRACHMS, for that was the coin the Greek [s] writers always underſtood, as the Latin writers did ſeſterces. The Romans therefore would call this ſum c thouſand *nummi* or ſeſterces, which, at 2 *d.* each, amount to 833 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* of Engliſh money. How the learned Baron could extract from DIO c *thouſand* any things, without underſtanding *ſeſterces*, as he ought, is not very conceivable. It muſt be obſerved then, 4. that the law in Dio does not limit the ſum which the *teſtator* was to be *worth*, but that only which the *heireſs* was to *inherit*; which was abſolutely (without regard to the teſtator's high or low rate in the cenſor's books) c *thouſand HS.*

But it was Aſconius, who, on the paſſage cited from Cicero [t], impoſed on the Baron. Cicero, entering upon ſome arbitrary proceedings of Verres in his prætorſhip, ſays [u], "P. Annius Aſellus dying when C. Annius "Sacerdos was prætor, *and not being regiſtered in the cenſor's books*, made, "as nature directed, and the law allowed, his only daughter his heireſs." Of the words *neque cenſus eſſet* Aſconius offers two interpretations; one, that which I have now given; the other (*inconſiſtent* as well as *falſe*) that which the Baron, after many other learned men, has unwarily adopted [x]. This interpretation of Aſconius is *inconſiſtent* with itſelf, becauſe it ſuppoſes thoſe to be meant in the Voconian law who were worth c *thouſand ſeſterces*, and yet to be the ſame who under Servius Tullius had the firſt cenſus, and were rated at c *thouſand aſſes*, a ſum, which, when the Voconian law paſſed U. C. Var. 585. would amount only to xl *thouſand ſeſterces*. It is *falſe* on many accounts: 1. It is contrary to Dio's clear and determinate ſenſe of the law. 2. It ſuppoſes c *thouſand HS.* to be ſufficient to raiſe a man to the firſt claſs,

[r] Dio, l. lvi. p. 578.

[s] If the reader doubts of this, beſides the paſſages cited by Perizonius on this ſubject, Diſſ. ii. pp. 144. 169. 171. he may conſult the learned comment on the Marmor Sandvicenſe, p. 29, 30. But Plutarch in Antonius is expreſs: μυριάδας ἐκέλευσε πεῖσαι καὶ εἴκοσι δεδῆναι· τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι δεκίες καλοῦσι, p. 69. ed. Bryant, *twenty-five myriads* [of drachms] *the Romans called decies*, or a million HS.

[t] Cic. in Verrem, l. i. Act ii. c. 41.

[u] P. Annius Aſellus mortuus eſt, C. Annio Sacerdote prætore. Is cum haberet unicam filiam, *neque cenſus eſſet*, quod eum natura hortabatur, lex nulla prohibebat, fecit ut filiam bonis ſuis hæredem inſtitueret.

[x] *Neque cenſus eſſet*] Neque centum millia *ſeſtertium* poſſideret; nam more veterum *cenſi* dicebantur, qui *centum millia* profeſſione detuliſſent: hujuſmodi adeo facultates *cenſus* vocabantur. *Aſcon.*

at a time when it would ſcarce be ſufficient to place him in the loweſt. The very year in which this law was paſſed, it was ordered, that thoſe citizens, who were not poſſeſſed of land in the country worth xxx *thouſand ſeſterces*, beſides money and eſtates in town, ſhould be paſſed over unregarded in the cenſus [*y*]. The next year L. Paullus, the father of Scipio Æmilianus, is ſaid to have died not rich, though he left [*z*] above lx talents, or, as Plutarch, xxxvii *myriads* [of drachms.] Much leſs could c *thouſand ſeſterces* be deemed a fortune in Cicero's time. Auguſtus, it is obſerved, hearing that ſome who were baniſhed, lived too high, debarred them from poſſeſſing more than cxxv *thouſand ſeſterces* [*a*], indulging them even under a reſtraint of indigence a greater ſum than Aſconius makes a mark of opulence. But what effectually overthrows this interpretation, P. Annius Aſellus, who is here ſaid *non cenſus*, was, as appears from this very oration, a ſenator. Now the loweſt qualification in Cicero's time was (if we may conclude from what it was under Auguſtus [*b*], DCCC thouſand HS. Servius's diſtribution of the people into claſſes, upon which Aſconius's interpretation is founded, had long ſince received great alterations [*c*]. Another diſtinction prevailed of three *orders*, Senators, Knights, and People, ariſing likewiſe from different eſtimates of wealth. Whence Livy [*d*], under the ſecond Punic war, joins *cenſus* and *ordines* as terms in ſome reſpect equivalent.

After all, the reader will aſk, why did Cicero inſert ſo uſeleſs a circumſtance concerning Annius Aſellus, that he was not enrolled, *neque cenſus eſſet?* When the Voconian law paſſed, each citizen was obliged to be enrolled as often as a luſtrum was held by the cenſors, that ſo he might be entitled to pay his juſt proportion of taxes. By laying then a reſtraint upon all who were enrolled at the laſt luſtrum, and ſhould be ſo for the future [*e*], it laid a reſtraint on every citizen. But it was ſoon evaded two

[*y*] Liv. xlv. 15.

[*z*] Polyb. p. 1427. 1454. 8vo. Plut. in vit.

[*a*] Μητ' ἐσίαν [ὑπὲρ δώδεκα καὶ ἡμίσειαν] μυριάδας ἔχειν, ne plus quingentis millibus nummûm poſſideret. Dio, anno 764. Sylburgius's edition has by an unlucky miſtake left out the words included within crotchets.

[*b*] Suet in Aug. c. 41.

[*c*] See Livy, i. 43. and this author, c. viii.

[*d*] Edixerunt conſules, ut privati EX CENSU ORDINIBUSQUE remiges darent.—Hunc conſenſum ſenatûs equeſter ordo eſt ſecutus, equeſtris ordinis plebs. Liv. xxvi. 35, 36.

[*e*] Sanxit in poſterum, qui poſt A. Poſthumium, Q. Fulvium cenſores cenſus eſſet, ne hæredem virginem, neve mulierem faceret. Cic. in Verr. l. i. 42.

ways, either by a man's making over his eſtate to be held in truſt for an heireſs, as in Cic. De finib. ii. 17. or by neglecting to be enrolled, as it is here alledged of Aſellus. The inconveniencies which attended this expedient at the making of the law, the degeneracy of the times ſoon removed. After the Macedonian war was ended, when taxes ceaſed, and the cenſor's office was remiſſly executed [*f*]; when Marius enliſted into the legions citizens of the loweſt claſs, eſtimated only *per capita*; when the very office of cenſor was intermitted for ſixteen years, as it was in the time of Cicero [*g*]; when enrollment became no longer a proof of a man's being even a citizen [*h*], the law of courſe grew quite obſolete [*i*]; and the *Perpetual Edict* of the Prætor (which was made ſo U. C. Var. 686.) totally aboliſhed it, allowing to women the right of ſucceſſion without reſerve [*k*]. Auguſtus, with a different ſpirit from that which occaſioned the Law, revived in ſome meaſure the reſtraint in it. The late civil wars having exhauſted the ſtate of its ſubjects, that emperor paſſed the Julian Papian Law, by which thoſe women only were entitled to legacies, who by being mothers had contributed to repair their country's loſs. So that this was not (as the Baron

[*f*] See L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxiii. c. 21.

[*g*] See Aſcon. in Cæcil. Divinat. c. 3. This intermiſſion may be traced in the Faſti Capitolini, U. C. 667—683.

[*h*] Cic. pro Archia poet. c. 5. Here I ſhould obſerve, that we have referred to a paſſage in Cicero to ſhew the *decay* of the cenſor's power, from whence Dr. Middleton proves the *juſt* and *legal* extent of it. Enrollment, he obſerves, *Cicero tells us*, pro Archia 5. *did not confirm any man's right to a citizenſhip, but ſignified only*, that *he had paſſed for a citizen at that time. Becauſe the* POWER OF DETERMINING *that right reſided always in the people.*— Hard was the caſe of the Roman people, if *enrollment* was not deciſive *at that time* when *non-enrollment* was puniſhed with confiſcation of goods, as Dion. Hal. ſays it was for ſome time.—But the Doctor would prove that the power of determining that right reſided *always* in the people, from the caſe of Mutines, who had his freedom given him by their voice. Liv. xxvii. 5. *Mutines etiam Civis Romanus factus rogatione ab tribunis plebis ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem lata.*—In the firſt place, this is an act, we ſee, of the whole Legiſlative Power, the Senate, and People, and preſcribes, perhaps, nothing for or againſt the *ordinary* power of the cenſor. In the ſecond place, it is unlucky on another account. L. Veturius Philo and P. Licinius Craſſus were cenſors in that year when Mutines had his freedom given him, as appears from the Faſti Capitolini, U. C. 543. compared with the conſuls mentioned by Livy. Now Livy tells us, theſe cenſors did no one public act, and when one died, the other quitted his office. *Hi cenſores neque ſenatum legerunt, nec quicquam publicæ rei egerunt; mors diremit L. Veturii, inde L. Licinius cenſura ſe abdicavit.* L. xxvii. 5. Strange that this writer ſhould ſingle out ſuch an unlucky inſtance, when much better for *his* purpoſe might have been produced.

[*i*] Obliteratam et opertam civitatis opulentia. Noct. Att. xx. 1.

[*k*] So Tribonianus tells us, § 3. Inſtit. de leg. agn. Succ.

after Dio thinks) *a diſpenſation of the prohibition of the Voconian law* [*l*] then ſubſiſting, but a branch of that obſolete law revived and new modified.

I have advanced little more than what Perizonius has obſerved in his *Diſſertation* on this law [*m*], which Grævius has abridged in the oration againſt Verres before cited. Since their day many learned men have treated of this ſubject, and yet have neglected to enjoy the light afforded them. Is it not ſtrange to ſee Mr. Hearne, at the end of his Livy, ſweat through three or four pages under difficulties, which had been cleared up to his hands in the Diſſertation which he had elſewhere made uſe of in his Notes on that hiſtorian? The prime miſtake has got poſſeſſion of our dictionaries, and, with many others, will probably long continue there. We are told from Aſconius that *cenſi* ſignifies men poſſeſſed of c thouſand *ſeſterces*, which, as we have ſeen, he ſays indeed, and unſays, and is not true whether we underſtand HS. or *aſſes*; but only ſignifies *eſtimated* in the cenſor's book, without regard to any certain *rate*.

I would here diſmiſs this ſubject; but it muſt not be diſſembled that I ſee one particular will be objected to by Dr. Chapman, before cited, who maintains "that *no eſtate* was preſcribed as a neceſſary qualification for a "member of the ſenate before the time of Auguſtus [*n*]."—He allows however, that, "as the queſtorſhip was in the *latter* ages of the common-"wealth a kind of neceſſary ſtep to the dignity of ſenator; and as few "perſons could obtain even that, without the aſſiſtance of that power and "influence, which is the natural conſequence of a great fortune, it is cer-"tainly true in fact that the houſe was filled with men of the largeſt pro-"perty [*n*]." A conceſſion ſufficient for our preſent argument againſt Aſconius: but ſtill, as this is a matter of new enquiry, I would beg leave to ſubmit to that learned author one or two conſiderations. 1. He ſuppoſes the original qualification of the equites, *viz.* c thouſand *aſſes*, to have continued till the time of Roſcius Otho. Servius Tullius, dividing the people into ſix claſſes, placed the equites at the head of the higheſt, which was rated at one hundred thouſand *aſſes*. Therefore, it is concluded, they were all along *poſſeſſed of an eſtate of that value* [*o*]. But what ſort of qualifi-

[*l*] L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxxvii. c. 1.

[*m*] Daventriæ, 1679.

[*n*] Gruchius imagines it introduced by Julius Cæſar. De comitiis, i. c. 4.

[*o*] Dr. Chapman on the Roman ſenate, p. 17. It is certain, U. C. Var. 351, ſome qualification was preſcribed to the equites. *Quibus cenſus equeſtris erat.* Liv. i. 7. One would be tempted to think the knights had even now a higher cenſus than the firſt claſs; it is not ſaid, *primæ claſſis cenſus*, but *cenſus equeſtris*.

cation

cation ſhall we think ſo ſmall a ſum was, at a time when (as we have ſeen before) xxx thouſand *ſeſterces*, or cxx thouſand *aſſes*, would entitle a citizen to be only of the loweſt claſs; at the time this Voconian law was made, when many a common citizen was under the temptation of leaving a daughter or niece four times as much, beſides a proviſion for his ſon? If the old qualification preſcribed by Servius Tullius was what the cenſors were to attend to, it would of courſe have been obliterated before Roſcius, juſt as the Voconian law was, by the growing opulence of the city. There was then, *in effect*, either no qualification required during great part of the republic, or a higher. U. C. 539, in the fifth year of the ſecond Punic war, the conſuls by an edict required all thoſe, who at the foregoing cenſus poſſeſſed, or had ſince acquired, from 50,000 *aſſes* to 100,000, to provide one ſailor for ſix months; all from 100,000 to 300,000, to provide three for a year; from 300,000 to a million, five; all above, ſeven; and the ſenators eight. We ſee from theſe five *claſſes* (the ſixth being only *capite cenſi*, and contributing nothing to the charges of the ſtate) that Servius's *claſſes* were quite changed; and that, placing the equites next to the ſenators, inſtead of c thouſand *aſſes*, they were worth a million, which, when the cenſus was taken, was 400,000 HS. the very rate appointed for them *afterwards* by Roſcius Otho. How then did that knight merit ſo well of his order, when he fixt the cenſus of it at 400,000 HS? It muſt be obſerved, U. C. 537, before this contribution, exigences were ſuch, that the *aſſes* were reduced xvi to a denarius, and the cenſus probably (ſtill rated by the ſame number of *aſſes*) ſunk above a third; till Otho raiſed it to its former ſtandard by eſtimating it in ſilver, *i. e.* reckoning ten *aſſes* to the denarius, as Pliny ſays was *always* done in the pay of the ſoldiers. This poſſibly is the key to the paſſage before us, which the two polite writers on the Roman Senate have turned contrary ways, that they might unlock the difficulty. Dr. Middleton ſays, from hence "it is CERTAIN "the Senators generally, in theſe early times, poſſeſſed a much larger pro- "portion of wealth than even DCCC thouſand SESTERCES." It is *certain* he has falſely taken HS. for *aſſes*, and raiſed every ſum above twice as high as he ought [*p*]. Dr. Chapman fetches out the eſtates of the ſenators *to*

[*p*] — qui ſupra trecenta millia uſque ad decies ÆRIS, quinque nautas; qui ſupra decies, ſeptem; ſenatores, octo. Liv. xxiv. 11. *that thoſe who were rated from* 2400*l.* *to* 8000*l.* *ſhould furniſh five ſailors*, &c. Middleton, Rom. Senate, p. 102. He ſhould have ſaid *from* 1000*l.* *to* 3333*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

amount

amount at a MEDIUM *to* 1,040,000 *aſſes*, or 416,000 HS. "Now the firſt "ſenatorian cenſus (ſays he) under Auguſtus was, on the authority of "Dio, but 400,000 HS. whence the reader may judge of the *improbability* "of its being greater by 16,000 HS. at a time when the Roman riches "were ſo comparatively inconſiderable, as *under* the ſecond Punic war." If he means, at the time when the contribution was made, his number of *aſſes* amounts only to 260,000 HS. He ſhould have ſaid, juſt *before* the commencement of the ſecond Punic war. For it appears that the eſtimates here mentioned were taken U. C. Var. 534, when that war was ſcarce begun, and after the republic had been ſuperior to its moſt formidable rival in a former. Now under Auguſtus, Dio ſays, p. 540. the *ſenatorian cenſus* was *fixt*, i. e. ſunk to 400,000 HS. *in conſideration of the calamities of the civil wars*, which, as they pull a nation back for many years, might well induce that emperor to lower the Senatorian cenſus to what the Equeſtrian was before. But low as theſe Senators eſtates can poſſibly be brought, it is a far more reaſonable ſum than that to which the ſtories told by Valerius Maximus will depreſs them; who repreſents the Senate in great munificence advancing out of the treaſury xi thouſand aſſes [*q*] (or 22*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*) to the proconſul Cn. Scipio's daughter for her fortune. Believe it who can. When I ſee Aſconius and Dr. Middleton confounding HS. with *aſſes*, I can eaſily imagine ſome ſuch error has miſled this writer of *Memorables:* we learn from unqueſtionable authority, that ladies in thoſe days had much higher fortunes; that within a few years afterward, P. Scipio Africanus the elder, firſt couſin of the forementioned lady, promiſed to give, firſt and laſt, with each of his two daughters, xxv talents [*r*], which is two millions four hundred thouſand *aſſes*, in our money 5000*l.*

2. It is obſervable, that when the Roman Senators obtained the privilege of ſitting by themſelves at the ſhews in the theatre, U. C. Var. 560, the people complained of the faſtidiouſneſs of the *wealthy* [*s*]; notwithſtanding they had then the *equites* among them to keep them in counte-

[*q*] Val. Max. vi. 4. Dr. Chapman ſays 35*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* He is too indulgent in purſuance of his preceding miſtake: the *denarius* was worth xvi *aſſes* then current; not only x, as he computes.

[*r*] Polyb. Excerpt. p. 1460. Ed. 8vo.

[*s*] Horum ædilitium ludos Romanos primum ſenatus a populo ſecretus ſpectavit—ad DLVIII in promiſcuo ſpectatum eſſe? Cur DIVES pauperem confeſſorem faſtidiret? Liv. xxxiv. 44.

nance.

nance. About the ſame time T. Quinctius, in reforming the cities of Theſſaly [*t*], *in general nominated Senators and Judges according to the value of their eſtates.* Whence ſhall we think he drew this plan, but from the example of his parent city, Rome? If the conformity was kept exactly, the paſſage may ſeem to imply that the cenſors *ſometimes* put men of diſtinguiſhed abilities on the roll without having a Senatorian eſtate: but it ſhews, that *in general* there was a certain cenſus for that ſuperior order. Thus again, among the regulations preſcribed to the Haleſini by C. Claudius the Prætor, and to the people of Agrigentum by Scipio, one was that the Senators ſhould be poſſeſſed of *an eſtate to a certain value* [*u*]. I uſe here the authority, as well as argument, of Dr. Middleton, who cites this paſſage of Cicero to prove the Senatorian age among the Romans from what they directed to other nations. If it is good for a certain *age*, it is equally ſo for a certain *eſtate*.

3. Though we allow Aſconius miſtaken when he treats, as he pretends, *de more veterum*, yet his authority is good when he ſpeaks almoſt of his own times. If ſo, his teſtimony is deciſive for a Senatorian cenſus prevailing at leaſt in the latter end of the republic. *A Roman citizen*, ſays he, *was ſpecified in the cenſor's books, either by his prænomen, his family name, or ſurname; from his tribe or curia in which he was enrolled; or from his* effects, *as being a Senator or Knight* [*x*]. Again; 'Tis certain, during the time of the republic, a *cenſus* was preſcribed for the judges by the Aurelian, Pompeian, and the Julian laws [*y*]. Now our Aſconius tells us [*z*], that by the Pompeian law, the *judges were to be, differently than heretofore, nominated out of the three orders of* Senators, Knights, and Centurions; *all of them to be of the higheſt cenſus.* Sigonius [*a*] thinks this *judicial cenſus* was

[*t*] A cenſu MAXIME ſenatum et judices legit. Liv. xxxiv. 15.

[*u*] Cic. in Verrem, ii. 49, 50.

[*x*] Moris autem fuit, ſays he, ut, cum aliquis civis Romanus oſtendendus eſſet; ſignificaretur aut a prænomine ſuo, aut a nomine, aut a cognomine; aut a tribu in quo conferetur; aut a curia; aut a *cenſu*, ut ſi erat ſenator, equeſve Romanus. Aſcon. ad Cic. in Verrem, i. 8.

[*y*] Cic. Philipp. i. 8.

[*z*] Ut ampliſſimo ex cenſu, ex centuriis, aliter quam ante, lecti judices, æque tamen ex illis tribus ordinibus, res judicarent. Aſcon. in *orat. contra L. Piſon.* c 39.

[*a*] Significat ſenatores legi potuiſſe, qui octingenta millia poſſiderent; equites, qui quadringenta; at judices e ſenatorio ordine, aut equeſtri, niſi qui *ampliſſima cenſu* eſſent, id eſt, qui ſupra ſenatorium, aut equeſtrem cenſum poſſiderent, conſtitui non licuiſſe. Sigon. *De antiquo jure civium Rom.* l. ii. c. xviii.

not

not only distinct from that of knights and senators, but higher than the lowest limits of each, i. e. that the *judicial knights* were to be possessed of more than what was prescribed to the knights in general, and the *judicial senators* of a larger census than that prescribed to the senators. This seems to me, with submission, a forced interpretation. Many had been the contests between the knights and senators for the judicial power. Pompey's law compromised the difference; it laid open the distinction of order, but with this restriction, that though the judges were not to be all senators, they should all be possessed of a senator's estate, *ex amplissimo censu lecti:* which I should interpret *ex censu* ordinis *amplissimi.*—But whatever was this *judicial* census, Pliny ascribes it [*b*], jointly with the *senatorian*, to the effects of luxury; and he would hardly so ill distinguish times as to jumble two institutions, which began, one, as we have seen, under the republic; the other, as Dr. Chapman imagines, under the emperors. We will apply, with this accurate writer [*c*], the particulars enumerated by Pliny to the times of affluence and of *agonizing liberty.* But we need not wait for those days till the reign of Augustus. Though it is allowed, by the conquest of Egypt [*d*], a new fund of riches flowed into his capital, yet more great fortunes seem to have been raised before the civil war broke out, when whole armies were supported by single persons, than were ever afterwards. The donations made by that emperor prove at once the immense wealth he was possessed of, and the want of it in others. He supplied not only the legal qualifications to knights and senators, but even the deficiencies of the treasury. We learn from the inscription at Ancyra, that, at four donations [*e*] only, he distributed to 250,000 men iv hundred HS. i. e. about

[*b*] Posteris laxitas mundi et rerum amplitudo damno fuit, postquam senator censu legi cœptus, judex fieri censu. Plin. N. H. xiv. proœm.

[*c*] Rom. Senate p. 120, 121.

[*d*] See Montesquieu's Reflexions, 1759, p. 235.

[*e*] The learned Mr. Chishull, under the fourth donation, is fallen into a mistake, Tab. iii. l. 14. p. 174. "Quæ mea congiaria pervenerunt ad [sesterti]VM millia nun-" quam minus quinquaginta et ducenta." p. 191. That is, as he understands it, each donation amounted to 50,200,000 HS. and thence concludes, that since each man received cccc HS. 125,000 always partook of the donation. But *millia quinquaginta et ducenta* can signify no more than 250,000. and do not here *express* HS. but the number of receivers whom he searches for by *implication*, and should be read undoubtedly, "pervenerunt ad *civi*VM MILLIA," &c. as l. 15. "trecentis et viginti millibus PLEBEI." and l. 19. "acceperunt id HOMINVM circiter centum et viginti." and again, l. 21. "ea millia HOMINVM paulo plura quam ducenta fuerunt." [See Mr. Bowyer's Remarks on Chishull, p. 180. of these Tracts. J. N.]

3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a man; in all, near 210,000*l.* each time. In ſhort, he is recorded there to have given away above xvii millions of pounds ſterling, beſides one donation which time has effaced.

4. Suetonius and Dio, compared together, lead us to think a qualification was required before the time of Auguſtus. Suetonius [*f*] ſays, "Auguſtus ENLARGED the ſenatorian cenſus, and from eight hundred "thouſand HS. RAISED it to one million two hundred thouſand HS." "Dio [*g*], that Auguſtus fixed it at firſt at four hundred thouſand HS. "in conſideration of the misfortunes which many families had felt by the "civil wars; and afterwards raiſed it to a million." Now, according to Dr. Chapman's hypotheſis, the reſult of what is here delivered is, that the ſenatorian cenſus was fixed by Auguſtus firſt at four hundred thouſand HS. then at eight hundred thouſand HS. then a million; laſtly, at one million two hundred thouſand. A ſtrange mark of inconſtancy in the emperor, and more ſtrange inaccuracy in the hiſtorians; the former paſſing over in ſilence the firſt rate; the latter, the ſecond. But we ſee prudence in the emperor, and method in the hiſtorians, if we ſuppoſe that Suetonius deſcribes the ſenatorian cenſus as Auguſtus *found* it, and as he *left* it at his death; and that Dio mentions the rate to which Auguſtus *firſt ſunk* it, and *afterwards raiſed* it. 'Tis true indeed Dio ſays nothing here of Suetonius's one million two hundred thouſand HS. But he mentions the occaſion of that report elſewhere, telling us, "That Auguſtus ſupplied ſeveral ſena-"tors and knights with the money which was wanting to their qualifica-"tion, and to fourſcore of them gave *thirty myriads of drachms* [*h*]," the very ſum which in the Roman ſtyle is *duodecies*, or one million two hundred thouſand HS. This munificent act of Auguſtus probably miſled Suetonius to think that emperor ultimately raiſed the cenſus to ſo high a rate.

I ſhall forbear all further enquiries except one: whence is it, that I ſhould thus preſume to differ from my betters? But as errors in money

[*f*] Senatorium cenſum ampliavit, et pro octingentorum millium ſumma duodecies HS. taxavit; ſupplevitque non habentibus. Suet. in *Aug.* c. 41.

[*g*] Τοσάτων γὰρ [δέκα μυριάδων] τὸ βουλευτικὸν τίμημα τὴν πρώτην εἶναι ἔταξεν, ἔπειτα καὶ εἰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας αὐτὸ προήγαγε. Dio, l. iv. p. 532. vid. & p. 540.

[*h*] Τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι τὸ τέλαγμένον τίμημα ἀνεπλήρωσεν, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ τισὶ καὶ εἰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἔδωκε ἐπήξησε. Dio, lib. lv. p. 557.

accounts are daily adjuſted without offence; it would be ſtrange, if any ſhould be taken where we are leſs intereſted, where the ſums are Roman. If I have not tranſgreſſed the decent bounds of liberty, which is as neceſſary to the welfare of the literary, as of the political republic, I will truſt to the Baron's natural, I may add national, humanity to pardon me. I claim no merit to myſelf, nor will I decide on the different titles of others to it:

Perierunt judice formæ
Pergama.

I have only produced Gronovius, Perizonius, *&c.* who have varied from the Baron in computing fractions, while he has been holding the balance of kingdoms, and, no leſs a philoſopher than ſtateſman, accounting for the ſeveral operations of the commercial, political, and ſocial world, on as regular principles as our Newton has fixed thoſe of the natural: nay, what is more, has reconciled the diſcordancy, I had almoſt ſaid madneſs of Religion, to the uniformity and rectitude of Reaſon.

N. B. I have ſuppoſed the *denarius* to weigh 62 grains troy, under the republic and the firſt emperors, as Mr. Greaves has proved it ought to weigh, and experience that it did weigh. He reduces it, and Dr. Arbuthnot after him, *&c.* to $7\frac{1}{4}d.$ Engliſh, taking our ounce at a round ſum to be 5*s.* But ſilver being in reality at 5*s.* 3*d.* per ounce, the denarius amounts to 8*d.* which is thus more eaſily computed without any fraction, and is more exactly the truth.

Several ſmall notes by Mr. Bowyer *are interſperſed throughout the volume of* Monteſquieu's Reflexions; *moſt of them too minute to be here tranſcribed. The following, however, is added, as having not before appeared in print.*

"The diviſion into centuries," ſays Monteſquieu, "was a diviſion ra-
"ther of eſtates and fortunes, than of perſons. The whole body of the
"people was divided into a hundred and ninety-three centuries *, which

* See Livy, lib. i. 43. & Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. iv. & vii.

"had

" had each a ſingle vote. The patricians and leading men compoſed the
" firſt ninety-eight centuries; and the other ninety-five conſiſted of the
" remainder of the citizens. *In this diviſion, therefore, the Patricians were*
" *maſters of the ſuffrages.*"

The author before obſerves, that the claim of Servius Tullius was to *augment the power of the people, and to weaken the real dignity and authority of the Senate*, p. 118. Yet now he ſays in the *comitia centuriata*, the *Senate*, or *the Patricians, were maſters of the ſuffrages*. And this by miſtaking the ſenſe of Livy, l. i. c. 43. which has been the common error of almoſt all writers. Livy ſays, he divided the people ſo, *ut neque excluſus quiſquam ſuffragio videretur, et vis omnis penes* PRIMARIOS *civitatis eſſet*. The *primarii civitatis* were the *dites*, mentioned before, who compoſed the firſt claſs, or the XCVIII centuries. Now let the number of Senators be at this time 200 or 300, we cannot ſuppoſe they were ſo ſplit into companies, or centuries, as to make many votes in each of the centuries. (2.) This ſcheme of Servius was inſtituted to conſtitute not an Ariſtocratical, but a Democratical government, and to take the power out of the hands of the Senators, who had oppoſed his being king. (3.) If the Patricians were more powerful in theſe aſſemblies than the Plebeians, neither Dionyſius nor Livy would have laboured to aſſign a reaſon, whether true or falſe, why the people choſe none but Patricians to be military tribunes, Y. of R. 309. Such a choice would have been the conſequence of Patrician ſuperiority. How conſummately ridiculous would be Livy's admiration of the virtue of the Roman people for their chuſing to the military tribuneſhip PATRICIANS only, though the *Plebeians* were qualified by law to be choſen to that magiſtracy. Livy, l. iv. c. 6. Hooke, vol. I. p. 369. 4to. (4.) In fact, the great points carried by the people againſt the Senate were in the aſſemblies by centuries, as the law for electing tribunes in the Comitia Tributa, U. C. Var. 283. The Lex Horatia, which gave the *Plebiſcita*, made in the Comitia Tributa, an authority binding upon the whole Roman people, U. C. 282. And it was in Comitia Centuriata that Coriolanus, in his abſence, and Menenius, after trial, were condemned, and Servilius, after trial, was acquitted. U. C. Var. 264. 279. 280. Hooke's Rom. Hiſt. vol. I. p. 244. 369. 4to. His Rom. Senate, p. 137. 185.

A Dialogue between SYLLA and EUCRATES.

Translated by Mr. Bowyer.

Some days after Sylla had reſigned the dictatorſhip, I was told, the reputation I had among the philoſophers made him deſirous of ſeeing me. He was at his houſe on the Tibur, enjoying the firſt peaceful moments he had ever known. On coming before him, I felt nothing of that confuſion which the preſence of great men generally occaſions in us. And when we were alone, "Sylla," ſaid I to him, "you have then voluntarily reduced "yourſelf to that middle condition of life, which to moſt men is an af- "fliction. You have reſigned that command which your glory and your "virtues gave you over all men. Fortune ſeems to be vexed that ſhe "could not raiſe you to higher honours."

"Eucrates," ſaid he, "if the eyes of the whole univerſe are no longer "fixed on me, it is the fault of human things, which have their preſcribed "limits, and not owing to me. I imagined I had fulfilled my deſtiny, "when I no longer had great things to atchieve. I was not made for "governing in quiet an enſlaved people. I love to obtain victories, to "found or overturn ſtates, make alliances, puniſh uſurpers: but, as to the "little ſubordinate branches of government, wherein middling geniuſes "ſhew themſelves to ſo much advantage, the ſlow execution of the laws, "the diſcipline of a tame militia, my ſoul could not employ itſelf in them."

"It is very ſingular," ſaid I, "that you ſhould have mixed ſo much "delicacy with your ambition. We have ſeen many great men unaffected "with the vain pomp and ſplendor which wait on rulers; but there have "been very few inſenſible of the pleaſure of governing, and of having "that reſpect, which is due only to the laws, paid to their humour."

"And I, Eucrates, was never leſs ſatisfied, than when I ſaw myſelf abſo- "lute maſter in Rome; when I looked round me, and found neither rival "nor enemy. I thought it would be one day ſaid, that I had only chaſ- "tiſed ſlaves. Would you, ſaid I to myſelf, have no more men in your "country capable of being affected with your glory? And ſince you "eſtabliſh deſpotiſm, don't you clearly ſee, that no prince can come after

"you

" you ſo cowardly and deſpicable, whom flattery will not equal to you,
" and adorn with your name, your titles, and even your virtues ?"

" My lord, you have quite changed the idea I had formed of your con-
" duct. I thought you had ambition, but not a love of glory : I ſaw very
" well that you had a high ſpirit, but I did not ſuſpect that you had a
" great ſoul : your whole life ſeemed to diſcover you to be one preyed on
" by luſt of power, and who, full of the moſt deſtructive paſſions, chear-
" fully loaded himſelf with the ſhame, the remorſe, and even the mean-
" neſs attached to deſpotiſm. For, after all, you ſacrificed every thing
" to your power; you were feared by all the Romans; you diſcharged,
" without pity, the functions of the moſt terrible magiſtracy that ever ſub-
" ſiſted. The ſenate looked with dread on a defender ſo relentleſs. Some
" one ſaid to you, Sylla, how much Roman blood will you ſhed ? Do you
" want to command bare walls ? You then publiſhed thoſe Tables by
" which the life and death of every citizen were determined."

" And it is the ſhedding ſo much blood that has enabled me to do the
" greateſt action of my whole life. Had I ruled the Romans with gentle-
" neſs, what wonder, that wearineſs, diſguſt, or caprice, ſhould make me
" reſign the government ? But I laid down the dictatorſhip at a time when
" every one thought I entirely owed my ſafety to my being inveſted with
" it. I appeared before the Romans a citizen in the midſt of my citi-
" zens, and had the boldneſs to ſay to them, I am ready to give account
" of all the blood which I have ſhed for the republic; I will anſwer all
" who ſhall come to demand of me their fathers, their ſons, or their bro-
" thers. Every Roman was ſilent before me."

" This great action which you ſpeak of, appears to me very imprudent.
" The aſtoniſhment, indeed, into which you had juſt thrown the Romans,
" was of ſervice to you : but how could you dare to talk of vindicating
" yourſelf, and taking for judges perſons who had ſo much to revenge
" on you ? Suppoſing your actions had been only ſeverities while you
" was in power, they became frightful crimes the moment you was out of
" power."

" Do you call crimes," ſaid he, " what ſaved the republic ? Would
" you have had me quietly ſee ſenators betray the ſenate, for that people,
" who, imagining that liberty ought to be as extreme as ſlavery can be,
" wanted to aboliſh all authority ? The people, kept under by the laws

" and

" and the weight of the ſenate, have always endeavoured to overturn both.
" But he who is ſo ambitious as to ſerve them againſt the ſenate and the
" laws, had always ambition enough to become their maſter. It is thus
" we have ſeen an end put to ſo many republics of Greece and Italy.

" To prevent a like evil, the ſenate hath always been obliged to em-
" ploy this untractable people in war. It has been forced, againſt its
" inclination, to ravage the earth, and reduce ſo many nations, whoſe ſub-
" jection is a burden to us. At preſent, when the univerſe can furniſh no
" more enemies againſt us, what would be the fate of the republic? And,
" without me, would the ſenate have been able to prevent the people, in
" their blind fury for liberty, from delivering themſelves up to Marius,
" or to the firſt tyrant who ſhould have given them hopes of independence?

" The gods, who have given to moſt men a cowardly ambition, have
" attached to Liberty almoſt as many evils as to Slavery. But whatever
" may be the price of this noble Liberty, the gods muſt be paid it.

" The ſea ſwallows up veſſels, and lays under water whole countries;
" yet it is uſeful to man.

" Poſterity will decide of what Rome has not as yet ventured to exa-
" mine: it will find, perhaps, that I have not ſhed blood enough, and
" that all the partiſans of Marius have not been proſcribed."

" I muſt own, Sylla, you aſtoniſh me: How! was it to ſerve your
" country, that you ſpilled ſo much blood? and had you no attachment
" but to her?"

" Eucrates," ſaid he to me, " I had never that predominant love for
" my country, of which we find ſo many examples in the firſt ages of
" the republic: and I love Coriolanus, who carried fire and ſword to the
" very walls of his ungrateful city, and made every citizen repent the
" affront which every citizen had done him, as much as I do him who
" drove the Gauls from the capitol. I never piqued myſelf on being the
" ſlave, or the worſhiper, of a ſociety of my equals: and this ſo much
" boaſted love is a paſſion too popular for ſuch a high ſpirit as mine.
" All my actions proceeded from reflexion, and principally from the con-
" tempt which I entertained for men. You may judge by the manner in
" which I treated the only great people in the world, how high my con-
" tempt was of all others.

" I thought that, while I was on the earth, I ought to be free. Had I
" been born among Barbarians, I ſhould have fought to uſurp the throne,

" leſs

" leſs to obtain command than to avoid obedience. Born in a Republic,
" I have acquired the glory of a conqueror, in ſeeking only that of a free
" man.

" When I entered Rome with my troops, I breathed neither rage nor
" revenge. I paſſed ſentence, without hatred, but alſo without pity, on
" aſtoniſhed Romans. You were free, ſaid I; and you want to live ſlaves.
" No, Die; and you will have the advantage of dying Citizens of a free
" city.

" To deprive of its liberty a city of which I was a citizen, I looked on
" as the greateſt of crimes: I puniſhed that crime; and was little concerned
" whether I ſhould be the good or the evil genius of the Republic. How-
" ever, the government of our anceſtors has been re-eſtabliſhed; the peo-
" ple have expiated all the indignities they put on the nobles; fear has
" ſuſpended animoſities, and Rome never enjoyed ſuch perfect tranquillity.

" This it was which determined me to all the bloody tragedies you have
" ſeen. Had I lived in thoſe happy days of the Republic, when the citi-
" zens, quiet in their houſes, preſented to the Gods a free ſoul, you would
" have ſeen me paſs my whole life in this retreat, which has coſt me ſo
" much blood and toil.

" My lord, ſaid I to him, it is well for mankind, that Heaven has been
" ſparing in the number of ſuch men as you. Born for a middling
" ſtation, we are overpowered by ſublime geniuſes. One man's being
" raiſed above humanity, coſts all the reſt too dear.

" You looked on the ambition of heroes as a common paſſion; and
" made no account of any but a reaſoning ambition. The inſatiable de-
" ſire of ruling, which you found in the heart of ſome citizens, made you
" reſolve to be an extraordinary man: love of liberty determined you to
" be terrible and cruel. Who would have thought, that a heroiſm founded
" on principle would be more deſtructive than a heroiſm founded on fury
" and impetuoſity? The Roman people, you ſay, beheld you unarmed,
" and made no attempt on your life. You have eſcaped one danger; a
" greater may await you. A grand offender may one day take advantage
" of your moderation, and confound you in the croud of a ſubjected people.

" I have acquired a name, ſaid he, which ſuffices for my ſafety and the
" ſafety of the Roman people. That name prevents all attempts; there
" is no ambition, which does not ſtand in awe of it. Sylla lives; and his
" genius is more powerful than that of all the Romans. Sylla is ſur-

rounded

" rounded by Chæronea, Orchomenus, and Signion; Sylla hath given " every family in Rome a terrible example within itſelf: every Roman will " have me always before him, and even in his ſleep I ſhall appear to him " covered with blood; he will imagine he ſees the fatal Tables, and reads " his name at the head of the proſcribed. My laws are murmured at in " ſecret; they can never be effaced but by floods of Roman blood. Am " not I in the midſt of Rome? You will ſtill find with me the javelin " I had at Orchomenus, and the buckler I wore on the walls of Athens. " Becauſe I have no lictors, am I the leſs Sylla? I have the ſenate, " juſtice, and the laws for me; my genius, fortune, and glory are for " the ſenate."

" I own," ſaid I, " that when a perſon has once made any one tremble, " he almoſt always retains ſomething of the advantage he had over him.

" Undoubtedly," ſaid he, " I ſtruck men with aſtoniſhment; and that " was a great deal. Review in your mind the ſtory of my life: you will " ſee that I have drawn all from that principle; and that it has been the " ſoul of all my actions. Call to mind my quarrel with Marius: I was " ſtung with indignation to ſee a man of no name, proud of the meanneſs " of his birth, attempt to pull down the firſt families in Rome, and " confound them with Plebeians; and at this time I bore all the weight " of a great ſoul. I was young, and I reſolved to put myſelf in a con- " dition to call Marius to account for his inſults. For this end, I fought " him with his own weapons, that is to ſay, by victories over the enemies " of the Republic.

" When I was forced, by the caprice of chance, to leave Rome, I pur- " ſued the ſame plan: I went to make war on Mithridates; and laboured " to deſtroy Marius by vanquiſhing the enemy of Marius. While I left " that Roman to enjoy his power over the populace, I multiplied his mor- " tifications, and forced him to go every day to the Capitol to return thanks " to the Gods for ſucceſſes which drove him to diſtraction. I waged a war " of reputation againſt him, a hundred times more cruel than what my " legions made on the Barbarian king. Every word I ſpoke ſhewed my " daringneſs; and my moſt inconſiderable actions, always full of haughti- " neſs, were fatal preſages for Marius. At laſt Mithridates ſued for peace; " the terms were reaſonable; and had Rome been in quiet, and my for- " tune not ſtill wavering, I would have accepted them. But the bad ſtate " of my affairs obliged me to make the terms ſtill harder; I demanded

" that he ſhould deſtroy his fleet, and reſtore to the kings his neighbours " the territories he had taken from them. I leave you, ſaid I, the king- " dom of your anceſtors; to you, who ought to thank me that I leave " you the hand with which you ſigned an order for the execution of " 100,000 Romans in one day. Mithridates was ſtruck motionleſs, and " Marius trembled in the midſt of Rome.

" This boldneſs, which was of ſuch ſervice to me againſt Mithridates, " againſt Marius, againſt his ſon, againſt Theliſinus, againſt the people " which ſupported my dictatorſhip, alſo protected my life the day I re- " ſigned the dictature; and that day inſures my liberty for ever."

" My lord," ſaid I, " Marius reaſoned in the ſame manner when, " covered with the blood of his enemies and of the Romans, he gave " proofs of that boldneſs which you have puniſhed. You have, it is true, " a few more victories, and greater exceſſes on your ſide. But, in aſſum- " ing the dictatorſhip, you ſet an example of the crime which you pu- " niſhed. This is the example which will be followed; and not that of " your moderation, which will only be admired.

" When the Gods ſuffered Sylla with impunity to make himſelf Dicta- " tor at Rome, they proſcribed Liberty from it for ever. They muſt " work too many miracles now to root out of the heart of every Roman " leader the ambition of reigning. You have taught them, that there is " a much ſurer way to arrive at deſpotiſm, and to maintain it without " danger. You have divulged the fatal ſecret, and removed what alone " makes good citizens in a Republic too rich and too great, deſpair of " being able to oppreſs it."

He changed colour, and was ſilent for a moment. " I am only afraid," ſaid he, with emotion, " of one man, in whom I think I ſee many Marius's. " Chance, or perhaps a more powerful deſtiny, made me ſpare him. My " eyes are ever on him; I ſtudy his ſoul, where he hides deep purpoſes. " But if he dare to form the deſign of commanding men whom I have " made my equals, I ſwear by the Gods, I will puniſh his inſolence."

Observations on the Uſe of the Word Nummus in Plautus [a].

By Mr. CLARKE and Mr. BOWYER.

IN order to do juſtice to the point in queſtion, it cannot be improper to offer two or three preliminaries, which are on all ſides univerſally admitted.

1. That Plautus uſes the Greek way of computing money, by *mina*, *drachmae*, *oboli*; the ſums, diviſions, and valuations, are all Athenian. For he ſeems to lay down this as a rule,

" Hoc Poëtae faciunt in Comoediis,
" Omnes res geſtas eſſe Athenis autumant." Prol. Menaech.

2. *Nummus* was a word not known among the Athenians, but came to Rome from Sicily, and was uſed by the Romans as a term equivalent to the Greek νόμισμα, ſignifying *money* in general. And therefore, when *nummus* is uſed indefinitely in Plautus, and applied to either gold or ſilver, it is highly reaſonable to think, that it means the moſt uſual coin of either ſort, which was underſtood in common converſation, and by which ſums of money were computed at Athens. This is a very probable concluſion, and ſuch as ſhould not, without expreſs evidence, be over-ruled. Let us ſee what that evidence is in the caſe before us.

It is plain, that Plautus uſes *nummus* for the *aureus*, but then *Philippeus*, or *aureus*, is always firſt mentioned: Thus,

" Sunt tibi intus aurei
" Trecenti nummi Philippei." Poenulus, i. 1. 38.

And afterwards in the third Act,

" Hic trecentos nummos numeratos habet." iii. 2. 17.

Again,

" Quia centum nummis minus dicetur." iii. 4. 24.

But in both theſe places it means *aurum*; the ſenſe is determined by what goes before or follows: As in the firſt inſtance,

" Nos inſpicere oportet iſtoc aurum." iii. 2. 10.

In the laſt,

" Cum auri ducentis nummis Philippeis. iii. 4. 22.

[a] See Clarke on Coins, p. 196.

And

And ſo in many other places, where *aureis*, or *Philippeis*, is added, as,

" Qui mihi mille nummûm crederet
" Philippeûm." Trin. iv. 2. 112.

" Illo mille nummûm Philippo circumducere. Ibid. 117.

But *nummus* in Plautus generally means a ſilver coin; it is often ſo expreſſed, as,

" Tamen nunquam hinc feres Argenti nummum." Aſin. ii. 4. 80.
" Dividere Argenti dixit nummos in viros." Aulul. i. 2. 30.
" Locare Argenti nemini nummum queo." Moſtell. iii. 1. 4.
" Nummum nuſquam reperire Argenti queo." Pſeudol. i. 3. 95.

And where neither *aurum* nor *argentum* is mentioned, it means ſilver only; ſo in the Perſa,

" Ut mihi des nummos ſexcentos." Perſ. i. 1. 37.
" Ut nummos ſexcentos mihi
" Dares utendos mutuos." i. 3. 37.
" Nummi ſexcenti hîc erunt." iii. 3. 32.

And in the Rudens,

" Nummos trecentos—quadringentos—quingentos,
" Sexcentos—ſeptingentos—mille dabo nummos—
" Centum et mille." Rudens, v. 2. 36, &c.
" auctarium
" Adjicito, vel mille nummûm pluſquam poſcet." Merc. ii. 4. 23.

In all theſe places it is moſt probable, that the ſums mentioned are *drachmae*; becauſe Labrax advances juſt ſo many *nummi* every time as came to a *mina*: and it is very well known (as Dr. Taylor has ſhewn by ſeveral inſtances, *Marm. Sandvicen.* p. 29.) that the Greeks, when they ſaid, διακοσίας, τριακοσίας, τετρακοσίας, πεντακοσίας, χιλίας, τρισχιλίας, μυρίας, &c. without any addition, always meant δραχμὰς, becauſe this was *pervulgatiſſima nummi ſpecies*: the addition of *nummus* could make no difference in this caſe; a common audience would certainly underſtand all theſe ſums of *drachmae*, when the particular coin was not ſpecified. A comic writer would ſcarcely introduce a language entirely different from that univerſally received in the forms of doing buſineſs. Terence, who lived ſome years before Plautus died, never uſes *nummus* but in this ſenſe, as a *drachma* only.

But there is one paſſage in Plautus which ſeems to put this out of all doubt. The ancients, both Greeks and Romans, weighed every thing of value by the *drachma* weight: and therefore, when Plautus ſays,

" Inaureis da mihi
" Faciundas pondo duûm nummûm ſtalagmia." Menaech. iii. 3. 18.

the *nummus* here can mean nothing but a *drachma*. It would otherwiſe be unintelligible, and no direction to the goldſmith. This ſeems to admit of no other ſenſe. And all the other paſſages, where *nummus* is mentioned, fall in with this valuation, and have a greater force and clearneſs by admitting it; as,

" Nunquam hinc feres argenti nummum." Aſin. ii. 4. 80.
" Non eſt veriſimile, hominem pauperem
" Pauxillum parvi facere, quin nummum petat." Aul. i. 2. 34.
" Eum ſi reddes mihi, praeterea unum nummum ne duis."
Captiv. ii. 2. 81.
" Nummum nullum habes." Epid. iii. 1. 9.
" Ut uno nummo plus petas. Moſt. iii. 1. 123.
" Haud nummo amplius." Ibid. iii. 3. 16.
" Nummum nuſquam reperire argenti queo. Pſeud. i. 3. 65.

All theſe mean, not a ſingle croſs; and are conſequently applicable to that lower ſpecies of ſilver, which was then commonly uſed. Nobody would think that, when a man ſaid he had not a ſingle ſhilling in his pocket, he always meant he had not two.

But let us now conſider thoſe particular paſſages from whence ſuch great men as Salmaſius and Gronovius draw this concluſion, that *nummus* in Plautus always ſignifies a *didrachma*: and they are theſe three:

1. Pſeud. iii. 2. 20.

" Illi drachmis iiſſent miſeri; me nemo poteſt
" Minoris quiſquam nummo, ut ſurgam, ſubigere."

Hence, they ſay, it appears, that *nummus* in Plautus ſignifies a *didrachma*, becauſe the *nummus* ſeems to be of more value than the *drachma*, and, as there was no intermediate coin, probably twice that ſum. But the turn of this ſentence does not lye in the difference between *drachmis* and *nummus*, but between *iiſſent* and *ſurgam*. " Theſe fellows, ſays he, would have " tramped off with you for a *drachma*; but, for my part, I would not ſo " much as *ſtir off my ſeat* for a doit leſs." This, as it is moſt probably the true ſenſe, inſtead of ſhewing any difference, proves they were the ſame.

ſame. And here I ſhould be for reading from the authority of Lambin's MS. not, as he did, *drachmiſſent*, but *drachmâ iiſſent*. The other, *viz. drachmis iiſſent*, is more ambiguous, and does not expreſs ſo much contempt.

2. The next is, Trucul. ii. 7. 11.

" Nam jam de hoc obſo..io, de mina una deminui
" Modo quinque nummos : mihi detraxi partem herculaneam."

Here the *quinque nummos* and the *pars herculanea* are ſuppoſed to be the ſame thing; and, therefore, if *quinque nummi* were equal to the tenth part of a pound, each *nummus* muſt be a *diàrachma*. But what occaſion for this ſuppoſition? It is ſo far from being neceſſary, that it ſpoils all the ſpirit and humour of the paſſage, and makes a dull and uſeleſs tautology. It may be explained to more advantage very differently. " Out of this *mina* " (the ſum given for buying in proviſions for the family) I have already " guttled up five *drachmae*, and put twice as many into my pocket." This makes the ſpeech more in character, and the ſums different: *detraxi*, and *deminui*, do not ſeem to relate to the ſame thing.

3. The laſt is, Epid. i. 1. 52.

" Id adeo argentum, ab daniſta apud Thebas, ſumpſit foenore;
" In dies minaſque argenti ſingulas, nummis."—

Here Salmaſius ſays, that as the *foenus menſtruum* was two *drachmae* per month; ſo the *foenus diurnum* muſt be two *drachmae* a day: but why ſo? The *foenus menſtruum*, at two *drachmae* a month, came to twenty-four *per cent. per ann.* The *foenus diurnum*, at two *drachmae* a day, came to above ſeven times *cent. per cent.* Sure this is being a ſlave to an hypotheſis with a witneſs! Half that favour was ſufficient: above three times *cent. per cent.* in a year would be enough to ſatisfy the moſt execrable uſurer; and, I think, might be admitted as a proof on the other ſide, that *nummus* could not poſſibly be *more* than a *drachma*. The ſimilar uſage of *nummus* in Plautus and Terence, is no inconſiderable argument in favour of this opinion: they lived, almoſt at the ſame time, in the ſame country: the plan of their dramas were both Athenian, and muſt be ſuppoſed to allude to the ſame cuſtoms. From all this, I think, we may juſtly conclude, that *nummus* is never uſed in Plautus, but for the *aureus*, or the *drachma*, and has no other valuation whatſoever.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION on the ROMAN SESTERCE.

By Mr. CLARKE and Mr. BOWYER.

THOUGH the method by which the Romans expreſſed their ſums of money in SESTERCES has been often explained, yet it may not be amiſs to repeat it here, that the Reader may have a clearer apprehenſion of the terms made uſe of in the table [*a*]. Under this head I follow Gronovius, it being a province in which he muſt be allowed to reign without a rival; and I appeal to his authority with the greater pleaſure in the concluſion of this work, as I have differed from him ſo often in the former parts of it.

I. *Seſtertius*, in whatever caſe, gender, or number, it appears, is always an adjective. The Romans borrowed this mode of expreſſion from the Greeks; who *often* expreſſed a Fraction, not by adding it to the *Integer* preceding, but by deducting it from the *Integer* following; and denoted the Quantity of that Fraction, not by the Cardinal, but by the Ordinal Numeral; as, τρίτον ἡμιωβόλιον, τέμπτον ἡμιτάλαντον, &c. meaning *two oboli and a half*, *four talents and a half* [*b*]. Thus *Seſtertius* originally ſignified *the half third As*, or *two Aſſes and a half*, when the As was really a pound, and ſo it became the fourth part of the Roman Denarius, which was originally worth ten Aſſes; and always bore that proportion to the Denarius, till the Romans changed their nummulary language, and the Denarius itſelf ſunk into a braſs coin. But even then the original analogy of *Seſtertius* was preſerved; it was reckoned as the fourth part of this new *As* or *Denarius*, and was no more than a farthing.

[*a*] Mr. Smith's, corrected and enlarged. See Clarke on Coins, p. 518.

[*b*] Beſides this form of expreſſion, the Greeks uſed τὸ ἥμισυ, or, by contraction, ἡμι, as an *Integer* not fractioned, and ſaid τρία ἡμιωβέλια, *three half-oboli*, juſt as we ſay *three half-pence*, where the word *half-penny* is conſidered as an *Integer*, as being of one uniform claſs. Theſe two modes of expreſſion the great Maſter of Northern Languages has confounded, when he makes þreo healf and þriddе healf to ſignify the ſame thing. Gram. Anglo-Sax. c. vi. vol. I. p. 33. And If. Caſaubon himſelf, who, with great accuracy, pointed out the difference between the two forms, did not ſufficiently attend to it, when he interprets *quinus ſemipes* in Plin. N. H. xvii. 11. *i. e.* 2½ feet, to be the ſame with πεμπέλεθρον ἡμιπόδιον, or 4½ feet. He probably miſtook *quinus* for *quintus*, the cardinal for the ordinal number; for *quinus ſemipes*, in Greek, is τρίτον ἡμιπόδιον, not πέμπελον. In Theoph. Char. c. vi.

II. As far as a thouſand they uſed *Seſtertii* or *Nummi*, jointly or ſeparately, in the Maſculine, with a numeral *Adjective* in the ſame Gender and Caſe: As, *Duo* or *bini*, *viginti* or *bis deni*, *mille Seſtertii*, or *nummi*, or *Seſtertii nummi*, i. e. two, twenty, a thouſand Seſterces. This was ſo uniformly preſerved, that even the excurrent parts of a ſum under a thouſand, when ſubjoined to an *Integer* above a thouſand, were expreſſed in the Maſculine, though the *Integer* was in the Neuter: As, *Seſtertiûm viginti millia* QUADRINGENTI. Cic. ad Att. i. 7. which Manutius was not aware of, when he explains it *quadringenta*, in the Neuter.

For a thouſand Seſterces they uſed not only *mille Seſtertii*, as above, but *mille Seſtertiûm* or *mille nummûm*; which different conſtructions aroſe from *mille* being uſed either as a Subſtantive or Adjective; as they ſaid equally *mille paſſus*, or *mille drachmarum*. Ter. Heaut. III. iii. 40.

III. But all higher ſums, under a million, were expreſſed by *Seſtertia* [*c*] in the Neuter Plural, without *mille* or *millia*. If *millia* was added, *Seſtertia* was omitted, and *Seſtertiûm* (for *Seſtertiorum*) was ſubſtituted in its place, or was underſtood; as *Millia quinque rapit*, Mart. l. iii. 62. denoting five thouſand Seſterces; which might have been expreſſed by *quinque* or *quina Seſtertia*,—or *quinque millia Seſtertiûm*,—or *quinque millia nummûm*,—or *quinque millia Seſtertiûm nummûm*.

But not by *quinque mille Seſtertii*;—much leſs by *quinque millia Seſtertia*,—or *Seſtertia quinque millia nummûm*,—or *Seſtertii quinque millia*.—The firſt mode was rejected, becauſe though *mille Seſtertii* was uſed for a thouſand Seſterces, yet they left off there, as the ultimate limit of the Maſculine *centenary* Numeration. The Millenary numeration was by *Seſtertia*, ſcil. *pondera*. They could not add *millia* to *Seſtertia*, becauſe that Neuter plural, being always a Subſtantive, would require a Genitive caſe after it: For though MILLE *viginti quatuor paſſus* is XXIV. miles; MILLIA *viginti quatuor paſſuum* is XXIV thouſand miles, i. e. XXIV *mille paſſus*. Gron. ad Liv. Epit. LV.—The difficulties about the Roman way of expreſſing ſums of money are contained within theſe limits, between *mille Seſtertii* and *decies*, or between a thouſand and a million.

IV. The Romans reckoned by Decads, juſt as we do, till they came to ten hundred thouſand, or a million, for which, having no new term or

[*c*] The French writers in general call *Seſtertia* the *Great Seſterce*. I know not for what reaſon. In this, from an ill-placed complaiſance, they are followed by ſeveral of our countrymen; particularly by Mr. Gordon, in his tranſlation of Tacitus.

deno-

denomination, they multiplied their higheſt numeral term by the *Decad* ADVERB in *es*, and ſaid DECIES *centena millia*, or *Decies centena*; leaving *millia* to be underſtood; as *Decies centena dabuntur*, Juv. x. 335. which, when fully expreſſed, is *Decies centena millia Seſtertiûm nummûm*. But, to avoid this circumlocution by *Centena millia*, they had recourſe generally to a new term, and denoted this ſum by *Decies Seſtertium*; uſing *Seſtertium*, in all numerations from *Decies*, not as a Genitive plural, which it was in the inferior numerations, but as a Neuter ſingular, agreeing with *pondus argenti* underſtood.

That in this form it is a Neuter ſingular appears, 1. Becauſe *nummûm* is never added to it, with which it might agree, and therefore was probably not underſtood; for though they uſed *Decies centena millia Seſtertiûm nummûm*, they never ſaid *Decies Seſtertium* NUMMUM, or *Decies* NUMMUM. *Nummum* was excluded from the Adverbial Million claſs. 2. Becauſe *Decies*, *Vicies*, &c. *Seſtertium* is always joined with a Verb ſingular, and with an Adjective and Relative both ſingular and neuter: As, *Seſtertium ſexagies*, QUOD *advexerat Domitius*, ALLATUM *ad ſe Corſinienſibus reddit*. Caeſ. B. C. I. 23. *Huic Senatus decrevit Seſtertium centies quinquagies*—CUJUS *honore contentus fuit*. Plin. Ep. VII. 29. where ſee Caſaubon. 3. Becauſe it is uſed in the oblique caſes ſingular, where there can be no ſuſpicion of its being a plural: as, *In* SESTERTIO *vicies*, QUOD *a patre acceperat*, Corn. Nep. Attic. c. 14. *Sexagies* SESTERTIO,—*tricies* SESTERTIO, Val. Max. IX. c. 1. 4. *Accepto centies* SESTERTIO, Vell. Pat. l. ii. 48. and Tacitus, *diſpoſito per menſas millies* SESTERTIO, Ann. vi. c. 17. *Syngrapha* SESTERTII *centies*, Cic. in Philip. ii. *Libertinus* SESTERTII *ter millies poſſeſſor*, Tac. l. XII. To ſuppoſe with ſome, that, in theſe and many more inſtances, all the MSS. are corrupted, is begging the queſtion, againſt evidence; to ſay with others, that, in *accepto centies Seſtertium*, we muſt underſtand it in the Genitive, *centenorum millium nummorum pretio*, the queſtion ſtill remains, why they uſed the ſingular, not with the numeral *Adjective*, but with the Millionary *Adverb* only; why they never ſaid *accepto binûm*, *denûm*, *centenûm nummûm* [pretio]; but *accepto decies* [pondere]. *As* then in the firſt claſs, *pondera* in the ſecond, and *pondus* in the third, uniformly ſolve all the difficulties of conſtruction. This is a ſhort view of the whole; allowing for ſuch inconſiſtencies as incorrect paſſages may poſſibly occaſion. But ſee Gronovius more fully on this head, Pec. Vet. l. ii. c. 3, 4.

This

This Adverbial Decad form was regularly preſerved from *Decies*, *Vicies*, *Tricies*, &c. to *Centies*, which was ten times as much as *Decies*, or ten millions; and *Millies*, ten times as much as *Centies*, or an hundred millions. If a numeral Adverb of an inferior denomination is placed before one of a higher, the former becomes the multiplier of the latter; as, *bis decies* is two millions: But if it follows, or is diſtinguiſhed by the Copulative *et*, it denotes the number only of its ſpecific claſs; as, *decies bis*, or *bis et decies*, is one million two hundred thouſand Seſterces, as if it were, *Decies ſeſtertium et bis centena millia nummûm*. So *Decies millies* is a thouſand millions; but *Millies decies* only an hundred and one millions.

The different ways of writing theſe larger Sums in Roman *Numerals* is a point that does not ſeem to be ſufficiently explained.

REMARKS occaſioned by a Diſſertation on the GREEK and ROMAN Money, printed in 1772.

By Mr. BOWYER.

Originally printed as a Supplement to Mr. CLARKE's Book on Coins.

REGI CHRISTIANISSIMO

Guilielmus Bowyer, Typographus Anglicanus.

Judicium ut ſubeat magis æquum, candidiuſve,
Quî poni potuit commodiore loco?

ABOUT two or three years after this book was printed in England, a very reſpectable gentleman*, fellow of a very honourable Society, publiſhed, in the Tranſactions of that learned body, *An Inquiry into the Value of the Antient Greek and Roman Money*, without taking notice of the diſcoveries of this Author, which ſurely merited his attention at leaſt, if not his approbation. But, whether it was owing to his humanity, or to not having ſeen the book, I ſhall not enquire. As he has paſſed it over, however, in ſilence; I ſhall beg leave to call ſome things into queſtion which he has advanced, differing from Mr. Clarke, and deſire he would candidly give them a fair hearing.

* Matthew Raper, eſq. See the "Anecdotes of Mr. *Bowyer*," p. 444.

In Phil. Tranſ. vol. LXI. p. 518. the famous paſſage of Pliny, which has raiſed ſo many diſputes, Nat. Hiſt. l. xxxiii. § xiii. ed. Hard. that gentleman thus explains: "*Aureus nummus poſt annum* LXII *percuſſus eſt* "*quam argenteus, ita ut ſcrupulum valeret ſeſtertiis vicenis; quod effecit in* "*libras, ratione ſeſtertiorum qui tunc erant,* SESTERTIOS DCCCC. Now, if "the Scruple was valued at xx Seſterces, the pound, inſtead of being "worth DCCCC, muſt have been worth 5760 ſuch Seſterces: but if, for "SESTERTIOS 900, we read DENARIOS 900, the account will be clear and "intelligible. The words, *ratione ſeſtertiorum qui tunc erant,* imply, that "the Seſterce of that age was *different from the Seſterce of Pliny's time*; "but the quarter of the ſilver Denarius, or Nummus Seſtertius of four "*Aſſes,* was the ſame at both times: and we know of no *other* Seſterce "but the ancient one of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Aſſes*; which, multiplied by 288 (the num- "ber of Scruples in the Roman pound), give 14,400 *Aſſes* for the value "of the pound of gold: and, reckoning 16 *Aſſes* to the ſilver Denarius "(which it paſſed for at the time of this coinage), 14,400 *Aſſes* make "juſt 900 ſuch Denarii; which is Pliny's number."

The learned writer (I would obſerve) ſays, "The pound, inſtead of "being worth 900, muſt have been worth 5760 ſuch Seſterces." Pliny is not here relating what the pound was *worth*; but what the ſtate *gained* by it, *quod* [*ſcrupulum*] EFFECIT *in libras.* As in the Greek Teſtament, Mat. XXV. 16. ἐποίησεν ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα, LUCRATUS EST *alia quinque talenta,* Vulg. Lat. & Caſtel. where, in the next verſe, it is ἐκέρδησεν. What a pound [or 288 Scruples] of gold gained, is a different thing, in the changeable proportion of gold to ſilver, from what *a pound of Seſterces was worth.* Thus he miſtakes the object of Pliny's point in view; and then, as *error errorem parit,* perverts, I think, the whole ſenſe of the paſſage.

A. 547, the thirteenth year of the ſecond Punic war, Pliny tells us, the value of the Seſterce was changed, and gold was ſtruck, by which the ſtate gained ſo much; that is, by the Seſterces then in uſe, which continued the ſame till after Pliny's time; though this gentleman ſuppoſes they were different, and that the Seſterces *then,* and upon that occaſion, ſtruck, were thoſe worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Aſſes* each, againſt the expreſs authority of Pliny. Beſides, when he is ſpeaking of Seſterces, why ſhould he change to *Denarics,* which always bore an uniform proportion to the Seſterce? It would be

be as abſurd, as if, after ſaying the ſtate had gained a number of Engliſh Shillings, we ſhould expreſs the amount in Groats.

I would next obſerve, that *Denarios* muſt have been written at length, and could hardly be miſtaken for *Seſtertios:* and it is much more probable a tranſcriber ſhould miſtake in numerals than in words; as particularly this very number II. has been ſo [*a*] often changed to a V, that it ſeems to have been the peculiar hand-writing of the MSS. See a diſcourſe of Vignoles, Maſſon, Hiſt. Crit. vol. XI. p. 44, 45. where a paſſage of Pliny [Nat. Hiſt. II. 13.] is expreſsly mentioned, in which XV. has been corrupted to XII. which is much more probable to be the caſe in the paſſage now before us.

To throw a further light on this ſubject, I ſhall give the whole of the argument, as ſtated by another writer, and printed in the *Gent. Mag.* for Sept. 1754; and will then ſubjoin, from Mr. Clarke, with whom I was at that time engaged in enquiries of this nature, what I preſume is an eaſier and more probable interpretation.

" The difficulty has been, to make out how one Scruple of gold " ſhould be equivalent to 20 Seſterces of ſilver; and 288 Scruples, " which make one pound, ſhould be *worth* no more than 900 Seſterces; " for the product of 288, multiplied by 20, is 5760, widely different " from 900.

" But Pliny, having ſet about to aſcertain the values of the ſeveral " ſorts of money that had been current at Rome, firſt diſtinguiſhed them " into braſs, ſilver, and gold coins, then noted the time that each was " firſt introduced, and next particularized their ſpecies and original va- " lues. After this, he ſpeaks of the increaſed values ſet upon them, for " ſome reaſons of ſtate; and, laſtly, counts the profits which thus accrued " to the public treaſury.

" As for the braſs money, he ſays, that it was firſt coined by Servius " Tullius, the 6th king of the Romans. The weight of the *As* was one " entire pound of braſs; and that of the other ſpecies in proportion. " This continued till the firſt Punic war. The treaſury being then unable " to furniſh the expences of the war, it was judged expedient to cry " down the old money, and to coin pieces conſiderably leſs. So that, out

[*a*] In Cic. Catil. I. c. 7. And in a MS. of Virgil in the Vatican Library frequently.

" of one *As*, or one pound of braſs, were made ſix *Aſſes*; and out of " every one the public gained five. *Ita quinque partes factae ſunt lucri.*

" The firſt *ſilver* coined at Rome was in the 485th year after the foun- " dation of the city, in the conſulate of Q. Ogulnius and C. Fabius " Pictor. There are coins in being of Fabius, with this legend on one " ſide, C. FABI. C. F. and, on the other, EX. A. PV. that is, EX " ARGENTO PVBLICO. There have been alſo, though rarely, found " *Denarii*, *Quinarii*, and *Seſtertii*, which are the different ſpecies of ſilver. " The *Denarius* was worth ten Roman pennies; the *Quinarius*, five; the " *Seſtertius*, two and a half. Some time after, when Hannibal advanced " towards Rome, Q. Fabius Maximus being Dictator, in the year 537, " the value of the *Denarius* was raiſed to 16 pennies; the *Quinarius*, to " eight; and the *Seſtertius* to four. The braſs monies were raiſed at the " ſame time; and, ſix having before been made out of a pound, they " now made 12; by which the republic gained one half. *Ita reſp. dimi-* " *dium lucrata eſt.* And ſuch was the profit which, according to Pliny, " accrued to the ſtate. It did not ariſe *ſolely* out of the braſs money, as " Budaeus and others have fancied. Otherwiſe this reflexion, which Pliny " makes immediately after mentioning the raiſing the ſilver money, would " be unnatural and out of place. But it was out of the braſs and ſilver " *together* that the ſtate gained one half. So when of ten *Aſſes*, which " weighed each two ounces, they made 20 of one ounce, and, at the " ſame time, the *Denarius* was taxed at 16 pennies, they gave at the " mint, for the *Denarius* of the antient coinage, 16 of the new *Aſſes*; and " there remained four for profit to the public treaſury, with the ſix " pennies, or ſix *Aſſes*, which the ſilver *Denarius* was then worth more " than it went at before. This made ten pennies, that is, the half, or " once as many pennies, as ten *Aſſes*, of two ounces each, were worth; " and this is the half which the republic gained.—Thus the difficulty is " ſolved; and there appears no reaſon to accuſe the copyiſts of altering " and corrupting the whole paſſage, as ſeveral have too raſhly done.

" As to the gold, *Pliny* leaves the time when it was firſt coined uncer- " tain. *Proximum ſcelus fecit*, ſays he in the ſame chapter, *qui primus ex* " *auro denarium ſignificavit*; *quod et ipſum latet*, *auctore incerto*. *Livy*, 'tis " true, ſays, that gold was coined at Rome in the year 543.

" After this 62d year which Pliny mentions, being the year of Rome " 547, and the thirteenth of the ſecond Punic war, as there was a " neceſſity

" neceſſity of augmenting the public treaſury, gold was ſet at a very high " rate in a new coinage, as braſs and ſilver had been before. This is the " extraordinary and tranſient, or occaſional money, which Pliny ſpeaks of " in the famous paſſage cited above, and of which this is the natural " reading and meaning: *Aureus nummus poſt annum* LXII *percuſſus eſt quam* " *argenteus*; *ita ut ſcrupulum valeret ſeſtertiis vicenis*; *quod effecit, ratione* " *ſeſtertiorum qui tunc erant, ſeſtertios* DCCCC. In Engliſh, LXII years after " the firſt coining of ſilver, there was a coinage of gold; and it was or- " dained, that each Scruple of that money ſhould be valued at twenty " Seſterces of ſilver [which was before at XV HSS.]; ſo that the republic " *gained* 900 of the *then* current Seſterces on every pound of gold," [*i. e.* 1440 of the preſent HSS.; for 900 is to 1440 as $2\frac{1}{2}$ is to 4: this writer falling into the ſame miſtake with the other gentleman, of ſuppoſing the Seſterce to be different from that of Pliny's time.]

" This rendering is not only conſonant to Pliny's meaning, but to " truth, and is confirmed by two fine gold medals, now in the poſſeſſion " of Sir J. A. bart. ſome centuries older than the firſt period of the Ro- " man emperors. The firſt, fig. 6, weighs only 21 grains; which is the " exact weight of the ancient Scruple. On one ſide is repreſented an " eagle, with this inſcription, ROMA, in the exergue; on the other, a " head of Mars, with theſe two letters behind it, XX, ſignifying the " value of the piece, 20 *Seſterces*. The other medal, fig. 7, is of the " ſame age, and weighs 63 grains, being conſequently three times the " value of the former; and ſo, inſtead of the two XX, has one X and a " V behind the head, denoting 15 *ſilver Denarii*; as the other was worth " only five *ſilver Denarii*: it has the ſame figures and legend as the firſt. " Here is a very authentic teſtimony of the truth of what Pliny relates. " And the coin is, in all probability, the very ſame he there ſpeaks of, " whoſe Scruple was equal to 20 Seſterces, and its Denarius equal to 15 " ſilver Denarii."

The following arguments of Mr. Clarke (p. 386 & ſeq.) will, I doubt not, be of ſufficient weight to prove there is an error in Pliny.

" What the neceſſary emendation ſhould be is, I think, evident enough " from the premiſes we are poſſeſſed of. Let us ſee what they are, and " what the concluſion is that ariſes from them.

" Firſt of all, Pliny tells us, that, when gold was firſt coined at Rome, " one Scruple of gold paſſed for 20 Seſterces. And, 2dly, it is well

" known,

" known, that the number of Scruples in the Roman pound was always " 288. Hence it follows, that a pound of gold, or 288 Scruples, were " then current for 20 times as many Seſterces, i. e. for 5760. So far all " is clear. The next point is, how many Seſterces were then in a pound " of ſilver. If there were 84 Denarii in the pound, as there certainly " were till after the Conſular times, there muſt be 4 times as many Seſ- " terces, or 336. Let us now take the exchange between gold and ſilver, " as it was then in Greece, and ſoon afterwards at Rome; which was ten " to one: ten times 336 Seſterces are 3360; deduct this ſum from 5760, " the number which a pound of gold then paſſed for at Rome, and the " remainder is 2400. This therefore was the advantage which the repub- " lic made in circulating their firſt gold coins. They had gained five " parts in ſix, not long before, by the firſt reduction of the *Aſſes*; and " then one half more at the ſecond reduction; and now ſoon afterwards " ſeventy *per cent.* by the firſt circulation of their gold coins, or the dif- " ference between an exchange at ten to one, and $17\frac{1}{7}$ to one. Thus the " account ſtands. And I ſee no reaſon to queſtion, but that this ſhould " be the true reading in Pliny: *quod effecit, ratione ſeſtertiorum qui tunc* " *erant, ſeſtertios* $\overline{\text{II}}$CCCC [*lucrum reipublicae*]. The numerals are not very " different from the former; the four laſt exactly the ſame. The duo " millia in this form $\overline{\text{II}}$, with the line over them, by a careleſs or ignorant " tranſcriber, not knowing what it meant, were eaſily turned into a D; or, " thinking the ſum exceſſive, he might, out of pure judgement, indulge " himſelf in the liberty of correcting it. There is no correcting nume- " rals, but upon the principles by which they were formed. When we " have a given quantity, from which a known proportion muſt be de- " ducted, we need not ſcruple to ſay what the remainder ought to be: " the work is eaſy; it proves itſelf; we cannot be miſtaken.

" It muſt, however, be allowed, that Harduin has given a very ſpecious " ſolution of this difficulty, approved by ſo conſiderable a judge as " Gravius, which therefore ought not to be rejected without being exa- " mined. He produces two gold coins from the king of France's cabinet, " as an evidence of this exchange. One of them, ſuppoſed to weigh " exactly the Roman Scruple, has a Mars galeatus on one ſide, with theſe " two numerals, XX, behind the head: on the reverſe, an eagle, charged " with thunder, and in the exergue, ROMA, without any other legend.

" The

" The other coin, weighing juſt thrice as much, has the ſame impreſs on " each ſide, only the numerals behind the head are VX.

" Suppoſing theſe coins genuine, and that the numerals expreſs their " value according to Harduin's interpretation, viz. the XX ſignifying 20 " Seſterces, and the VX, 15 Denarii, juſt three times as much, which is " making two great conceſſions; yet what is it that theſe coins really " prove? Nothing more than what is allowed on all hands, that a Scruple " of gold then paſſed for 20 Seſterces; but nothing at all in favour of the " preſent numerals in Pliny, the only point in diſpute. But there is great " reaſon to believe, that the coins themſelves are ſpurious. Morell, who " could be no ſtranger to them, as being in the king of France's col- " lection, and produced before his time by Savot, takes no notice of " them among his Conſular coins, though he exhibits even thoſe *dubiae* " *fidei*. Gold was not coined at Rome till A. U. 547, the very year that " Scipio had driven Aſdrubal out of Spain, and entirely reduced that " kingdom to a Roman province. At ſuch a juncture, the praetors, or " whoever then had the direction of ſtriking theſe coins, would not have " ſuffered them to be ſtruck without recording ſome of the glorious events " of that year. This was agreeable to the taſte and ſpirit of the age, as " appears in the *Cornelian*, *Caecilian*, and *Afranian* coins. But here the " artiſt durſt not hazard the credit of his work. He knew not who were " the praetors, or mint-maſters, of that year: a legend was a dangerous " thing, it might have diſcovered the fraud. Beſides, I believe there is " no ſuch impreſs as a Mars galateus on any of the Conſular coins; there " is certainly none in all Morell's collection. Roma galatea was then the " favourite device: the other is more ſuitable to the Imperial than the Con- " ſular coins; and there we find it. Their exact agreement in weight, and " their entire preſervation, furniſh other objections. It is not very credible, " that two coins, ſtruck almoſt 2000 years ago, ſhould not have the leaſt dif- " ference in their proportional weight, not even half a grain. Beſides, the " weight of them is ſo different from the proportion of the Conſular Aurei, " that they are not aliquot parts of their gold coins. But let the coins be " what they will, is there any authority for reading the numerals on one " coin, Seſterces, and on the other, Denarii? Or is there any inſtance, " where the figures VX ſignify XV in the Roman arithmetick? It is con- " trary to the very principles of their numeration: and, upon the whole, " theſe coins have all the appearance of fraud.

" But ſtill, if we ſuppoſe them genuine, they are of no uſe in ſupport-
" ing Harduin's reaſons for eſtabliſhing the authority of the preſent read-
" ing. Theſe are two; but neither of them appears to have the leaſt
" ſolidity. Firſt, he concludes, that Pliny applies this obſervation to the
" old Seſterces, viz. when ten *Aſſes* made a *Denarius*. But this is abſo-
" lutely contrary to Pliny's own account: the *Denarius* paſſed for 16 *Aſſes*
" ſome years before they coined any gold at Rome: Pliny expreſsly ſays,
" the *Seſterces* that *were then in uſe*; and therefore the proportion of two
" and a half to four, or of 900 to 1440, [which the two other gentlemen
" have ſuppoſed, p. 553. and p. 557.] is foreign to the purpoſe, and not
" to be admitted in this computation. Secondly, to come at this propor-
" tion, he begs the queſtion, and eſtabliſhes ſuch an exchange as was
" never known at Rome, viz. fifteen to one; and therefore cannot paſs in
" this account: the preſent reading is not to be ſupported by ſuch reaſons
" as theſe; it is quite indefenſible, and muſt be given up."

The laſt paradox, Phil. Tranſ. vol. LXI. p. 535. that *the Libra, which weighed but* 84 *Denarii when Livy wrote, ſhould be valued at* 100, though thought ſo by Salmaſius, Gronovius, Smith, and others, is ſolved by the practice of all nations; which Mr. Clarke has illuſtrated, p. 148.

" This difficulty is *eaſily* removed, and not peculiar either to the Greek
" or Roman ways of reckoning; for the difference between the pound in
" tale and in weight has continued in ſome form or other, either by in-
" creaſe or diminution, from Solon down to the preſent time. It was
" begun and altered juſt as the convenience of public buſineſs, the real
" exigence of ſtates, or the ſeeming intereſt of princes, directed and re-
" quired. The Greek and Roman pounds in tale were, in the earlier ages,
" much heavier than the real pound uſed at the mint; by degrees they
" became ſomething leſs; an *incrementum* was required. Our pound in
" tale is a mere nominal thing, very little more than a third of the ori-
" ginal and real pound."

Again, p. 88, 89. " The pound of 18 ounces, or the difference be-
" tween the two commercial pounds of 16 and 18 ounces, is *eaſily* ac-
" counted for: it is the very ſame that now ſubſiſts in our Averdupois
" weight. The Averdupois pound is only 16 ounces, the current com-
" mercial pound; but the hundred, by which the cuſtoms are rated, and
" the tradeſmen buy their goods, is 112 of theſe pounds, or, what amounts

" to

" to the ſame thing, a pound of 18 ounces, or CXII to the hundred." And ſee pp. 96. 395. 87. 495, 496.

I ſhall omit any further enquiry into the differences between this ingenious writer and Mr. Clarke; but have gone thus far, deſigning only to mention the paſſage of Pliny, which was never underſtood before, and which Mr. Clarke ſeems to have taken a particular pleaſure in diſcovering; as appears from his letter to me, which I hope I may be indulged the vanity of inſerting here:

" DEAR SIR, *Chicheſter, Dec.* 16, 1761.

" I thank you for finding time and inclination to read over the papers I " ſent you; and am much obliged to you for all the corrections and re- " marks you have made upon them: I approve them all. I was pleaſed " to find Harduin's ſhadowy ſolution of the difficulty in Pliny diſappear, " as ſoon as you examined it. Your objections are unanſwerable. The " exchange between gold and ſilver was not, that I know of, eſtimated in " braſs. The Denarius paſſed for XVI *Aſſes* ſome years before the Romans " coined any gold at all; and therefore the queſtion has nothing to do " with the relation of 900 to 1440. The Seſterces, at the time gold " was firſt coined, whether in braſs or ſilver, were juſt in the ſame pro- " portion in their currency as they were long afterwards. Pliny's words " ſeem to imply this: *Seſtertiorum qui tunc erant* (i. e. *in uſu*). Had he " meant a different ſort of Seſterces, he had moſt probably ſaid *quales*, and " not *qui*. I wonder therefore how it has happened, that the expreſſion " has been ſo often, if not always, underſtood in ſuch a manner as to " imply ſome difference, &c."

Upon a Review of the argument, I find three ways before us of removing the difficulty. 1. That which Father Harduin advanced, that the STATE, by coining gold, GAINED 900 LL.S. which had been THEN current for ten years at 4 *Aſſes*, which were 1440 ſuch Seſterces as went before for $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Aſſes*: that theſe Seſterces were always meant in rating the value of any thing, *quorum ſeſtertiorum haberi ratio ſolet in quovis pretio indicando* [*b*]. So that the proportion of gold to ſilver was then as 15 to 1.

[*b*] P. 556, 557, ed. 4to.

2. The gentleman above, computing what a POUND of the new coinage WAS WORTH, not what the STATE GAINED by a Pound, ſuppoſes it to be 900 *Denarii* of 16 *Aſſes*, i. e. 14,400 *Aſſes*; which, divided by 288, the number of Scruples in a Roman Pound, make 50 *Aſſes*, or 20 of the old Seſterces of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Aſſes*, in a ſcruple; and ſo fixes the proportion of gold to ſilver as $10\frac{5}{7}$ to 1.

That "when the Denarius was made to paſs for 16 *Aſſes*, the Romans "continued to reckon $2\frac{1}{2}$ to the Seſterce," I muſt own, I was not aware of; and I now underſtand what the gentleman has advanced, Ph. Tr. p. 524. But how ſhall we reconcile the Roman hiſtorians with the Greek, who reckoned the Roman ſums, expreſſed by Seſterces, in Drachms of 16 *Aſſes* each [*c*]? And is not the conjecture, formed by the *uniform variation* from Pliny's MSS. of more weight than the other conjectures, ſupported by no precedent?

3. Mr. Clarke, at the current price of the LL.S. at the time, makes THE STATE TO GAIN 2400 Seſterces, in the Pound of 5760; or the difference between an exchange at 10 to 1, and at $17\frac{1}{7}$ to 1.

I have before cited many MSS. in which a ſimilar miſtake is found, of $\overline{\text{II}}$ changed to another number, as Mr. Clarke ſuppoſes here; and I beg leave to mention one more. In Livy, l. xxxiv. 52, III FERE DENARIORUM *in ſingulis argenti pondus* ſhould probably be IIII *fere denariorum*; where *fere* does not ſignify, as Mr. Crevier ſays, *pene*, or *propemodum*, *almoſt*; but *plerumque*, *for the moſt part*, *in general*. The *Denarius* and *Drachma* were coins of nearly equal worth, by the teſtimony of the ſame Livy, l. xxxiv. 50, where πενταϰοσίους δραχμὰς of Polybius he tranſlates *quingenos denarios*.

[*c*] See Perizonius, Diſſertationum Trias, Diſſ ii. p. 144, 169, 171. Taylor, Marmor Sandvicenſe, p. 29, 30. And Plutarch expreſsly, in Antonio, p. 69, ed. Bryant.

DIS-

DISCOURSE* on the COMMERCE of the ROMANS.

Probably by Mr. CLARKE or Mr. BOWYER.

BY the Roman law, whoſoever lent money to repair or rebuild a houſe in the city of Rome, had, without any farther agreement, a tacit pledge or mortgage *(jus tacitae Hypothecae)* of ſuch houſe [*a*]: ſo as to be preferred to other creditors [*b*]. And this is ſaid to be enacted for the *public utility*, that the aſpect of the city might not be deformed by ruins; for the Romans with incredible pains and care promoted the ſplendour, ornament, and magnificence of their city; and to this end many laws were made by the *Decemviri*, the emperours Auguſtus, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus, and that remarkable law of Veſpaſian's, mentioned by Suetonius, in his life of that emperor [*c*], by which it was lawful for any one to "build up all "empty ſhells of houſes, and enjoy them as his own, if the owners of "them left them unfiniſhed."

Moſt interpreters of the civil law are of opinion, that the ſame law obtained in favour of commerce, and that ſhips, built or refitted with money lent, were tacitly pledged or mortgaged to the lender. But, with great deference to learned names, I believe the contrary may be proved to be true, and beg leave to obſerve, that ſuch a law would moſt certainly be prejudicial to navigation; for ſo it might often happen that ſhips would be detained by creditors, and commerce hindered. Conſtantine the emperor, in three conſtitutions, which are extant in the Theodoſian code, forbids the detaining or damaging of ſhips, ſo as to prevent or retard their voyage, on any pretence whatſoever [*d*]. And it was wiſely provided by the laws of Athens, that all law-ſuits relating to commerce ſhould be carried on in thoſe ſix months only in which ſhips were not uſed to put to ſea, that ſo they might not loſe their voyage by the impediments of law-proceſſes; huſbandry-tools, and inſtruments likewiſe, were forbidden to be pledged, and whoſoever detained them on any pretence was fined four-

* Originally printed in "Elements of the Civil Law," by the late learned Chancellor Taylor, who calls it "a curious diſcourſe by a very good hand;" and adds, "which my "reader will perceive, without my information, to be the beſt thing in this performance."

[*a*] D. 20. 2. 1. [*b*] D. 20. 4. 5. l. 6. eod. [*c*] § 8. [*d*] Tit. de Naviculariis.

fold the value of them, leſt by ſuch detention the lands ſhould lie uncultivated.

It is moſt certain that the Romans did not take the ſame care of ſhips as they did of houſes, ſince they appointed particular officers called Aediles, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſee that the buildings of the city were kept in good repair: but where do we find that they ever appointed any magiſtrate, whoſe particular buſineſs was to inſpect the affairs of navigation? Not one law was made in favour of commerce, in the times of the Commonwealth: on the contrary, it was greatly diſcouraged, as introductory of riches and luxury, which were eſteemed to ill ſuit with the ſeverity of their manners.

Livy [*e*] and Cicero [*f*] inform us, that in the year of Rome 535, a law was made, that no ſenator, or the father of a ſenator, ſhould have any ſhip above the burden of 300 Amphorae (a ſhip of that ſize was held to be large enough to carry all his own corn and fruit); and all *gain* was held ſcandalous in a ſenator. This law was confirmed by Julius Caeſar, when he was dictator [*g*]. The Thebans alſo made a law, that no perſon ſhould be capable of any office in the ſtate, unleſs he had deſiſted for the ſpace of ten years from all trade. The Romans went ſtill farther, when they abſolutely "forbid all merchandizing to the nobility [*h*]." Nay ſometimes merchants themſelves were compelled to refrain from trade by way of puniſhment, though no man could be compelled to be a merchant [*i*]. Moreover the Romans were prohibited to trade beyond Niſibis, Callinicus, and Artaxata [*k*]. And confiſcation of goods, and perpetual exile, was the puniſhment of the offenders [*l*].

It may be aſked, why ſo many laws againſt trade? I anſwer, becauſe it was ſo far from being ſerviceable, that it was prejudicial to the Roman ſtate. This will ſeem very ſtrange to the inhabitants of this iſland, who every day find the benefit and advantage of commerce. It is expreſsly ſaid [*m*], "that merchandizing is pernicious to cities." The reaſon of this will appear hereafter.

Commerce may be advantageous to a ſtate for divers reaſons. Plutarch ſays, it is of ſervice in gaining the friendſhip of princes, and the good-will of foreign ſtates; beſides, it increaſes the public cuſtoms, and revenues of a ſtate; and the more merchants flock to any city, the greater tribute and

[*e*] XXI. 63. [*f*] Verr. VII. 18. [*g*] D. 50. 5. 3. [*h*] C. 4. 63. 3.
[*i*] D. 48. 19. 9. [*k*] C. 4. 63. 4. [*l*] l. ult. eod. [*m*] l. 3. eod.

gain

gain is acquired, as Xenophon expreſſes it in the beginning of his book "de Reditibus." And laſtly, hence proceeds plenty, and affluence of riches, and the multitude of people in a ſtate. Diodorus Siculus [*n*] tells us, that Themiſtocles perſuaded the people of Athens to build 20 new ſhips every year, and to grant privileges and immunities to artificers, that ſo the number of inhabitants might be increaſed, and variety of arts be introduced, for he looked upon both theſe as conducive towards eſtabliſhing a power at ſea.

But the Romans went another way to work. They, by Humanity, Terrour, Triumphs, Tributes, and Taxes, impoſed on the conquered countries, increaſed the riches of their city. They drew all nations to Rome by the Splendour of their Buildings, and the Magnificence of their Public Games and Spectacles, and the Freedom of the City, which they granted to ſtrangers. And ſuch was the vaſt concourſe of people to Rome, that they ſent above 160 colonies into Italy alone:

"Jampridem Syrus in Tyberim defluxit Orontes [*o*]."

It would be very idle to cite paſſages from ancient writers to prove that the Romans were an immenſely rich people. It is a well-known ſaying of Craſſus, that "no man ought to be eſteemed rich that could not main-"tain an army out of his own revenue:" but ſo far was commerce from adding to their riches, that it greatly diminiſhed them.

Pliny gives a remarkable inſtance of this [*p*], where he complains that the Indies and Arabia took away every year from the Roman empire near 30,000,000*l.* ſterling of our money [Qu. not half a million?]. Add to this the great ſums of money ſent to ſo many other provinces, from whence the Romans had "in exchange the moſt delicate things that could in any ways "contribute to luxury," according to Sidonius Apollinaris [*q*]. For all theſe things they paid ſilver and gold, having *nothing* of the product of their own country to *exchange for merchandizes*. Hence it was that the emperours forbad the people to ſend gold to the barbarians [*r*]; which law was in force before, as appears from Cicero's Oration for L. Flaccus [*s*]: *Exportari aurum non oportere, cum ſaepe antea ſenatus, tum me conſule, graviſſime judicavit.* The reaſon of this diſcouragement given to commerce was, that *it carried away* their money, and *brought them nothing in return but luxury*, the bane of virtue and deſtruction of empire. I need not ob-

[*n*] XI. 43. [*o*] Juvenal. III. 62. [*p*] VI. 23.
[*q*] Carm. V. 42. [*r*] C. 4. 63. 2. [*s*] § 28.

ſerve

ſerve that, after the conqueſt of Aſia, all ſorts of luxury were introduced into Rome, and utterly enervated and overturned an empire, which ſeemed to be eternal.

" Saevior armis
" Luxuria incubuit; victumque ulciſcitur orbem [*t*]."

I expect it will be objected that many paſſages of the Roman law, and of the antient writers, ſeem to contradict what is here advanced. We read in Suetonius [*u*], that the emperour granted great privileges and immunities to ſhipbuilders and merchants, particularly that if any trading ſhips were caſt away, or damaged by ſtorms, the ſtate ſhould bear the loſs. We alſo find in Tacitus [*x*] mention made of a conſtitution of Nero's, that the ſhips of merchants ſhould not be entered in the books of rates, nor any cuſtoms paid for them. Lampridius, in the life of Alexander Severus, tells us, that emperour granted to merchants divers immunities. And Ulpian [*y*], ſpeaking of a certain privilege granted to merchants, gives this general reaſon, becauſe " Navigation is of the greateſt advantage to the " ſtate."

In anſwer to this I obſerve, that all theſe paſſages relate to corn-merchants, who imported proviſions in their own ſhips for the uſe of the city.

Claudius gave great and certain advantages to merchants for this reaſon: that once, in a time of great ſcarcity of proviſions, he was ſtopt in the Forum by the populace, and ſo diſagreeably entertained with ſcandal and cruſts of bread, that he with great difficulty got out of their clutches by a back-door; and from that time he made it his great care and concern to get corn imported even in the winter. The ſame Claudius granted the freedom of the city to him that built a ſhip capable of 10,000 *modii* of bread-corn, and had applied it to that ſervice for ſix years, as Ulpian informs us [*z*]. And to this may be referred the *ſenatus conſultum* produced in the Digeſt [*a*].

It is ſaid that Nero granted privileges and immunities to merchants and traders: but what ſort of merchants and traders they were, Scaevola [*b*] informs us, *viz.* ſuch as built ſhips for the importation of corn, capable of 50,000 *modii*. So long as they were employed in that ſervice, or others in their room, *ſuch perſons were exempted from public offices*. It is certain

[*t*] Juven. VI. Sat. 292. [*u*] Claud. § 18. [*x*] XIII. Annal. 5. 1.
[*y*] D. 14. 1. 1. 20. [*z*] Tit. III. 6. [*a*] D. 47. 9. 3. 8. [*b*] D. 50. 5. 3.

that

that this privilege granted by Nero extended to none but the traders for corn, as appears from Tacitus [c].

The occaſion of this conſtitution we learn from Suetonius [d], where he ſays the populace were highly incenſed againſt that emperour, becauſe, in a time of great ſcarcity, a ſhip from Alexandria, inſtead of *corn* was ſaid to have brought nothing but a cargo of *duſt* for the court-wreſtlers.

The ſame may be ſaid of the immunities granted by Alexander Severus. They extended only to corn-merchants, as appears from Calliſtratus [e], who lived in that emperour's time, and Paulus [f], to whoſe counſel Severus paid a very great regard, and from Ulpian [g], who was in good repute with that emperour. Theſe corn traders were likewiſe a corporation, which enjoyed many privileges and immunities [h], which to entitle themſelves to, they were obliged either to navigate ſhips in perſon, or to employ the greateſt part of their ſubſtance in the corn trade.

The ſame immunities were granted to the ſame ſort of people by the emperour Conſtantine, as appears from a whole title of the Theodoſian code [i]. This law ſeems to have been made, that the city of Conſtantinople, which Conſtantine had built about *four* years before, might be the more readily ſupplied with proviſions.

From what has been ſaid it appears that theſe privileges were granted in favour of the corn trade, and extended no farther. But it may be aſked, why ſo many proviſions made, and encouragements given, for the importation of corn? I anſwer, the Roman territory did not produce ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of ſo great a number of inhabitants, for which reaſon it was imported from Sardinia, Sicily, Africa, and Spain [k]. At firſt the Aediles diſtributed corn at a very low price, in proceſs of time *gratis*. Clodius was the author of a law by which corn was to be diſtributed to the people *gratis*; nor was the expence of it ſmall. Plutarch tells us, that in Cato's time there were ſpent in that commodity 1250 talents. Julius Caeſar, after the conqueſt of Africa, imported 1,200,000 buſhels for the uſe of the people. A buſhel weighed ordinarily about 25 pounds. P. Victor relates that Auguſtus imported yearly from Aegypt 20 000,000 buſhels; double the quantity was ſent from Africa, as Joſephus informs us. In the times of the emperour Juſtinian, 8,000,000 buſhels were carried

[c] XIII. Annal. 51. [d] Ner. § 45. [e] D. 50. 6. 5. 3. [f] D. 50. 5. 9. 1.
[g] D. 14. 1. 1. [h] D. 3. 4. 1. [i] de Naviculariis.
[k] Tacit. XII. Annal. Plin. Paneg.

from Aegypt to Conſtantinople [*l*]. Of ſo great concern was the proviſion of bread-corn, that Auguſtus, finding in the granaries but enough for three days, determined to kill himſelf by poiſon, had not the corn fleets arrived from the provinces within that ſpace of time.

I have but little to ſubjoin to theſe juſt reflections, which I have here preſented to the public for the firſt time. I would only add, that every branch of the Roman hiſtory and character juſtifies the truth of theſe obſervations. A people of ſoldiers, whoſe trade was their ſword, and whoſe ſword ſupplied all the advantages of trade; who brought the treaſures of the world into their own exchequer, without exporting any thing but their own perſonal bravery; who raiſed the public revenues, not by the culture of Italy, but by the tributes of provinces; who had Rome for their Manſion, and the world for their Farm; a people, I ſay, of this diſcipline and conſtitution, could have no leiſure to ſet forwards the article of merchandize, nor were they very likely to pay any regard to the character of its profeſſors. And we find juſt reaſon to make that concluſion, not only from the genius of the people themſelves, and the national characteriſtic; but alſo from the frequent expreſſions, which have eſcaped ſeveral of their writers; and from that apprehenſion of the matter, which is to be gathered from ſome of their public conſtitutions. Dr. TAYLOR, p. 501.

[*l*] Edict. Juſtin. XIII. 8.

NOTES

NOTES on Dr. MIDDLETON'S LIFE of CICERO.

By Mr. B O W Y E R.

AS Cenſure is a Tax paid by Great Writers to Little, I deſire theſe Strictures may be looked upon, not ſo much a proof of my detraction from Dr. Middleton's merit, as a teſtimony of my homage to it. I ſhall ſometimes make his inquiries only an introduction to new ones; and if I am for placing his in a different point of light, I would propoſe to do ſo from the ſame principle which I ſuppoſe actuated him, a ſincere deſire after truth. But at the ſame time that I allow this to have been his firſt motive in writing, I cannot allow he always kept that motive in his ſight. His heart was never open to the glory of retracting. It is the common fault of all the Literati, that Truth is a game which they never value unleſs of their own ſpringing. If they loſe ſight of it in the ſmoke they have raiſed, they think preſently they have made it their own, and will allow no one to have a right to a ſingle feather. Let others detect them in an error, they will wind and turn a thouſand ways that you may not lay hold of it.

Among the many excellencies in Dr. Middleton's writings I can eaſily pardon a few inaccuracies; and, to confeſs a truth which I ought perhaps to conceal from my readers, I point out ſome errors, not out of diſguſt to him, but to their ſupineneſs who overlook them. The world has got ſuch an appetite for reading, that it ſwallows every thing which is offered to it. Careleſs readers have made careleſs writers; and, amidſt a multiplicity of books, I every day ſee barbarity creeping in. W. B.

Pref. 4to. p. x. 8vo. p. xxxvi.

THE tribunes, from their firſt number *five*, being increaſed afterwards to ten, never left teazing the ſenate with freſh demands, till they had laid open to the plebeian families a promiſcuous right to all the magiſtracies of the republic; and by that means a free admiſſion into the ſenate.]

1. It is not probable, that FIVE tribunes were created at the firſt inſtitution of the tribuneſhip. Livy, l. ii. c. 33. 58. tells us, that according to ſome authors, and particularly Piſo the hiſtorian, the Commons did not begin to have FIVE tribunes before the year U. C. 283. Capit. when, by a new law, thoſe plebeian magiſtrates were choſen for the firſt time, in *Comitia Tributa*. And Pighius, whoſe principal buſineſs is to find out the names of the magiſtrates of every year, has in no year before U. C. 283, inſerted more than two tribunes in his Faſti Capitolini. *Hooke's* Obſervations on the Roman Senate, p. 212.

We ſhould here, perhaps, mention the favourite topic which Dr. Middleton labours in his Diſcourſe on the Roman Senate, p. 43. 4to. and elſewhere, viz. That the tribunes had gained an *actual admiſſion into the ſenate* [in U. C. 262.], *within two years after their firſt creation.*—" That the " intent of the Atinian law could not be (as it is commonly underſtood) " that the tribunes ſhould be ſenators in virtue of their office, for that " they had been from the beginning; but that for the future they ſhould " always be choſen out of the body of the ſenate, or, which is the ſame " thing, out of thoſe who had already borne the office of quæſtor."] The Atinian law, ſuppoſed to have been made U. C. 623, is expreſs: " Nam et tribunis plebis ſenatus habendi jus erat, quanquam SENATORES " NON ESSENT, ante Atinium plebiſcitum." A. Gell. XIV. 8. It is impoſſible to extort from theſe words the ſenſe which the Doctor has above aſſigned. The very conteſts the Doctor mentions between the ſenate and the tribunes, and the great warmth with which the latter enforced the demands of the commons for a liberty of intermarriages with the nobles, and the choice of a plebeian conſul, might have convinced him that the tribunes were not ſenators, U. C. 308, at the time of that conteſt. But the following conſideration alone is ſufficient to overthrow his hypotheſis, that the ſame men were in many inſtances rechoſen to the tribunate for many years together, which would have been a violation of the law, which declared that no ſenator ſhould be elected a tribune. See the treaty between the ſenate and leaders, U. C. 262. Hooke's Roman Senate, p. 250, 251. Another expreſs proof that tribunes anciently were not ſenators we have in Appian de Bell. Civ. p. 413. who tells us, it is *not certain that Sylla made that regulation* which afterwards prevailed, *that tribunes ſhould be elected out of the body of the ſenate.* Hooke's Rom. Hiſt. vol. III. p. 167. 4to.

4to.

4to. I. 5. 8vo. I. 5.

When Atticus FIRST ſaw the family ſeat of Cicero by the river Fibrenus, he was charmed with it.] This ſhould be, *when Atticus, according to Cicero's agreeable, but fictitious repreſentation, firſt ſaw*, &c. Cicero lays the ſcene of his ſeveral treatiſes in different places, and brings perſons and things together not agreeably to truth, but as beſt ſuited the purpoſes he had in view. In his book De Legibus [*a*], which is here referred to by Dr. M. he had a mind to bring in a deſcription of his ſeat, as he tells us himſelf he did the like in other pieces. " Τοποθεσίαν, quam poſtulas, Miſeni et Puteolorum in- " cludam nationi meæ [*b*]." Accordingly Atticus, in the place cited, is introduced ſaying: " Equidem, qui *nunc primum* huc venerim, latiori non " queo." The copyiſts, who knew that this book was not writ till after the deſtruction of Clodius, could not digeſt that Atticus ſhould never have been here before that time [*c*], eſpecially as it was at no very great diſtance from Quintus's ſeat, the brother of Cicero, and brother-in-law of Atticus; they therefore, without grounds, changed *primum* in many copies into *potiſſimum*. Dr. M. on the contrary, by ſticking too cloſe to the letter, conſiders this as an hiſtorical teſtimony of Cicero's, which is no more than a fictitious repreſentation. T. I. 57, 58.

4to. I. 16. 8vo. I. 17.

Old Scævola was ſo pleaſed with the poem of Cicero on C. Marius, that in an epigram which he ſeems to have made upon it, he declares *that it ſhould live as long as the Roman name and learning ſubſiſted.*] I imagine rather that Scævola is introduced in this poem of Cicero's on Marius, as ſpeaking theſe words of the memorable oak of Arpinum, from whence Marius received his omen: " Dum Latinæ loquentur literæ, quercus huic " loco non deerit, quæ Mariona dicatur; eaque, ut ait Scævola *de fratris mei* " MARIO [*d*], caneſcet ſæclis innumerabilibus," *i. e.* as ſays Scævola, in my brother's Marius; *De fratris mei* Mario, being uſed for *ex* or *in*. Tunſtall, p. 109. But in the firſt place I think we want authority for ſuch uſe of *de*, notwithſtanding what Mr. T. has produced. 2. This line, as it ſtands in Cicero,

[*a*] I. II. c. 1. [*b*] Ad. Att. XIII. 1. [*c*] See De Legg. II. 16, 17.
[*d*] De Leg. I. 1.

is plainly a pentameter, and cannot make part of an heroic verſe, of which ſort Cicero's poem on Marius conſiſted.

4to. I. 24. 8vo. I. 25.

Marius's education was wholly in camps; where he learnt the firſt rudiments of war, under the greateſt maſter of that age, the younger Scipio, who deſtroyed Carthage.] This is ſaid upon the authority of Plutarch, who adds, that at the ſiege of Numantia by Scipio, Marius was then about 18 years old. But neither of theſe circumſtances can be true, if, as Plutarch himſelf repeatedly tells us, Marius died at the age of 70. For it is certain, that the death of Marius happened in the year of Rome 667; conſequently he was born in 597, and was twenty-three in the year 620, when Scipio beſieged Numantia. And as ſeventeen was the age when the Romans were reckoned capable of bearing arms, and, according to both Salluſt and Plutarch, Marius became a ſoldier about that age, we muſt ſuppoſe that he had ſerved five or ſix years before he came under Scipio's command, who had no military employment from the year 606 to 619. It is alſo reaſonable to think, that Marius, when Scipio pronounced him the propereſt perſon to ſucceed him as general in caſe of any accident to himſelf, was an officer, and had more experience in war than is to be got by ſerving one year, or a year and half. Hooke's Rom. Hiſt. B. VII. ch. 1. U. C. 634.

4to. I. 40, 41. 8vo. I. 42.

Plutarch ſays, that preſently after this [defence of Roſcius, A.U. Cap. 673.] *Cicero took occaſion to travel abroad, on pretence of his health, but in reality to avoid the effects of Sylla's diſpleaſure.* But there ſeems to be no ground for this notion: we have a clear account from himſelf of the real motive of this journey: "My body," ſays he, "at this time was exceedingly emaciated—I took a reſolution of travelling into Aſia, merely for an opportunity of correcting my manner of ſpeaking; ſo that, after I had been two years at the bar, I left Rome, &c." Cic. Brut. p. 437.]

If Cicero, who was born Jan. 1, A. U. Cap. 647, was 28 years old when he began his travels, he did not ſet forward till the year 675; and if ſo, Dr. M. might have found a better reaſon than the paſſage in Brut. p. 437, for conjecturing that he did not leave *Rome to avoid the effects of Sylla's*

Sylla's diſpleaſure: for Sylla (if indeed he was then alive) was not Dictator. He abdicated the dictatorſhip in 674, U. C. Cap. the year in which Cicero defended *S. Roſcius Amerinus*. And though the orator boaſts of his having defended this Roſcius againſt Sylla himſelf, in the height of his power, and refers to his oration as extant, in proof of what he ſays, *quæ ut ſcis extat oratio*, it is highly probable that the *bold paſſages* of it, in which he glories, were never ſpoken (which was the caſe with regard to ſome other of his orations), and it may well be doubted whether they were written, *i. e.* publiſhed, before Sylla's *abdication*, or rather not till after his death. Hooke, Rom. Hiſt. 4to. vol. III. p. 275.

4to. I. 42. 8vo. I. 44.

It was in this firſt journey to *Athens* that he was initiated, moſt probably, into the *Eleuſinian myſteries*; for, though we have no account of the time, yet we cannot fix it better than in a voyage undertaken both for the improvement of his mind and body. The reverence with which he always ſpeaks of theſe myſteries, and the hints that he has dropped of their end and uſe, ſeem to confirm what *a very learned and ingenious writer* has delivered of them: That they were contrived to inculcate *the unity of God, and the immortality of the ſoul.* As for *the firſt*, after obſerving to *Atticus*, who was one alſo of *the initiated*, how *the gods of the popular religions were all but deceaſed mortals, advanced from earth to heaven*, he bids him *remember the doctrine of the myſteries, in order to recollect the univerſality of that truth:* and as to *the ſecond*, he declares *his initiation to be in fact, what the name itſelf implied, a real beginning of life to him; as it taught the* way, *not only of living with greater pleaſure, but of dying alſo with a better hope.*]

Notwithſtanding this grave declaration, of his having learnt ſo important and ſo pleaſing a truth by his *initiation*, the very learned author of *the Divine Legation*, &c. (above cited) has produced probable evidence, at leaſt, that our traveller, after his return home, did not believe *the immortality of the ſoul* in any ſenſe, that could make him *die with a better hope*, than a man who believes its *mortality*. Book III. Sect. iii. "The "ſeveral and various characters he ſuſtained in his life and writings, habi- "tuated him to feign and diſſemble his opinions. He may be conſidered "as an *Orator*, a *Stateſman*, a *Philoſopher*; characters all equally *perſonated*; "and no one more the real man than the other: but each of them

"taken

" taken up and laid down for the occaſion. This appears from the nume-
" rous inconſiſtencies we find in him throughout the courſe of his ſuſtain-
" ing them."—The learned writer gives an inſtance where " The *Philo-*
" *ſopher* confuted the *Stateſman*[*e*];" he adds, " as in another inſtance the
" *Stateſman* ſeems to have got the better of the *Philoſopher*[*f*]. He defends
" the paradoxes of the Stoics in a philoſophic diſſertation: but, in his
" oration for *Muræna*, he ridicules thoſe paradoxes in the freeſt manner."

N. B. " Nor under *one and the ſame character*, or *at one and the ſame*
" *time*, is he more conſiſtent. In *the orations againſt* Catiline, when he
" opens the conſpiracy to the *Senate*, he repreſents it as the moſt deep-laid
" deſign, which had infected all orders and degrees of men amongſt them:
" yet, when he brings the ſame affair before the *People*, he talks of it as
" only the wild and ſenſeleſs eſcape of a few deſperate wretches: it being
" neceſſary for his purpoſe, that the *Senate* and *People*, who viewed the
" conſpiracy from ſeveral ſtations, ſhould ſee it in different lights.

" We meet with numbers of the like contradictions delivered in his
" own perſon, and under his philoſophic character. Thus in his *Books of*
" *Divination* he combats all Augury, &c. and yet, in his philoſophic
" *Treatiſe of Laws*, he delivers himſelf in their favour, and in ſo ſerious
" and poſitive a manner, that it is difficult not to believe him to be in
" earneſt. In a word, he laughed at the opinions of ſtate, when he was
" amongſt the philoſophers; he laughed at the doctrines of the philoſo-
" phers, when he was cajoling an aſſembly; and he laughed heartily at
" both, when withdrawn amongſt his friends in a corner. Nor is this the
" worſt part of the ſtory. He hath given us no mark to diſtinguiſh his
" meaning: for in his *Academic Queſtions* he is ready to ſwear, he always
" ſpeaks what he thinks: *Jurarem per Jovem, Deoſque penates, me & ardere*
" *ſtudio veri reperiendi, & ea ſentire quæ dicerem:* yet, in his *Nature of the*
" *Gods*, he has ſtrangely changed his tone: *Qui autem requirunt, quid*
" *quaque de re ipſi ſentiamus, curioſius id faciunt quam neceſſe eſt.*

" If it be aſked then, in which of his writings we can have any rea-
" ſonable aſſurance of his true ſentiments? I reply, ſcarce in any but his
" Epiſtles. It is only in his Epistles to his friends, where we ſee the
" *man* diveſted of the *Politician*, the *Sophiſt*, and the *Advocate:* and *there*
" *he profeſſes his diſbelief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, in the*

[*e*] Tuſc. Quæſt. i. 13. [*f*] De Leg. ii. 14.

" *frankeſt*

" *frankeſt and freeſt manner.*" [The paſſages, cited in *Latin*, are thus tranſlated by the very ingenious Mr. Melmoth.]

He ſays to L. Meſcinius: " This advantage we may at leaſt derive from " our extreme calamities; that they will teach us to look upon *Death* with " contempt: which, even if we were happy, we ought to deſpiſe, as *a* " *ſtate of total inſenſibility*," &c. Ep. Fam. l. v. Ep. 21.

To A. Torquatus: " I have the conſolation in common with yourſelf, " that ſhould I now be called upon to lay down my life, I ſhould not be " cut off from a commonwealth which I can by any means regret to " leave, eſpecially, as *the ſame blow which deprives me of my life, will de-* " *prive me likewiſe of all ſenſibility.*" Lib. vi. Ep. 4.

To Torianus: " Now that counſel can profit nothing, and that the " Republic is utterly overturned, the only rational part that remains, is to " bear with calmneſs whatever ſhall be the event; eſpecially when it is " conſidered, that *Death is the final period of all human concerns.*" Lib. vi. Ep. 21.

The ingenious tranſlator is of opinion, that, " admitting theſe ſeveral " paſſages to be ſo many clear and poſitive aſſertions, that the ſoul periſhes " with the body; yet it would by no means follow, that this was Cicero's " real belief. It is uſual with him to vary his ſentiments in the letters, " in accommodation to the principles, or circumſtances, of his correſpon- " dents." After ſome inſtances given, the ingenious tranſlator adds, " Other inſtances of the ſame variation from himſelf might be produced; " but theſe, together with thoſe that have already been occaſionally " pointed out in the courſe of theſe remarks, are ſufficient perhaps to " evince, that *Cicero's real ſentiments and opinions cannot be proved by any* " *paſſages in theſe* letters. In thoſe to Atticus, indeed, he was generally, " though *not always*, more ſincere." Melmoth, Remark 6. Vol. II. p. 232. Hooke's Roman Hiſt. 4to. Vol. III. p. 276, &c.

4to. I. 42. 8vo. I. 44.

Atticus, being an Epicurean, was often drawing Cicero from his hoſt Antiochus to Phædrus and old Zeno, in hopes of making him a convert.] The character of Atticus will be vindicated more hereafter, and cleared from this charge of Epicureiſm [g].

[g] T. p. 172.

4to.

4to. I. 60. 8vo. I. 63.

Cicero's marriage took place, probably, immediately after his return to Rome [from Greece], when he was about 30 years old; it cannot be placed later, becauſe his daughter was married the year before his conſulſhip [U. C. 689.] at the age only of thirteen, though we ſuppoſe her to be born this year, Auguſt 5, Cn. Octavius and C. Scribonius being conſuls: a year ſooner according to Mamutius.] Tullia was married in the December of that year, when Piſo and Glabrio [*b*] were conſuls, three years earlier than Dr. M. computes. So that if Cicero was but now married after his return from Greece, ſhe could at her marriage be but ten years old. The conſequence is, that Cicero was married before his celebrated journey, at about 27, and Dr. M.'s obſervation falls to the ground, of the happy conjunction of circumſtances attending Cicero in one year, increaſe of iſſue, marriage of his daughter, and riſe of honours from the Equeſtrian to the Senatorian rank: no two of which circumſtances happened in one year.

4to. I. 79, 80. 8vo. I. 84.

This had raiſed a general diſcontent through the empire, with a particular diſguſt to that change made by Sylla, of transferring the right of judicature from the EQUESTRIAN to the SENATORIAN order, which the people were now impatient to get reverſed.] This is a miſtake; Sylla transferred to the ſenators the right of judicature, not from the EQUESTRIAN order, but from the perſons elected by the TRIBES out of the three orders. Hooke's Rom. Hiſt. vol. III. p. 205. 4to. and ſee ibid. 115.

4to. I. 117. 8vo. I. 123.

After the expiration of his Ædileſhip, he loſt his couſin Lucius Cicero, at a juncture when he wanted his help in making intereſt for the *Prætorſhip*, for which he NOW offered himſelf a candidate, after the uſual interval of *two years* from the time of his being choſen Ædile. Lucius did not die in the year he was candidate for the Prætorſhip, but the year before, his death being mentioned in Epiſtle V. which was writ when Cæcilius Metellus and Marcius Rex were Coſſ. U. C. 685.

[*b*] U. C. 686. Ep. ad Att. I. 3.

4to. I. 124. 8vo. I. 131.

Licinius Macer, of Prætorian dignity, and of great eloquence, was tried before Cicero, as Prætor; and, as Plutarch tells us, was ſo ſure of being acquitted, upon the ſtrength of Craſſus's intereſt, &c. that, without *waiting for ſentence*, he went home to dreſs himſelf; and, as if already abſolved, was returning towards the court in a white gown; but being met on his way by Craſſus, and informed that he was condemned unanimouſly, he took [to] his bed, and died immediately. The ſtory is told differently by other writers: That Macer was actually in the court expecting the iſſue; but, perceiving Cicero *ready to give judgement* againſt him, he ſent one to let him know that he was dead, *and ſtopping his breath at the ſame time with his handkerchief*, inſtantly expired; ſo that Cicero did *not proceed to ſentence*, by which Macer's eſtate was ſaved to his ſon. But from Cicero's own account it appears, that after treating Macer in the trial with great candour and equity, he actually condemned him, with the univerſal approbation of the people. "Multo majorem fructum ex populi exiſti-"matione, illo damnato, cepimus, quam ex ipſius, ſi abſolutus eſſet, "gratiâ cepiſſemus." Ad Att. i. 4.] See alſo Plutarch, and Valer. Max. ix. 12. This ſtory is not eaſily reconciled; I can do it no otherwiſe than by ſuppoſing, what was perhaps true, that the judges (ſee Pettingal) were in reality our jurymen; and brought him in guilty; and that ſome time intervened before Cicero was to pronounce his condemnation: but it was plain that he muſt and would do ſo: and if you ſuppoſe alſo that he directed the jury to find him guilty [*i*], then Cicero might fairly write as he did to Atticus, who perfectly knew the forms of proceeding, and would be under no difficulty to underſtand how the matter ended: but to us the ſuppreſſion of theſe circumſtances, which we are forced to ſuppoſe, and are hardly ſure of, occaſions the appearance of two or three pointed contradictions in an affair tranſacted in the public ſtreets or open courts of juſtice, and related by three credible witneſſes, that could have no intereſt in miſleading.

[*i*] But yet it is not eaſy to conceive, that Macer ſhould think himſelf ſure of being acquitted, if the jury unanimouſly [which, by the bye, plainly reſembles our jury] brought him in guilty, and more ſo, if Cicero had actually directed them to do ſo. And from *illo damnato* of Tully we muſt believe that either jury or judge brought him in guilty, or condemned him: and from his ſending to Cicero, when ready to pronounce ſentence, which was never done, and thereby his eſtate preſerved to his ſon, I think we muſt conclude, that ſentence was never paſſed upon him in form.

This inſtance is full in point to ſhew, that different writers may ſeize different particulars of a tranſaction moſt publicly carried on, ſo as to occaſion ſeeming inconſiſtencies, paſt our reconciling, though they have no deſign to miſrepreſent or deceive; and therefore may be added to the inſtances of this kind brought by Biſhop Newcome, in his preface, to juſtify the Evangeliſts; and by Mr. Markland, in the Preliminary Obſervations prefixed to Mr. Bowyer's Conjectures on the New Teſtament. As to St. John's dating the time, *The ſun being riſen, whilſt it was yet dark*, 'tis plain that he muſt intend to record a ſecond ſupernatural darkneſs; which he alone mentions, as he doth the wound in the ſide, and Thomas's being bid to feel it: and as St. Matthew only records the double earthquake, and dead quitting their graves. Mr. *Aſhby*.

4to. I. 131. 8vo. I. 138.

Catiline, who from his Prætorſhip had obtained the province of Afric, came to Rome this year [A. U. Cap. 687.] to appear a candidate at the election, but being *accuſed of extortion* and rapine in that government, was not permitted by the Conſuls to purſue his pretenſions to that office.] See the note on I. 138. in p. 291.

4to. I. 135. 8vo. I. 142.

Cicero had given Atticus a general commiſſion to purchaſe for him *any* piece of Grecian art or ſculpture; upon RECEIPT OF EACH parcel he ſtill renews his orders for more. *In proof of this, he cites Ep.* 8. I have paid 164 pounds, as you ordered, to your agent for the Megaric ſtatues; the Mercuries, which you mentioned, of Pentelician marble, give me ALREADY great pleaſure; wherefore I would have you ſend me as MANY of THEM as you can, &c.] "Hermæ hi Pentelici JAM NUNC me admodum delectant: "quare velim ut EOS et ſigna quam plurima quam primumque mittas." Not that upon the receipt of each parcel he writ for more; for the ſtatues were not yet arrived; but Cicero, out of his eager expectation of them[*i*], ſends three or four letters about them: "They EVEN NOW in imagination "pleaſe me, wherefore I would have you ſend THEM, and as many OTHER "ſtatues as you can." Some ſtatues indeed came by two different ſhips;

[*i*] M. Falconet, in my opinion, has *clearly* proved, from Tully's own language in theſe epiſtles, and particularly from his famous account of Verres's gallery, that Tully had no more taſte for the fine arts than a Nabob. The proof, however, is curious. *T. F.*

but

but he had not ſeen the firſt when he writ for the others. *Quæ mihi antea ſigna miſiſti, ea nondum vidi; in Formiano ſunt*, Ep. 4. and to the ſame purpoſe, Ep. 3. Dr. M. was not aware of the chronological order of the epiſtles, to which Manutius had reduced them, by which Ep. 8. will appear to be writ before Ep. 3. and 4. as they ſtand in the common editions.

Dr. M. is ſo intent on embelliſhing this Tuſculan villa, that he tells us preſently, Cicero ſent over to Atticus the PLANS OF HIS CIELINGS, which were of ſtucco-work, in order to beſpeak pieces of ſculpture or painting to be inſerted in the compartments.] "Præterea TYPOS tibi mando quos "in tectorio atrioli poſſim includere[*k*]." I give you commiſſion to buy LITTLE IMAGES, which I may place in niches in the walls of my ſtudy; typos QUOS poſſim includere, not *typos imaginum* QUOS poſſim includere; then *in tectorio*, in the walls, not in the *cielings*. So Types [Τυπος] Act. vii. 43. See Tunſtall, p. 9.

4to. I. 138. 8vo. I. 146.

Catiline was now [A. U. C. 688.] brought to a trial for his oppreſſions in Africa: he had been ſoliciting Cicero to undertake his defence; who at one time was much inclined, or determined rather to do it, for the ſake of obliging the nobles, &c. as he ſignifies in a letter to Atticus[*l*]: "I de-"ſign," ſays he, "at preſent to defend my competitor Catiline:—I hope, "if he be acquitted, that he will be the more ready to ſerve me in our "common petition."] From theſe two paſſages compared together, we ſee Dr. M. through a ſtrange degree of inattention, has repreſented Cicero preparing in 688 [*m*] a defence of Catiline, in a cauſe which, according to the ſaid hiſtorian's own account, had been tried and determined the year before.

Cicero ſpeaks of two different trials of Catiline, in his firſt and ſecond letters to Atticus. In the firſt he ſays, *Nobody but Galba has declared himſelf*—If Catiline ſhould happen to be ACQUITTED, I ſhall certainly have him for a COMPETITOR. In the ſecond, he ſays, I am thinking to defend my COMPETITOR CATILINE. The trial therefore, referred to in the firſt letter, was now over, and CATILINE *had been acquitted*, he being actually one of Cicero's competitors. He was twice tried upon criminal accuſations, and twice acquitted; *bis abſolutum eſſe Lentulum, bis Catilinam*. Ad

[*k*] Ep. 10. [*l*] Ad Att. I. 2. [*m*] Qu. 689. as Hooke.

Att. l. i. ep. 16. That his firſt trial was in the Conſulſhip of Torquatus and Cotta, for oppreſſions and exactions in Africa, cannot be queſtioned by any body who has attended to what Cicero ſays in his oration for Sylla, 29. and in that for Cælius, 4.

4to. I. 136. 8vo. I. 147.

Catiline was now brought to a trial for his oppreſſions in Africa: he had been ſoliciting Cicero to undertake his defence—who at one time was much inclined to do it—but changed his mind, and DID NOT DEFEND HIM.] Thus Dr. M. upon the authority of Aſconius, againſt Feneſtella. Mr. Tunſtall takes the other ſide, upon the authority of the words of Cicero, ad Attic. I. 2. Hoc tempore Catilinam competitorem noſtrum defendere cogitamus: judices habemus, quos voluimus, ſumma accuſatoris voluntate. 'Tis plain the cauſe was juſt coming on, ſince plaintiff and defendant had made their exceptions to the jury, and agreed upon it. It is farther obſerved, that Aſconius's reaſon why he ſuppoſes Cicero did not defend Catiline is of little moment; viz. becauſe Cicero never reproached him with it, which he very prudently omitted to do, ſince it would turn in reality to his own reproach. For Catiline was acquitted with ſo much diſgrace, that he was threatened to have the cauſe brought to a ſecond hearing. In a like caſe [*n*], ad Att. I. 16. "Rogatus ego ſententiam dixi—bis abſolutum "eſſe Lentulum, bis Catilinam." Yes, thrice, ſays Manutius, but he paſſes over his acquittal upon the trial of inceſt, becauſe it would revive the diſgrace of Fabia, ſiſter to his wife Terentia. Tunſtall, p. 27.

4to. I. 141. 8vo. I. 149.

Cicero, a candidate for the Conſulſhip along with ſix competitors—Galba and Cornificius were perſons of great virtue and merit.] The character of theſe and the other competitors is heightened, to enhance the merit of Cicero. But Cicero's brother Quintus ſpeaks of Galba in a very different ſtrain [*o*]: *P. Galbam et L. Caſſium quis eſt qui petere Conſulatum putet?* And Cicero himſelf, Prenſat unus P. Galba: ſine fuco ac fallaciis more majorum negatur [*p*]—Puto ſe in HOC [l. Cornificio] aut riſiſſe aut ingemuiſſe: Where Manutius obſerves, "Quod Cornificius neque clarus a ma-"joribus, neque ſua virtute commendatus, tamen certus eſſe videatur [*q*]."

[*n*] Quint. de Pet. Cof. 73. [*o*] De Pet. Conſ. I. 2. [*p*] Ad Att. I. 1.
[*q*] Tunſtall, p. 25.

4to.

4to. I. 146. 8vo. I. 154.

Cicero's father died this year, on the 24th of November, and wanted but the addition of one year more to have made him witneſs of the glory of his Conſulſhip. It was in this year alſo, moſt probably, that Cicero gave his daughter Tullia in marriage, at the age of thirteen, to C. Piſo Frugi.—It is certain, at leaſt, his ſon was born in this ſame year, as he expreſſly tells us, L. Julio Cæſare et C. Marcio Figulo Coſſ. Ad Attic. I. 2.] Not one of theſe facts happened in this important year. The daughter was married three years earlier, as we have ſeen before, from Ep. ad Att. I. 3. writ when Piſo and Glabrio were conſuls, U. C. 686. "Tulliolam "C. Piſoni, L. F. Frugi deſpondimus."

The death of his father is mentioned Ep. VI. where Manutius expreſsly guards againſt Pedianus's error, which yet Dr. M. follows, "hanc epiſto-"lam ſcripſit multo ante petitionem conſulatus." The death of the father is mentioned in the next letter to that which tells us of Lucius's death, Ep. V. which was writ Metello et Marcio Coſſ. A. U. C. 685. and was diſtant from it about three months, not three years, as Dr. M. I. 117. 4to. I. 123. 8vo. So that the father wanted above three years to be a witneſs of the glory of the ſon's Conſulſhip.

Laſtly, the ſon, how expreſsly ſoever he is ſaid to be born when L. Cæſar and Marcius Figulus were Coſſ. was undoubtedly born ſome months ſooner. For he mentions, in that very letter, his intended defence of Catiline, which was while Cotta and Torquatus were Coſſ. who were the predeceſſors of C. Cæſar and C. Marcius. What then are we to do with the *expreſs* teſtimony of Cicero? Only by Coſſ. underſtand *Coſſ. deſignati*, and the difficulty is removed. So vi. 8. *Lentulo Coſ.* i. e. deſignato. Orat. Phil. xiv. c. 3. *Bellum inexpiabile infert quatuor Coſſ.* i. e. Hirtius and Panſa, Conſuls; Brutus and Plancus, Conſuls elect. Here again Botius on the place guards againſt this error, which has deceived the Doctor, "non tempus notat, quo illi inirunt, ſed quo deſignati ſunt; idque apertius "oſtendit ex iis, quæ mox ſubjicit de inſtituta defenſione Catilinæ, &c." Tunſtall, p. 9, 10, 11.

4to. I. 190. 8vo. I. 199.

Cato accuſed Murena of bribery, yet *connived* at the ſame time at the other Conſul, Silanus, who had married his ſiſter, though equally guilty with

with his colleague.] Cato declared in the Comitia before the people, *that he would file a bill againſt any one that ſhould give money, whoever he be, except Silanus, on account of the relationſhip between them* [r]. Which was fair and open; and ſhews withal, that he had not *baniſhed*, as Dr. M. ſays, 4to. II. 163. 8vo. II. 347. *all the ſofter affections, as natural enemies to juſtice, and as ſuggeſting falſe motives of acting, from favour, clemency, and compaſſion.* Tunſtall, p. 138.

4to. I. 253. 8vo. I. 263.

Upon which the CONSULS were ordered to *provide* a law for bringing Clodius to a trial before the PEOPLE. But Q. Fufius Calenus, one of the Tribunes, ſupported by all the Clodian faction, would not permit the law to be offered to the ſuffrage of the citizens. This raiſed a great ferment. Hortenſius propoſed an expedient, which was accepted by both parties, that the Tribune Fufius ſhould *publiſh* a law for the trial of Clodius by the PRÆTOR with a SELECT BENCH of JUDGES.] Here Dr. M. follows Manutius, in ſuppoſing that the trying Clodius before the PEOPLE is what the *Senate* propoſed: which appears from Cicero's words to be quite otherwiſe. The affair of Clodius, he tells us, being laid before the Senate, it was referred to the prieſts to enquire into the crime, who having made their report, that they had found it to be of a very heinous nature, *deinde ex S. C. conſules rogationem promulgarunt* [s]. What that *rogatio* was appears expreſsly in the next epiſtle: "Fufius in concionem produxit Pompeium, "quæſivit ex eo, placeretne ei JUDICES A PRÆTORE LEGI, quo conſilio "idem Prætor uteretur. ID autem erat de Clodiana religione AB SENATU "conſtitutum." Here we ſee, that the trial of Clodius by *the Prætor with a Select Bench of Judges*, is what the *Senate* decreed ſhould be propoſed to the people, and what the Tribune and the friends of Clodius were averſe to, knowing that the higher the quality of the judges, the leſs likely they were to be tampered with, and brought over to ſide with Clodius.—However, it will be urged, it is certain the Senate did not carry their point, and yet Clodius was *not* tried before *the people* [t]. True, nor did either party propoſe it. The expedient of Hortenſius (which they came into) was, that, whereas the Senate propoſed Clodius ſhould be tried, as in extraordinary caſes, by the Prætor and ſuch as he ſhould chuſe for his coaſſeſſors,

[r] Plut. in Cato. T. p. 138. in not. [s] Ad Att. I. 13. [t] Middl. I. 116.

the

the trial ſhould be before the Prætor and the *ſtated ordinary* judges, who, according to the Aurelian law, conſiſted of three ranks of men, deſcribed in the preſent caſe to be "maculoſi Senatores, nudi Equites, Tribuni non "tam erati, quam erarii [*u*]:" This latter kind of trial, ſays Cicero, *differed nothing from the other, except in the quality of the judges; but in that was every thing.* Tunſtall, p. 28, 29.

Perhaps it would be too minute to obſerve, that the term which Dr. M. uſes of the Senate's ordering the Conſuls to *provide* a law for bringing Clodius to a trial, and the Tribune's *publiſhing* a law, &c. very much obſcure the Engliſh reader's idea of the Roman proceedings. By the former he might think that the Conſuls were ordered to *draw up* a law, and by the latter, that the Tribunes *publiſhed* what was before enacted. But the caſe was no more than this: It is well known, that before a law could paſs it was to be propoſed to the people, thence termed *Rogatio*; and the people teſtified their conſent by a ballot, on which was inſcribed *uti roga*, and their diſſent by another inſcribed *antiquo*. Now here the Conſul's *providing* a law, and the Tribune's *publiſhing* another, is no more in Cicero than the *Rogatio*, the *Propoſal*, of one and the other for the trial of Clodius by a *ſelect* jury, or by a common one.

And after all, it is not true that Fufius Calenus, the *Tribune, hindered the law from being offered to the ſuffrage of the citizens.* The matter was agitated ſeveral times in the Senate [*x*]: "In Senatu acta res eſt: con-"curſu OPTIMATIUM comitia dimiſſa ſunt." Fufius, as Tribune, had indeed ſuch a power of *interpoſing* in the decrees of the Senate, called *Interceſſio*; but we do not find he made uſe of it: He only took out Pompey from the Senate, to declare to the people, *in concione*, what he thought of the Senate's propoſal, as Dr. M. himſelf mentions afterwards, p. 275. But even at the laſt, when that houſe divided upon the queſtion about trial by Select Judges. "Fufius tr. pl. conſulibus ceſſit." Ep. iv. T. p. 33.

4to. I. 256. 8vo. I. 266.

Plutarch ſays, Cicero was urged on to oppoſe Clodius againſt his will, by the importunity of his wife—*jealous of Clodius's ſiſter*, whom ſhe ſuſpected of ſome deſign to get Cicero from her. The ſtory does not ſeem improbable; for, before the trial, Cicero owns himſelf to be growing

[*u*] Midd. I. 16. [*x*] Ad Att. XIV. 1.

every day more cool and indifferent about it.] But does not Cicero aſſign a better reaſon of his coolneſs; becauſe, when he found the method of trial, which Hortenſius propoſed, to take place, he foreſaw all the evidence in the world would be fruitleſs? It was upon this, he tells us, " contraxi " vela, perſpiciens inopiam judicum; neque dixi quicquam pro teſtimo- " nio, niſi quod erat ita notum atque teſtatum ut non poſſem præterire." Ep. XVI. The Doctor here gives up his hero with as little reaſon as he ſometimes magnifies him. Tunſtall, p. 30.

4to. I. 258. 8vo. I. 268.

But what has a clown of Arpinum to do at the Hot Wells? Aſk that *friend* of yours, replied Cicero, who had a month's mind to yon *Arpinum clown*—alluding to his ſiſter Clodia, who had been trying all arts to tamper with Cicero to put away Terentia, and to take her.] " Quid, inquit, ho- " mini Arpinati cum aquis calidis? narra, inquam, patrono tuo, qui Arpi- " nates [l. Arpinatis] aquas concupivit. Noſti enim Marianas [l. Mario- " nas] [*y*]." *Say that to your patron Craſſus, who wanted the baths of a certain perſon at Arpinum; you have heard, I ſuppoſe, of Marius's baths.* This Marcus Craſſus was a friend of Clodius, who by bribery got him acquitted at his trial. By the favour of Sylla's proſcription he wanted to get ſeveral poſſeſſions; among the reſt, the baths that belonged to Marius at Baiæ, which Plutarch mentions. To this Cicero alludes [*z*]: " Ibi ſum, " ubi is, qui optimas Baias habebat, quotannis hoc temporis conſumere " ſolebat." Which Dr. M. tranſlates [*a*], *I am, where he,* WHO HAD *the beſt houſe at Baiæ, choſe to be in this part of the year.* As if he was then living. No, *where* he, who HAD CHOSE *to be,* meaning Marius then dead. Tunſtall, p. 32.

4to. I. 260. 8vo. I. 270.

M. Pupius Piſo, Conſul—favouring neither the popular nor the ariſtocratical party.] Much too mild a character. " Nihil agens cum Repub- " lica, ſejunctus ab optimatibus." Ep. I. 13. *Acting nothing with the Republic, and yet of a ſeparate intereſt from the Optimates.* No idle indifferent, but one who joined with the enemies to both. " Voluntate ita " κοινὸς, ut Pompeium poſt illam concionem, qua ab eo *ſenatus laudatus*

[*y*] Att. I. 16. [*z*] Att. XII. 40. [*a*] II. 182. 369.

eſt,

eſt, odiſſe cœperit. Itaque mirum in modum omnes a ſe bonos alienavit, neque id magis amicitia adductus Clodii fecit quam ſtudio perditarum rerum atque *partium*. Ep. 14. T. p. 34.

4to. I. 263. 8vo. I. 273.

The Senate paſſed a Decree, that Pompey on all feſtival days ſhould wear his General's robe—and in the Equeſtrian Races—his triumphal habit: an honour which when he had once uſed, to ſhew his grateful ſenſe of it, he ever after prudently declined, &c.]

And yet Cicero tells us I. 18. a year after this triumph, "Pompeius "togulam illam pictam ſilentio tuetur ſuam:" which ſeems to imply that he had this robe on, and with a ſecret complacence too. If he did not wear it oftener, it was more owing to a deſire of popularity, than a principle of gratitude. I. p. 39.

4to. I. 264. 8vo. I. 276.

Pompey and Cicero's ſeeming union was ſo generally agreeable to the city, they were both of them conſtantly clapped, whenever they appeared in the theatre, without a hiſs from any quarter.] But this circumſtance of being clapped Cicero ſpeaks of himſelf only, I. 16. "Noſter ſtatus eſt hic "apud bonos. Iidem ſumus, quos reliquiſti, apud ſordem urbis et fecem, "multo melius quam reliquiſti."—He then ſpeaks of the advantage he received in being thought to be in Pompey's eſteem. It gave him an aſcendant over his enemies, who were wont to turn it into ridicule, and to call Pompey Cnæus Cicero. "ITAQUE et ludis et gladiatoribus mirandos ἐπισημα- "μασίας ſine ulla paſtoritia fiſtula auferebamus." He is magnifying his own popularity, not Pompey's. T. 35.

Dr. M. proceeds—Yet Cicero eaſily diſcovered that Pompey's outward civility was but feigned and artificial, that he was full of envy within, and had no good intentions towards the public, nothing candid or ſincere, nothing great, generous, or free in him.] This from Ep. 13. "Tuus au- "tem ille amicus (ſcin' quem dicem, de quo tu ad me ſcripſiſti, poſteaquam "non auderet reprehendere, laudare cepiſſe) nos, ut oſtendit, admodum di- "ligit—aperte laudat; occulte, ſed ita ut perſpicuum ſit, invidet; nihil "come, nihil ſimplex, nihil ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honeſtum, nihil illuſtre, nihil "forte, nihil liberum." This is ſuppoſed by Dr. M. and indeed by all the commentators, to be a notion of Pompey; which yet Mr. T. obſerves is

impoſſible; for Pompey was not yet arrived in the city after his return from the Mithridatic war; his firſt appearance there being mentioned in the next epiſtle; at leaſt he could not have been ſo long arrived as to have given Atticus in Greece an opportunity of hearing of his tranſactions, and obſerving upon them *poſteaquam non auderet reprehendere, laudare cœpiſſe.* But all theſe reflections fall exactly on Hortenſius. Cicero was before ſpeaking of the affair of Clodius, not knowing what turn it would take, and had reaſon to think Hortenſius privately eſpouſed the favourable ſide, as it appeared afterwards he did: "Vereor ne hæc neglecta a bonis, "defenſa ab improbis, magnorum reip. malorum cauſa ſit." Then follows, "tuus autem ille amicus." T. p. 37.

4to. I. 268. 8vo. I. 278.

Before Quintus Cicero went to take poſſeſſion of his Province, he earneſtly preſſed Atticus, whoſe ſiſter he married, to go along with him as one of his lieutenants; and *reſented his refuſal ſo heinouſly*, that Cicero had no ſmall trouble to make them friends.] The quarrel was not now firſt commenced, but was an old family one, which the reader had as much right to be acquainted with, as of this renewal of it. Quintus and his wife Pomponia, who was Atticus's ſiſter, had but ill agreed for a long while, even from before the birth of Quintus the ſon. ["De fratre, confido eſſe, "ut ſemper volui et elaboravi. Multa ſigna ſunt ejus rei non minimum, "quod ſoror prægnans eſt."] When ſhe was big with him, Cicero was in hopes her being ſo was a ſign of their agreement, and to be a means to confirm it [*b*].

In the letter which the Doctor has given us, Cicero ſtill hints at it: *Where the blame of all this lies, it is eaſier for me to imagine, than to write; being afraid leſt, while I am excuſing my own, I ſhould be too ſevere upon yours.* Ad Att. I. 17. It come at laſt to a divorce. "Quintus de emendo nihil "curat hoc tempore. Satis enim torquetur debitione dotis—A ducenda "autem uxore hic abhorret, ut libero lecto neget eſſe quidquam jucundius." Ad Att. xiv. 13. T. p. 179. 180.

4to. I. 277. 8vo. I. 287.

Cicero now finiſhed in the Greek language, and in the *ſtyle and manner* of Iſocrates, Memoirs of his Conſulſhip.] Cicero deſcribes it in much more boaſting terms [*c*]: "Meus autem liber totum Iſocratis μυροθήκιον,

[*b*] Ep. I. 10. [*c*] Ad Att. II. 1.

"atque

" atque ejus diſcipulorum arculas, ac nonnihil etiam Ariſtotelica pigmenta " conſumpſit." *My book, the very quinteſſence of Iſocrates, has robbed all the treaſures of thoſe that have ſtolen from him ſome of the colourings of Ariſtotle* [*d*]. In another place: *If there is any thing written by man that exceeds it, let that have all poſſible praiſes, and let my work have none* [*e*].

Dr. M. adds afterwards—What he ſays in excuſe for taking that taſk upon himſelf, is, that it was not a panegyric, but a hiſtory: which makes our loſs of it the greater. This is not urged in excuſe for his undertaking the work, but for his ſpeaking of it in the boaſting terms above cited: " quamquam non ἐγκωμιαστικὰ ſunt hæc, ſed ἱστορικὰ quæ ſcribimus [*f*]."

4to. I. 290. 8vo. I. 302.

In finding fault with my windows, you condemn the inſtitution of Cyrus [the Architect], for when I made the ſame objection, Cyrus told me that the *proſpect of the fields* did not appear to have advantage through larger lights.] A wrong interpretation, owing to a falſe reading: " Cum ego idem " iſthuc dicerem, Cyrus aiebat, *vi radiorum* [not *viridariorum*] διαφάσεις latis " luminibus non eſſe tam ſuaves. Etenim ἔχω ὄψις μὲν ἡ α. τὸ δὲ ὁρώμεν βγ. " αἰκτῖνες δὲ δ. χ ε. Vides enim. Cetera. Nam ſi, κατ' εἰδώλον ἐπιβώνεις vide- " remus, valde laborarent εἴδωλα in anguſtiis."—The Epicureans maintained, that viſion was performed by rays coming from the object; Cyrus the architect, following the philoſophy of Empedocles, ſuppoſed that it was by rays from the eye. *Windows*, ſays he, *with broad lights are not ſo pleaſant, by reaſon of the force of the rays from the eye.* For let α be the ſight; ϐ, γ the object; δ, ε the rays [*g*]. 'Tis much Dr. M. ſhould overlook this, when both Victorius and Manutius read *radiorum* for *viridariorum*, and ſo explain the paſſage.

4to. I. 291. 8vo. I. 304.

Bibulus, who was an Augur too, *ſent notice* to Pompey, that he was obſerving the heavens, and taking the auſpices, during which function it was *illegal* to tranſact any buſineſs with the people.] This is obſerved, to prove the illegality of Clodius's tribuneſhip. But this *ſending notice* to Pompey does not ſeem to be a legal method of ſtopping any proceeding by the auſpices. The Augur was to be preſent upon the ſpot, wherever the aſ-

[*d*] Ad Att. I. 19. [*e*] T. p. 103. [*f*] Ad Att. II. 3. [*g*] T. p. 85;

ſembly was held, as appears from IV. 3. where we ſee Milo with great joy going from the Campus Martius to the Forum, and from the Forum to the Campus Martius, to prevent any thing paſſing in either aſſembly [*b*].

4to. I. 293. 8vo. I. 305.

That no injury or diminution ſhould be done to the dignity of religious rites of *either family*.] It is hard to ſay what the Author means. It could not be ſuppoſed, that a Patrician's being adopted by a Plebeian could injure the *family he left*, or a Plebeian being adopted by a Patrician could affect the *family he came into*. Dr. M. would ſay probably, that a Patrician could not be adopted by a Plebeian. But that is a miſtake: it was not a circumſtance alledged againſt Clodius, that he *could not* be adopted, but that he *acted* by *colluſion*, and did not keep to the laws of adoption. *Adoptionem ſequebatur hæreditas nominis, pecuniæ, & ſacrorum*, ſays Cicero pro Domo, c. 13. Now Clodius, he obſerves, when adopted by Fonteius, did not take his name (2), did not become his heir (3), did not quit his own family, and become one of the father's family that adopted him. Dr. M. p. 306, urges as an obſtacle to this adoption, that he was *a ſenator of the nobleſt birth in Rome*. In which, as well as Joannes Corraſius, he confounds two different things, birth-right and nobility. The rights of birth were loſt by adoption, but not nobility. *Nobilis* was oppoſed to *privatus: Patricius* to *Plebeius*. He might be a Senator, though adopted by a Plebeian, but he would ceaſe to be a Patrician. Cicero obſerves himſelf, that by this means it would come to paſs, *ut nemo patricius relinquatur, ut populus Rom. brevi tempore neque regem Sacrorum, neque Flamines, neque Salios, &c. habeat.* Theſe honours belonged ONLY to Patricians. It is farther obſervable, that Cato maintained the validity of Clodius's Tribunate [*i*], though he diſliked many of the laws which were paſſed while it laſted; which is a proof that the adoption of a Patrician into the family of a Plebeian was not a thing NULL in itſelf [*k*]; though the manner of obtaining that adoption and conforming to it might be controverted. A like inſtance may be ſeen among the Greeks in Iſæus, Orat. IV. a perſon of higher quality adopted by an inferior: "Maluiſti pro majorum "morum gloria, noſtram poſſidere hæreditatem, & Dicæogenis appellari filius, "quam Harmodii, contemnens jus epulandi in Prytaneo, & primo loco ſe-

[*b*] T. p. 139. [*i*] Middl. p. 367.

[*k*] There are inſtances of it. *P. Scipio*, a Patrician, was adopted by *O. Metellus*, a Plebeian, well known in hiſtory by the name of *Q. Metellus Scipio*.

"dendi,

" dendi, atque immunitatum, quæ datæ ſunt iis, qui ex illis [tyrannicidis] " orti [*l*]."—This from Perizonius, Diſſ. I. p. 82, 3, 4.

4to. I. 296. 8vo. I. 309.

Cicero being deſired by Atticus to ſend him the copies of two orations which he had lately made, his anſwer was, That he had TORN one of them, and could not give a copy; and did not care to let the other go abroad, for the praiſes which it beſtowed on POMPEY.] " Orationes a me " autem duas poſtulas, quarum alteram non libebat mihi *ſcribere*, quia " ABSCIDERAM; alteram, ne laudarem eum, quem non amabam [*m*]."

Not for the praiſes it beſtowed on *Pompey* probably, but on *Hortenſius*, as has been obſerved in a like caſe [ſee p. 297]; though Manutius and others go into the ſame miſtake.—Nor was this oration abſolutely refuſed, for it was ſent ſome time afterwards, as is implied in theſe words, which confirm the application of this formerly to Hortenſius: " Quod me admones ut " ſcribam illa Hortenſiana, in alia incidi, non immemor iſtius mandati " tui [*n*]." T. p. 37. who farther obſerves, after Junius and Popma, that for *abſcideram* ſhould be read *abſcieram*, i. e. *becauſe I had abſolutely refuſed it*, for how ſhould he tear, ſays he, what he had never writ? But quære.

F. inabſideram q̄ abīcideram quia ī abīdcideram ī abīcideram.

4to. I. 313. 8vo. I. 327.

The diſtribution of Provinces was, by ancient and expreſs law, the Senate's undoubted prerogative; which had never been invaded or attempted by the people.] This, upon the authority of Cicero, in Interrog. in Vatin. c. 15. who, in his orations, often departs from the ſtrict truth, for the benefit of his cauſe or his client. " Eripueras Senatui provinciæ " decernendæ poteſtatem; Imperatoris deligendi judicium; ærarii diſpen- " ſationem; quæ nunquam ſibi Populus Romanus appetivit, qui nunquam " hæc a ſummi conſilii gubernatione auferre conatus eſt [*o*]." That the diſtribution of Provinces was not always the Senate's undoubted prerogative, may be collected from the paſſage which the Doctor cites, concerning the Sempronian law, which confirmed that privilege, where, if

[*l*] " Thou haſt preferred the plunder of our inheritance to the glory of being their " deſcendant, and wouldſt rather be rather be called the ſon of Dicæogenes than of " Harmodius; not regarding the right of being entertained in the Prytaneum, nor ſet- " ting any value on the precedence and privileges which the poſterity of thoſe heroes " enjoy." JONES.

[*m*] Ad Att. II. 7. [*n*] Ad Att. IV. 6. [*o*] Quere, if before now or not?

he

he had gone a little farther, he would have ſeen that Clodius now got it repealed.—" Provincias conſulares, quas C. Gracchus ut neceſſe eſſet " quotannis conſtitui per Senatum decretas lege ſanxit; eas lege Sem- " pronia *per Senatum decretas rejcidiſti.*" By this very Sempronian law the Senate was reſtored to a power which they had ſome time loſt, as is obſerved by Gravina, Heineccius, Sigonius, and others. A remarkable inſtance of the People's diſpoſal of the Conſular Provinces may be ſeen in Livy XXVIII. 40.

4to. I. 323. 8vo. I. 339.

Clodius having gained the Conſuls, made his next attempt on the people, by obliging them with ſeveral new laws, which he now firſt promulgated, viz. II. that no Magiſtrates ſhould take the auſpices, or obſerve the heavens, when the people were ACTUALLY aſſembled on public buſineſs.] Not only when they were *actually* aſſembled was it made unlawful to take the auſpices, but on *any part* of the day: " *Ne quis* PER EOS DIES " *quibus cum populo agi liceret, de cœlo ſervaret,*" as Aſconius in Orat. in L. Piſon. c. 4.

Dr. M. preſently afterwards falls into another miſtake concerning this law of Clodius, p. 330, 4to. 346. 8vo.

In this ſame aſſembly, [held in the Flaminian circus, p. 344,] Clodius got a NEW LAW LIKEWISE enacted, that made great alteration in the conſtitution, viz. the repeal of the Ælian and Fufian laws; by which the people were left at liberty to tranſact all public buſineſs, even on the days called *Faſti*, without being liable to be obſtructed by the Magiſtrates on any pretence whatſoever.—Now this *new law likewiſe enacted*—in this new place, the Flaminian Circus, was one and the ſame law which was enacted at the entrance of the two conſuls into their office. By enacting that no Magiſtrates ſhould take the auſpices on thoſe days on which the people met for public buſineſs, the Ælian and Fufian laws were annulled. *Propter quam rogationem ait legem Fufiam et Æliam everſam eſſe*, as Aſconius obſerves in Orat. in L. Piſon. c. 4. T. p. 66. 67.

4to. I. 329. 8vo. I. 345.

Calling the people into the Flaminian Circus, ſummoned the young Nobles and Knights—he ordered his ſlaves to fall upon them, &c.] This attack was in the Forum, not in the Circus Flaminius. " Cum equites

" Romani relegerentur, viri boni lapidibus e FORO pellerentur." Orat. in L. Pif. c. 10. T. p. 72.

4to. I. 334. 8vo. I. 350.

Cicero called a council of his friends—The queſtion was, whether it was beſt to ſtay and defend himſelf by force, or to ſave the effuſion of blood by retreating.] A third was propoſed, whether he ſhould not kill himſelf? to which the words cited by the Doctor refer [*p*], " Lacrymæ meorum " me ad mortem ire prohibuerunt," which the Doctor applies only to his taking up arms againſt Clodius. Thus he ſpeaks in the ſame ſtrain, when in baniſhment, of his reſolution to kill himſelf, if he was not reſtrained by the tears of his friends. Ep. ad Att. III. 19. " Si Epirus præciſa erit, nuſ- " quam facilius hanc miſerrimam vitam vel ſuſtentabo, vel, quod multo eſt " melius, abjecero. Sed quoniam cœptum eſt, non deſeram neque optimi " atque unici fratris miſeras atque luctuoſos preces, &c." See Ep. ad Q. Fr. I. 3. 4. ad Att. III. 3. 4. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 16. 19. &c. It is much this Author ſhould not ſee ſomewhat of this deliberation, which is ſo often hinted at in the Letters.

4to. I. 350. 8vo. I. 368.

Cicero left Rome about the end of March, for on the 8th of April we find him at *Vibo*, where he ſpent ſeveral days with a friend named Sica.] Cicero never came to *Vibo*, or ſpent any days with his friend Sica. " Non " habebam," ſays he, " locum ubi meo jure diutius eſſe poſſem, quam in fun- " dum Sicæ :" I had no more liberty of continuing at any particular place, than at my friend Sica's. And Plutarch, in the Life of Cicero, remarks, p. 877, that this Vibius Siculus, thence called Sica, *οἰκίαν μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τὸ χωρίον δὲ καταγράψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο, did not receive him into his own houſe, but* PROMISED *to procure another for him.* He deſires Atticus indeed to meet him at Vibo, III. 4. But in the next letter he acquaints him that he had altered his reſolution of going thither: " Miſeriæ noſtræ potius velim " quam INCONSTANTIÆ tribuas, quod a Vibone, quo te arceſſebamus, " *ſubito diſceſſimus.*" Not that he was *departed* from Vibo, but had *changed his reſolution* at going thither. So Ep. 26. " Poſt tuum a me diſceſſum." *After your change of mind of coming to me*, which expreſſion has again deceived the Doctor, p. 377. 4to. Cicero's rout ſeems to have been firſt to

[*p*] Ad Att. x. 4.

the

the wood-ſide at the River *Nar*, from whence he dates to Atticus at his departure, April 8 [*q*].

But, with ſubmiſſion, this metaphorical ſenſe of *diſceſſus* wants a farther proof; for otherwiſe it is hard to conceive that *Diſceſſus a me*, means only a *mental departure*. Beſides, to ſupport Mr. T's interpretation, we muſt carry on the metaphor, for in the ſame Ep. ad Att. III. 4. it follows, Ne et Sica, APUD QUEM ERAM, periret; i. e. At whoſe houſe I was not in reality, but intended to be.

4to. I. 373, 4. 8vo. I. 394.

The eight Tribunes, who were Cicero's friends, offered a law to the people, the third clauſe of which enacted, That if there was any thing in it, which was prohibited to be promulgated by any former law, *particularly by that of Clodius*, or which involved the author of ſuch promulgation in any fine or penalty, that in ſuch caſe it *ſhould have no effect*. Cicero was ſurprized that his friends could be induced to propoſe ſuch an act, which ſeemed to be againſt him, and *to confirm that clauſe of the Clodian law, which made it penal to move any thing for him*. The moſt probable ſolution, &c.]

Cautious as Cicero's friends were, they were not ſo weak withal as to *confirm* in *expreſs terms* the very law of Clodius, which they propoſed to *reſcind*. While they only made this law of theirs void, with an exception to its not being contrary to any *former* law, there was a latitude left to prove hereafter that Clodius's was *no* law: But, to let the exception reſt ſo far as to ſay, *if it is contrary particularly to that of Clodius*, was annulling in terms, as I ſaid, the very law they propoſed. See then the original: "Si quid in hoc rogatione ſcriptum eſt, quod per leges, Ple-"biſve S. C. [*hoc eſt, quod per legem Clodiam promulgare, abrogare, derogare,* "*abrogare ſine fraude ſua non liceat*] non licuerit,—ejus hac lege nihil ro-"gatur." Where Malaſpina was at a loſs to know why, in a public act where propriety is always obſerved, it is not called, inſtead of the *Clodian*, the *Fonteian* law, ſince Clodius was adopted at the making it into that family. But Briſſonius clears up the difficulty, by obſerving that the words *Hoc eſt, quod*, &c.—*liceat*, are Cicero's gloſs, added by him to ſhew more glaringly the abſurdity of his friend's exception. T. 91.

[*q*] Ad Att. III. 2.

4to. I.

4to. I. 377. 8vo. I. 398.

Atticus, inſtead of anſwering this letter, or rather indeed before he received it, having occaſion to viſit his eſtate at Epirus, took his way through Dyrrachium, on purpoſe to ſee *Cicero*.] This interview is built on a paſſage in Ep. ad Att. III. 25. "poſt tuum a me diſceſſum," which Mr. T. as we have obſerved before, ſays bears a different ſenſe; and ſaves us from the abſurdity of imagining that Atticus, from December 10, the date of Cicero's laſt letter, had come from Rome to Dyrrachium, and after ſome ſtay with him had left him, with a promiſe of paying him another viſit by the firſt of January, for ſo Ep. 25. "Des operam, illud quod mihi affirmâſti, ut "te ante Cal. Jan. ubicunque erimus fiſtas." T. p. 90. P. Manutius ſaw the difficulty, and propoſes to read without "a me," and Grævius "a noſtris," after your leaving our friends at Rome.

4to. I. 410, 411. 8vo. II. 11.

Cicero's Palatine houſe, which Clodius had contrived to alienate, as he hoped, irretrievably, by demoliſhing the fabric, and dedicating a *temple* upon the area to the Goddeſs Liberty; where—he pulled down alſo the adjoining *Portico of Catulus*, that he might build it up anew, of the ſame order with his temple.—When he had finiſhed the portico, and annexed his *temple* to it, which took up ſcarce a *tenth part of Cicero's* houſe, he left the reſt of the area void, in order to plant a grove, or walks of pleaſure, plans of walks, and gardens quite imaginary [*r*].] 1. In the firſt place, though Clodius pulled down the portico of Catulus, we have no proof in the world that he rebuilt it. 2. This Temple of Liberty, which Cicero's houſe makes room for, was no more than a little *ſhrine* to that Goddeſs, wherein her image was placed, called by Cicero himſelf *an Altar*, Orat. pro domo c. 46. and by Plutarch & Dio ναος, of the nature and uſe of which ſee Hammond on Act. xix. 24. Theſe chaplets went under various denominations; being ſometimes ſtiled *monumenta* and *ſepulchra*, from their likeneſs to them, Orat. pro domo c. 37. and ſometimes *Templa*. "Cum-"que id quod dabatur, non eſſet interiturum, ſed in ornamentis *Templi* futu-"rum—tamen—id—accipiendum non putavi." Ep. ad Q. Fr. I. 1. 3. As we interſperſe a wilderneſs in a map with trees, ſo nine parts, that were

[*r*] T. p. 84.

not built upon, are deſtined by the Doctor to groves or walks of pleaſure. But Clodius ſold them. "Clodius vendidit, emit, quod, conjuncta Poſt-"humii area, in Palatio, pulcherimo proſpectu, porticum cum conclavibus "pavimentatum trecentum pedum concupierat, ampliſſimum periſtylum[s]."

4to. I. 411. 8vo. II. 12.

The affair [of reſtoring to Cicero his houſe] was to be determined by the COLLEGE of Prieſts, who were the judges in caſes relating to religion—he reckons up XIX by name.] From hence one would think that the college of prieſts conſiſted of XIX at leaſt; whereas they conſiſted of XV from the time of Sylla. 2. Nor were the college of *prieſts* the ſole judges, for Cicero in the place cited de Haruſp. reſp. c. 6. enumerates XIX judges preſent at the trial; of whom XIII were of the college of greater prieſts, and two *Flamines*, and one *rex ſacrorum*, and laſtly three of the *leſſer prieſts*; as follows:

P. Lentulus.	C. Fannius.	
P. Servilius.	M. Lepidus.	
M. Lucullus.	*L. Clodius rex ſacrorum.*	
Man. Glabrio.	M. Craſſus.	
M. Meſſalla.	C. Curio.	
L. Lentulus Flam. Dial.	*Sext. Cæſar. Flam. Quir.*	
P. Galba.	P. Cornelius	Pontifices Minores.
Q. Scipio.	P. Albinovanus	
	Q. Terentius	

Two therefore of the college of prieſts were abſent, who were *Jul. Cæſar* Pont. Maximus, [See Vell. Pat. l. ii. & Cæſ. Bell. liv. l. iii. c. 83.] and Fulvius Natta, ſon of Sempronia, and brother of Fulvia, who was wife of Clodius. The *Pontifices minores* were not of the college of prieſts; any more than the *Flamines*, three of whom were at firſt appointed by Numa, viz. to Mars, Jupiter, and Romulus. Afterwards each God had his *Flamen*. See Noris, Cenotaph. Piſan. Diſſ. i. c. 5.

4to. I. 419. 8vo. II. 18, 19.

The Senate met next day, when Marcellinus, one of the conſuls elect, addreſſed himſelf to the prieſts, and deſired them to give an account of the *ground and meaning of their ſentence* in relation to Cicero's houſe.] "Quid eſſent in decernendo ſecuti"—i. e. "on what part of the cauſe they "had

"had given their deciſion," whether as it was a matter of religion, or as matter of law [*s*].

4to. I. 118. 8vo. II. p. 24.

The Senate met, on the fourteenth, to take theſe diſorders into conſideration. Clodius did not think fit *to appear there*; but *Sylla came, to clear himſelf probably* from the ſuſpicion of encouraging him in theſe violences.] The common reading here all agree to be in ſome degree corrupt. Q. *Flaccus eduxit viros acres—ſed ille* [Clodius] *ſe in interiorem ædium*—SULLÆ, *ſe in Senatu poſtridie Idus*, DOMI *Clodius, egregius Marcellinus, omnes acres*, Ad Att. IV. 3. Grævius makes no other alteration than reading SULLA SE, according to which Sulla came to the Senate, but not *Clodius*; and yet it follows; *Ille poſtea, ſi comitia non fierent, urbe minari:* where and when were thoſe threats of Clodius, but in the Senate, when his friends *omnes acres* were there too? To reconcile all this, Mr. T. very ingeniouſly reads, *Sed ille ſe in interiorem ædium Syllæ. Se ni Senatum poſtridie* PROMIT *Clodius*. T. p. 89.

4to. I. 424. 8vo. II. 24.

The Senate met on the fourteenth. Milo *declared*, that as long as he continued in office, the conſul Metellus ſhould make no election.] Milo did not *declare*, but *writ* his opinion, and not in the Senate. "Sextius furere—"propoſita [in tabula] Marcellini ſententia, quam ille de ſcripto ita dix-"erat ut—omnia comitiis anteferret, proſcripſit ſe per omnes dies comitiales "de cœlo ſervaturum [*t*]."—*Sextius Milo*, the Tribune, *was enraged, and having read the opinion of Macellinus in writing; wherein he preferred my cauſe and every thing that related to it to the holding the comitia for the electing Clodius, he writ underneath* [on the ſame tablet] *that he was determined to take the auſpices every day the aſſembly* was to meet, to prevent their meeting. T. p. 69.

4to. I. 428. 8vo. II. 29.

The Tribune Cato, who was perpetually inveighing againſt keeping Gladiators, had lately brought up a band of them.—Being unable to maintain them, he was contriving to part with them without noiſe.—Milo

[*s*] T. p. 88. [*t*] Ad Att. IV. 3.

got notice of it—employed a perſon to buy them. And then Racilius, another Tribune, publiſhed a proclamation that Cato's family of Gladiators was to be ſold by auction.] The joke half loſt by putting in the word *Gladiators*, which ſpoils the *double entendre—ſe proſcripſit familiam Catonianam venditurum* [*u*], *That Cato's family was to be ſold*; which might be underſtood that he was gone off, and had left his goods to be ſold by one of his brother Tribunes. T. p. 93.

4to. I. 428. 8vo. II. 29.

Lupus, in his ſpeech for annulling the act for the diviſion of the Campanian Lands, gave great praiſes to Cicero, with ſevere reflections on Cæſar.]. "Egit cauſam agri Campani—nihil ex noſtris *actionibus* prætermiſit [*x*]; et "materiem non ignoras." *Actiones* here is a law term, to the ſenſe of which the expreſſion before *egit cauſam* naturally leads. Lupus did not ſpeak of Cicero's behaviour in general; but he *omitted*, ſays Cicero, *nothing that I had pleaded upon a like ſubject, the ſubſtance of which you are no ſtranger to*; meaning his orations againſt Rullus De re agraria, which Cicero had ſome time ſince put together in the volume which he entitled *Conſulares*, the contents of which are mentioned Ep. ad Att. II. 1. T. p. 93.

4to. I. 429. 8vo. I. 30.

Antiſtius, the Tribune, ſeconded him, and declared no buſineſs ſhould be done before the trial.] It ſhould be *Racilius* ſeconded him; who had before called upon Cicero to ſpeak his opinion—"Orationem meam collau-"davit." Then follows, *Severius Antiſtius, iſque judiciorum cauſam ſuſcepit*, i. e. declared that no buſineſs ſhould be done before the trial [*y*].

4to. I. 429. 8vo. II. 30.

Marcellinus propoſed, upon the impeachment of Clodius, that an allotment of Judges ſhould be made for the trial.] Here, as before, Dr. M. follows the common interpreters; but the words in the original, *Judices per prætorem urbanum ſortirentur* [*z*], ſignify that the Prætor ſhould have a ſelect jury. See before, T. p. 29.

[*u*] Ad Quin. II. 6.
[*y*] T. p. 24.
[*x*] Ad Quin. I. 2.
[*z*] Ad Quin. II. 1.

4to.

4to. I. 436 & 476.

Ad diem IIII Non. Feb. Milo affuit—producta dies in VIII. Id. Febr ——

A. d. VIII. Id. Febr. Milo adfuit. Dixit Pompeius, ſive voluit. Nam ut ſurrexit, operæ Clodianæ clamorem ſuſtulerunt: idque ei perpetua oratione contigit—Qui ut peroravit, (nam in eo ſane fortis fuit, non eſt deterritus, *dixit omnia*, atque interdum etiam ſilentio, cum auctoritate peregerat [*a*]; ſed ut peroravit, ſurrexit Clodius [*b*].

Mr. Tunſtall's correction.

8vo. II. 38, 39, & 82.

A. d. IIII Non——

productus dies in IIII Id. Febr.——

A. d. IIII Id. Febr. Milo adfuit. Dixit Pompeius ſive voluit.

Qui ut peroravit (nam in eo ſane fortis fuit, non eſt deterritus, *dixi? Omnia*, atque interdum etiam ſilentio, cum auctoritate peregerat).

The common reading.

4to. I. 438.

8vo. II. 40.

Pompey acquainted Cicero with his apprehenſions—that it was neceſſary for him to look to himſelf, ſince the *meaner people* were wholly alienated, the Nobility and Senate generally diſaffected.] " Ne opprimatur concionario " illo populo a ſe prope alienato [*c*]," i. e. *that it was neceſſary for him to take care that he be not ruined by that Demagogue Clodius, when he had got the people of his ſide.* To give the appellation of *meanneſs* to the citizens of Rome, who had ſo much ſway in the government of it, would be high treaſon againſt them. T. p. 97.

4to. I. 439.

8vo. II. 41.

Clodius was not leſs buſy in muſtering his friends againſt the next hearing of Milo's cauſe: but, after two hearings, the affair was put off by ſeveral adjournments to the *beginning of May.*] " In Nonas Maii Miloni dies " prodita eſt [*d*], :" i. e. *The affair was given up to Milo's own 7th of May*; which does not relate to Milo's day of trial, but to ſome anniverſary of his, for which purpoſe Cicero ſays he would be at Rome *pridie nonas*, the *ſixth*, that he might be at Milo's houſe next morning. So next year he writes to Atticus [*e*]; Take a ſupper with me poſtridie Kal. Maii, the 2d

[*a*] T. p. 94. [*b*] Ep. ad Quint. II. 3 [*c*] Ad Quint. II. 3.
[*d*] Ad Quint. Fr. II. 7. [*e*] Ep. ad Att. IV. p. 12.

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of May; on "the *firſt* I propoſe, after having ſupped with Craſſus, "to lie that night at home, that I may pay my compliments to Milo at "his houſe next morning, where I ſhall meet you, and conduct you back "to mine. T. p. 95.

4to. I. 450. 8vo. II. 53.

Tullia was married to a ſecond Huſband, Furius Craſſipes,—who appears to have been a *Nobleman of principal rank and dignity.*] Whether he was of the order of Nobility may be queſtioned. In the deliberation about her third marriage [*f*], two being thought of, one of the Equeſtrian, the other of the Patrician order, Atticus had adviſed to take the Equeſtrian, "vellem te in tuum veterem gregem retuliſſes," *Take one out of your old flock.* Now does that mean one out of the Flock to which Cicero belonged, or to which the ſecond Huſband Craſſipes belonged? T. p. 187.

4to. I. 455. 8vo. II. 59.

That the article of the ſacred and religious places referred to his houſe, which, after a ſolemn conſecration of Religion, was now rendered profane, Clodius charging all the diſpleaſure of the Gods to Cicero's account, who affected nothing leſs than a tyranny and the oppreſſion of their LIBERTIES.] The Decree of the Augurs Clodius would not underſtand to be againſt him; therefore exhorts the people to follow him, and defend his LIBERTY; *Hortatur ut ſe—ſequentur, et ſuam* LIBERTATEM *ut defendant.* Orat. pro domo, c. 77. T. p. 89.

4to. I. 462. 8vo. II. 66.

Cicero ſeems to have compoſed a little poem *about this time* [U. C. 697.] in compliment to Cæſar, and excuſed his not ſending it to Atticus, becauſe Cæſar preſſed to have it, and he had reſerved no copy.] In proof of this is cited Ep. ad Att. IV. 5. "Urgebar ab eo, ad quem miſi, et non habe-"bam exemplar, &c." and ad Quint. II. 15. "Scribis poema ab eo "noſtrum probari." The paſſage in Ep. ad Att. relates quite to another *thing*, and the Ep. ad Quintum to another *time.* The piece mentioned in the Ep. ad Att. whether an oration or diſſertation, was wrote probably in favour of Pompey, and againſt the Optimates, particularly Hortenſius, with whom Cicero had ſome enmity. The letter is altogether by way of

[*f*] Ad Att. V. 4.

objection

objection and anſwer, which, becauſe Dr. M. and other commentators have not quite underſtood, I ſhall give the greateſt part of it: " Ain' tu? an " me exiſtimas ab ullo malle mea legi probarique quam a te? *Cur igitur* " *cuiquam miſi prius?* Urgebar ab eo ad quem miſi. *Et non habebam exem-* " *plar? quid?* Etiam (dudum enim rodo quod devorandum eſt) ſubturpi- " cula mihi videbatur eſſe παλινῳδία. *Sed valeant vera, recta, honeſta con-* " *ſilia.* Non eſt credibile, quæ ſit perfidia in iſtis principibus, ut volunt " eſſe, et ut eſſent ſi quicquam haberent fidei. Senſeram, noram, inductus, " relictus, projectus ab iis—Vix aliquando te auctore reſipivi. *Dices ea te* " *monuiſſe, ſuaſiſſe quæ facerem*; *non etiam ut ſcriberem.* Ego mehercule mihi " neceſſitatem volui imponere hujus novæ conjunctionis; ne qua mihi liceret " labi ad illos, qui non deſinunt invidere; *Sed tamen modici ſumus* ὑποθέσεως, " *ut ſcripſi.* Erimus uberiores ſi et ille libenter accipiet, et hi ſubringentur " qui villam me moleſte ferunt habere—Sed quid ad hoc? ſi quibus ſenten- " tiis dixi, quod et ipſi probarent, lætati ſunt tamen me contra POMPEII vo- " luntatem dixiſſe? Finis. [l. *Sinis.*] Sed quoniam qui nihil poſſunt, ii me no- " lunt amare, demus operam, ut ab iis, qui poſſunt, diligamur. Dices *vellem* " *jampridem.* Scio te voluiſſe. Et [*dices*] *me aſinum* [l. ἄριζον] *germanum ſu-* " *iſſe.* Sed jam tempus eſt meipſum a me amari, quando ab illis [ἀρίζοις] nullo " modo poſſum."—*Do you think I am more deſirous of any one's good opinion, either of myſelf or my writings, than of yours?* " Why then, you will ſay, " did not you let me ſee them firſt?" *I was preſſed by the perſon to whom they were ſent.* " What, and had I no copy?" *Yes,* (to confeſs *an ungrateful truth*) *they ſeemed to be but a dirty recantation of my old principles.* " Adieu then to all true honeſt counſels." *Why,* really, on the other hand, *it is incredible what perfidy there is in thoſe that went to be leaders, and who really would be ſo if there was any faith in them. I felt what they were to my coſt, when I was drawn in, deſerted, and betrayed by them. I reſolved ſtill to act with them in all things, but found them the ſame as before; till by your advice I came to a better mind.* You will tell me, " you adviſed me " indeed to act, but not to write." *'Tis true; but I was willing to put myſelf under a neceſſity of adhering to my new alliance, and preclude the poſſibility of returning to thoſe, who, inſtead of pitying me as they ought, never ceaſe envying me.* " But, if I did write, why ſo moderate?" *Oh, I will be more full, if he ſhall take this well, and my enemies be irritated at it, who envy me the houſe I poſſeſs of Catulus's, without conſidering that I bought it*

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of Vettius.—But this is nothing, in compariſon of their taking a pleaſure in ſeeing me gain the ill-will of POMPEY, *by declaring theſe principles which they themſelves approved of.* " You allow their treachery." *But ſince thoſe who have no power will not love me, my buſineſs is to acquire the love of thoſe who have.* " You will ſay, I long ago wiſhed you had done ſo." *I know you did.*—" And that I was a perfect Ariſtocratical partiſan." *But it is now time I ſhould have ſome concern for myſelf, ſince theſe Ariſtocratical gentlemen have none for me.* 'Tis plain this letter relates to Cicero's ingratiating himſelf with *Pompey*, not with *Cæſar* [*h*]. The other paſſage in Ep. ad Quint. II. 15. mentions a poem of Cicero's which Cæſar had approved of, and another deſigned for him. But from this very letter, with almoſt *two* years after the time aſſigned by Dr. M. for this complimental poem to Cæſar, it is plain it was not *then* ſent [*i*]: " Ego quoniam in iſto homine [Cæſare] " colendo tam indormivi diu, te mehercule ſæpe incitante, curſu corrigam " tarditatem, tum equis tum viris, tum vero (quoniam ſcribis poema ab eo " noſtram probari) quadrigis poeticis."—*Having ſo long neglected to pay my court to him* [*Cæſar*], *notwithſtanding you have ſo frequently preſſed me to it, I will now by my zeal make amends for my delay, and will run to him with might and main, nay even with poetic feet, ſince you tell me he approves of my poem.*

4to. I. 467, 8. 8vo. II. 72.

Atticus's conſtant advice to him was, to conſult his ſafety and intereſt by uniting himſelf with the men in power.] Atticus went more upon moderate principles, and adviſed him not to be too violent a party-man. When he was too much courting the men in power, he called him back: when irritated againſt them, perſuaded him to keep on good terms with them. [" De eo quod me mones, ut et πολιτικῶς [*k*] me geram, et τὴν " ἔσω γραμμὴν teneam; ita faciam. Sed opus eſt majore prudentia, quam " a te, ut ſoleo, petam." *As to what you adviſe me, not to fly out, but to accommodate myſelf to the times, as a wiſe citizen ſhould, I ſhall endeavour to do ſo: but I have need of all your prudence to teach me the art.*] Dr. M. has cited a remarkable paſſage, which ſhews us Atticus's different council, which Dr. M. has miſtaken the ſenſe of in one or two inſtances, and has followed a falſe reading in more: Nam tu quidem etſi natura πολιτικὸς, tamen nullam habes propriam ſervitutem communi frueris ſermone [leg. nomine].

[*h*] T. p. 107—112. [*i*] Ad Quint. Fr. II. 15. [*k*] Ad Att. IV. 8.

" nomine]. Ego vero qui ſi *loquor* de rep. quod oportet inſanus; ſi quod " opus eſt, ſerius exiſtimor; ſi *taceo*, oppreſſus et captus; quo dolore eſſe " debeo?—Quid ſi ceſſare libeat et in otii portum confugere? Nequic- " quam. Immo etiam in bellum et in caſtra. Ergo erimus ὀπαδοὶ qui ταγοὶ " eſſe noluimus. Sic faciendum eſt; tibi enim ipſi, cui utinam ſemper paru- " iſſem, ſic video placere."—*Shall I withdraw myſelf then from buſineſs, and retire to the path of eaſe? that will not be allowed me: Shall I follow thoſe leaders to the wars, and after having refuſed to command, ſubmit to be commanded?*—Not literally *to the wars*, but the metaphor ſtill continued: *Shall I launch out into public affairs, and dance after thoſe whom I uſed to lead?* " —Reliqui [l. *reliquia* ut quidam codd.] eſt Σπάρτων ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσ- " μει Non mehercule poſſum, et Philoxeno ignoſco, qui reduci in carce- " rem maluit. Veruntamen id ipſum [ut ὀπαδὸς ſim] mecum in his locis " commentor, ut iſta [i. e. utcunque] improbem, idque tu, cum una " erimus, confirmabis." *Or ſhall I reſume my poſt, and enter again into affairs? I cannot perſuade myſelf to that, but begin to think Philoxenus in the right; who choſe to be carried back to priſon, rather than commend the Tyrant's verſes. This is what I am now meditating to declare my diſlike at leaſt of what they are doing.* It is to be obſerved, that Atticus heretofore adviſing him to adhere ſtrongly to the cauſe of the Senate againſt the Triumvirate, had cited that ſaying, Σπάρτων ἔλαχες [*l*]: " Bonos viros—et " eam, quam mihi dicis obligiſſe, Σπάρτων non modo nunquam deferam, ſed " etiam, ſi ego ab illa deferor, tamen in mea priſtina ſententia permanebo." But now when he adviſes him to temporiſe a little with the men in power: *That maxim then of yours*, ſays Cicero, *Adorn the poſt allotted to you, is laid aſide. I profeſs I know not how to bring myſelf to that, viz. to dance after thoſe I uſed to lead, but begin to think, &c. However, this art of compliance is what I am meditating here, howmuch ſoever I diſlike the proceedings; and you will confirm me in it, when we meet.* Atticus, when he had drawn him to this extremity, adviſes him to keep the middle way. T. p. 113. 114. Malaſpina and Grævius ſaw the paſſage in the ſame ſenſe Mr. T. has given it, and therefore approved of the reading of ſome copies which read *probem*, for *improbem*. " Malaſpina hic eſt audiendus," ſays Grævius. " Hoc " enim Cicero dicit, ſe rationem quærere, qua animo ſuo poſſit perſuadere " ut hæc, quæ Cæſar et Pompeius agunt contra libertatem, quæ ſemper " improbabit, nunc probet, ut amicorum conſiliis obſequentem ſe præ-

[*l*] Ad Att. I. 20.

" beat." But Mr. T's interpretation very happily preſerves the ſame ſenſe and the common reading.

4to. I. 485. 8vo. II. 91.

King of Comagene—preferred a petition to the Senate for ſome *new* honour or privilege—but Cicero made the petition ſo ridiculous, that the houſe rejected it, and at his motion reſerved likewiſe out of his juriſdiction one of his principal towns, Zeugma.] 1. Zeugma was not the name of a town, but a diſtrict that contained ſeveral towns, as appears from Plin. N. H. VI. 26. So in the place cited here [*m*] it ſhould be read, " ne- " que ſolum illud extorti oppidulum, quod erat poſitum in Euphrate et " Zeugmate ;" not, as Lambinus altered it againſt authority, " quod erat " poſitum in Euphrate Zeugma." Then follows, " ſed præterea togam " ſum ejus prætextam, quam erat adeptus Cæſare Conſule, magno homi- " num riſu cavillatus. Quod *nunc* vult, inquam, *renovare* honores *eoſdem*, " quo minus togam prætextam *quotannis interpolet*, decernendum nihil " cenſeo." From whence it appears, 2. That what the King of Comagene ſued for was not ſome *new honour*, but a continuation of what had before been granted him. T. p. 116, 117.

4to. I. 486. 8vo. II. 92.

Cicero made an excurſion this Spring [U. C. 699. L. Domitio et L. Claud. Pulchro Coſſ.] to viſit his ſeveral ſeats and eſtates in the country, and in his *Cuman villa* began a treatiſe on politics.] He began it long before : for in the Conſulſhip of Cæſar and Bibulus, five years earlier, Atticus had put him in the head of it : " Et tamen illud probem [i. e. quod mihi " ſuades]. Magnum quid aggrediamur et multæ cogitationis atque otii [*n*]." Now theſe are the very terms in which he expreſsly ſpeaks of politics, or de republicâ [*o*]. " *I have undertaken a work*, ſays he, *that you are no ſtranger to, of great importance, and ſuch as requires much leiſure.* And a few months before the ſame Conſulſhip of Cæſar and Bibulus, he had made ſome preparation towards it : *Bring me*, ſays he, *from among Quintus's books, Theophraſtus* περὶ πολιτείας [*p*]. To this purpoſe he was reading Dicæarchus [*q*] : *you eſteem Dicæarchus very juſtly ; he is a clear writer, and underſtands civil policy much better than our wicked Governors.* Afterwards he

[*m*] Ep. ad Quint. Fr. II. 12. [*n*] Ad Att. II. 14. [*o*] Ad Att. IV. 16.
[*p*] Ad Att. II. 3. [*q*] Ad Att. II. 12.

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takes notice, that Theophraſtus prefers the practical life, Dicæarchus the theoretic [*r*]. That he ſhould pay a due regard to both of them—but that at preſent he ſhould lay aſide this work for a time, to apply himſelf to the public affairs. In ſhort, Cal. Oct. of that very year wherein Dr. M. ſays this work was but begun, he had drawn out the ſyſtem, and added the names of the Speakers, which in dialogues was uſually the laſt thing [*s*]: "Hanc ego de republicâ quam inſtitui diſputationem in Afri-"cani perſonam, et Juli, et Lælii, et Manilii contuli." And before iv. Non. Nov. it was brought ſo near a concluſion, that he writes to Atticus then returned out of Aſia to come and ſee it [*t*]: "Quid tu huc advolas, "et invitis illius noſtræ reipublicæ *germanam*;" not "germanæ" as the common Edd. and which none of the interpreters have underſtood; but means, no doubt, no more than come and *ſee the true picture of our Commonwealth*. For he tells us, in a fragment now remaining of this very book, that he would there repreſent the model of the Roman Government: "expoſitam ad exemplum noſtræ reipublicæ." T. p. 142, 143.

4to. I. 491. 8vo. II. 98.

As to M. Orfius, whom you recommended to me, I will make him even King of Gaul, or Lieutenant to Lepta. Send me another *therefore*, if you pleaſe, whom I may prefer.] Why *therefore?* A bad reading, and the whole ſcope of the ſentence loſt [*u*]. "M. *Orfium*, quem mihi commen-"das, vel *Regem Galliæ* faciam, vel *hunc Leptæ* delega. Si vis tu, *ad me* "*alium* mitte quem ornem." For *Reg. Galliæ*, ſhould probably be read *Leg. Galliæ*, *the man whom you recommended I will make my Lieutenant in Gaul*, the moſt honourable poſt. But becauſe Cicero had not recommended him in very ſtrong terms, and Cæſar had no extraordinary opinion of him; *or give* HIM, ſays he, *a leſs honourable Lieutenancy under Lepta*; *and if you will* [to ſhew you your intereſt in me] *ſend* ME *another whom I may prefer*. That Cicero had recommended him but faintly, appears from this very letter, which Dr. M. has tranſlated, where recommending Trebatius: "De "quo tibi homine hæc ſpondeo, non illo vetere meo, quod cum ad te IN "ILLO [Orfio] ſcriptiſſem jure luſiſti; ſed more Romano, quo modo ho-"mines non inepti loquuntur; probiorem hominem; meliorem virum,

[*r*] Ad Att. II. 16.
[*s*] Ad Att. XIII. 14.
[*t*] Ad Att. IV. 17.
[*u*] Ep. Fam. VII. 5.

" prudentiorem esse neminem." It must be owned indeed that here is read in the Edd. *in Milone* for *in illo*; but it could not be Milo, of whom Cicero had spoke always in high terms, and who was besides at this time busy at Rome in view of the Consulship. *In illo* is often corrupted into *Milo*, or some such word: " *Milo* cœpit *dimittere* [Senatum Lupus]" for *in illo*, as Manutius corrects it [*x*]. Ad Att. XI. 23. " Sed cum a Nilo [in illo] " accepissem literas." So ibid. 12. " Tamen Nilo meo [in illo meo, fratre] " his verbis scripsi." And after all, M. Curtius was probably the man thus recommended; not *Ortius*, as Corravus observes, and the following passage: " De tribunatu quod scribis nominatim petivi Curtio, et mihi " ipse Cæsar *nominatim Curtio* paratum esse rescripsit, meamque in rogando " verecundiam objurgavi [*y*]." T. p. 113, 114, 115.

4to. I. 497. 8vo. II. 105.

He had sent Cæsar (says Dr. M.) his *Greek Poem* in three books, on the History of the *Consulship*, and Cæsar's judgment upon it was, that the beginning of it was as good as any thing which he had ever seen in that language.] Whatever the poem was, which Cæsar thus approves of, it was not writ in that language; but Cæsar, to give it the highest commendation he could, says, *that the first part of it was equal to any thing he had read even among the Greeks.*—" Prima sic, ut neget se ne Græca quidem " meliora legisse [*z*]." For the Greeks were allowed even by the Romans themselves, to excell them in writing [*a*]. Nor was it the poem on *the History of the Consulship* which Cæsar thus approved of; for that was finished the year in which Metellus and Afranius were Consuls, as appears from a letter to Atticus of that year, wherein the conclusion of it is cited. " Sed me *κατακλεὶς* mea ista commovet, quæ est in Libro III [*b*].

" Interea cursus, quos prima a parte juvento,
" Quosque adeo *Consul* virtute animoque petisti,
" Hos retine atque auge famam, laudesque bonorum,

" Hæc mihi cum in eo libro in quo multa sunt scripta *ἀριστοκρατικῶς*, " *Calliope* ipsa præscripserit."

[*x*] Ep. Fam. ii. 1. [*y*] Ad Quint. Fr. III. 1. 3. [*z*] Ad Quint. Fr. II. 16.
[*a*] Hor. de Art. Poet. 289. 290. Ep. ad Aug. II. 161. Tusc. Disp. I. 1.
[*b*] Ad Att. II. 3.

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This concluſion Dr. M. has before given us under the right year; but, miſled by this imaginary Greek poem, has made two poems on the *Conſulſhip*, as elſewhere by a like miſtake he raiſes two poems inſtead of one to be *addreſſed to Cæſar*. To proceed then; this poem on the *Conſulſhip* was ſent to Atticus before the 15th of March of the ſame year [*c*]. "*Commen-*" *tarium* Conſulatus mei *Græce* compoſitum miſi ad te,—*Latinum* ſi per-" fecero, ad te mittam; tertium *poema* expectato." Now it is not likely it ſhould lie hid for ſix years, to receive Cæſar's applauſe under the Conſulſhip of Domitius Ahenobarbus and Claudius Pulcher: eſpecially ſince we ſee the Greek *Comment* on his Conſulſhip was no ſooner finiſhed than he deſired Atticus to diſperſe it in Athens and other Grecian cities; *that it might give them*, ſays he, *ſome light into our affairs* [*d*]. The queſtion then ſtill remains, what this poem was, which Cæſar ſo much commended: No other than a poem, divided likewiſe into three books, *De temporibus ſuis*, writ after his return from his exile, as the other on his *Conſulſhip* was, as we have ſeen, before it [*e*]. Of this poem he thus writes to Lentulus Spinther, who was Conſul when Cicero was recalled from baniſhment: *You deſire me to ſend you what I have writ ſince your departure for Cilicia.—Among other things, I have writ a poem in three books* "De temporibus meis," *of the late times; which I had ſent you long ſince, if I had thoughts of publiſhing it. It is full of teſtimonies, and will always remain ſo, of my obligations to you, and of my juſt ſenſe of them.—I ſhall take care to ſend it to you when I meet with a proper hand.* This poem was finiſhed probably in the Conſulſhip of Pompey and Craſſus, and communicated to a few friends; for we find Atticus at this time, according to cuſtom, ſoliciting him to publiſh *it*, or ſome other, and Cicero modeſtly averſe to it—*You aſk of the poem, what if it ſhould get abroad?—Would you approve it ſhould* [*f*]? A few days after, Cicero deſires Atticus to return it by Lucceius: "Tu Lucceio librum "dabis [*g*]." In the ſame year we find Quintus had read it, and highly approved of it [*b*]; who, in the end of that year, carried it probably to Cæſar in Gaul or Britain, where having quite healed up all the old ſores between thoſe two, Cicero writes to Quintus: "Dic mihi verum; num

[*c*] Ad Att. I. 19. [*d*] Ad Att. II. 1. [*e*] Ep. ad Fam. I. 9.
[*f*] Ad Att. IV. 8. [*g*] IV. 11. [*b*] Ad Quint. Fr. II. 9.

"aut

"aut res eum [Cæſarem] aut χαραξῆς non delectat? nihil eſt quod vereare " —Hac de re φιλαλήθως, et, ut ſoles, ſcribe fraterne [*i*]." And yet, notwithſtanding this diſtance of time, between the writing of theſe two poems, *De Conſulatu* and *De Temporibus*, Dr. M. has confounded them together, and tells us in the former *he carried down the hiſtory to the end of his exile* [*k*], thinking that a hiſtory of *his own times* muſt contain a hiſtory of his *Conſulſhip:* whereas *De temporibus ſuis* only means of *the late troubleſome times*, as we uſed to ſpeak of *the late civil wars*; and as the letter above cited to Lentulus Spinther plainly explains it.

The three books, Dr. M. ſays in the laſt cited place, after ſome other authors, are ſeverally inſcribed to *three of the Muſes*; that *Urania* was the title of the ſecond book, and *Calliope* of the third.—This is only purſuing the ſame confuſion: the three books of the *Conſulſhip* were ſo inſcribed, the third of which was ſtyled *Calliope*, as we have ſeen before from Att. II. 3. But there is no proof that the poem of His Times was ſo inſcribed, unleſs this: "Quod me admones de noſtra *Urania*, ſuadeſque ut memi- " nerim Jovis orationem, quæ eſt in extremo illo libro [*l*]:" where Malaſpina reads *Urania* for what the MSS. and editions have *de non curantia*, from whence I would propoſe to read *de nominum curatione*. Quintus ſome time ſince, upon going to Sardinia, had recommended our Marcus to take care of ſome debts for him [*m*]: "Videris de *nominibus* Pomponianis " in otio recogitaſſe." *As Gracchus the Augur*, ſays Marcus, *when he got into his province, remembered all the ill omens againſt him in the Campus Martius: ſo you ſeem, now you are got to Sardinia, to recollect all your old debts.* Quintus here ſo purſues the ſame ſubject, and ſo reminds his brother of Jupiter's ſpeech, which ſeems to have been upon juſtice, and to have concluded the poem of *His Times*, as *Calliope's* ſpeech did the poem on his *Conſulate*. Now if this latter was inſcribed to the Muſes, becauſe the Muſes ſpeak in the three ſeveral books, we might then rather imagine that the poem on His Times was inſcribed to three Gods, becauſe Jupiter we ſee ſpeaks in the third book, as Apollo does in the ſecond [*n*]. "Mirificum ἐμβόλιον " cogito, in ſecundam librorum meorum includere, dicentem Apollinem " in concilio deorum." T. 102—109.

[*i*] Ad Quint. Fr. II. 16.
[*k*] 4to I. 278. 8vo. I. 289.
[*l*] Ep. ad Quint. Fr II. 9.
[*m*] Ep. ad Quint. II. 2.
[*n*] Ep. ad Quint. III. 1.

4to. I. 497. 8vo. II. 105, 106.

He began *another* poem, at his brother's requeſt, to be *addreſſed to Cæſar*, but after ſome progreſs was ſo diſſatisfied with it, that he tore it. Yet Quintus ſtill urging—he was obliged to reſume it, and actually finiſhed an *Epic poem* in honour of Cæſar.] Here the poem in honour of Cæſar is mentioned in the right year, which, by having been mentioned by Dr. M. in a wrong one, increaſed into two. But it is now not only multiplied in number, but increaſed in dignity. It is here ſaid to be an *Epic Poem*, before a *little* one. And yet it was ſuch an one, as Cicero tells us he finiſhed again in a few days after he had firſt torn it [o]. Dr. M. was deceived by Cicero's deſcription of it: "Habeo abſolutum ſuave, mihi qui-" dem ubi videtur, ἔπος ad Cæſarem," which is no more than ſome *Heroic* verſes. T. p. 134.

4to. I. 500. 8vo. II. 109.

Memonius and Domitius made a ſtrange contract with the Conſuls—to procure for them what provinces they delivered; and *gave a bond* to provide three Augurs, who ſhould teſtify that they were preſent at the *making a law for granting them thoſe provinces* when no ſuch *law* had ever been made; and two Conſular Senators, who ſhould affirm that they were preſent likewiſe at paſſing a *Decree of the Senate*, for furniſhing the ſame provinces with *arms and money*, when the Senate had never been conſulted about it. Ad Att. IV. 8.

And ſo indeed the Doctor had before ſaid that *the provinces of the Conſuls elect had been furniſhed with* MONEY *and* TROOPS *by a Decree of the* SENATE [p]: And ſtill, as we have often ſeen in another place, that the *aſſignation* of PROVINCES was a prerogative of the Senate's, which had never been invaded: ſo that, according to him, the Senate had both branches of power, viz. of nominating and furniſhing money, which yet again are the more divided. Both accounts cannot be right; and unluckily the diviſion of power between Senate and People was juſt contrary, neither are they juſt in the inverted order. For the Senate allotted the *Conſular Provinces*, and the Lex Curiata gave *authority*, *arms*, *and money*. To give one inſtance inſtead of many [q]: "Appius dixit in Senatu palam, ſeſe—

[o] Ad Quint. III. 8. [p] 4to. I. 375. 8vo. I. 396. [q] Ad Fam. I. 9.

" ſi

" ſi curiata lex non eſſet, ſe paraturum cum collega tibique ſucceſſurum
" legem curialem Conſuli ferri opus eſſe, neceſſe non eſſe, ſe—quoniam
" ex *Senatus Conſulto provinciam* haberet, lege Cornelia imperium habi-
" turum quoad in urbem introiiſſet." So that, ſays Mr. T. the *province* was granted by the Senate, and the *command* by the Lex Curialia; which law, if Appius could not obtain, he determined to have recourſe to the Cornelian law. A ſlight miſtake ſure ſtill—to gain that *command*, which, for want of the Lex Curialia, he could not obtain? No, that he had, he ſaid, by being Conſul: " Legem curialem Conſuli ferri opus eſſe, neceſſe non
" eſſe." But the Cornelian law, it ſeems, ſecured a continuance of that power till he returned to the city; not " quoniam ex S. S. provinciam
" haberet lege Cornelia;" but " lege Cornelia imperium habiturum quoad
" in urbem introiiſſet." T. p. 117. 118.

'Tis further to be obſerved, that Dr. M. has fallen into a miſtake, which both Salmaſius and Grævius abundantly cautioned him againſt, when he ſays Memmius and Domitius GAVE A BOND to provide Augurs, &c. [*r*]. " Hæc
" pactio, ſays Cicero, non verbis, ſed *nominibus* et *perſcriptionibus* multo-
" rum, tabulis cum eſſe facta diceretur, prolata a Memmio eſt." *Nomen ſcribere* and *perſcribere* is to enter his name in a caſh book, as debtor and creditor. Memmius and Calvinus did not give bonds to the Conſuls; but in their books of account gave the Conſuls credit for ſo much money; and the Conſuls entered them debtors in their books for the ſame ſums, and this witneſſed by ſeveral others. A very pardonable miſtake, if Salmaſius and Grævius had not ſo very clearly pointed it out.

4to. I. 501. 8vo. II. 110.

Quintus ſent his brother word from Gaul [*s*], that it was reported there, that he was preſent at the contract; but Cicero aſſures him that it was falſe. And yet it had been worth while to have enquired how this report came to be ſpread ſo far abroad, that it ſhould even reach his brother Quintus in Britain. There are ſome paſſages that make it very ſuſpicious that Cicero was privy to the agreement [*t*]. " S. C. quod
" hi conſules de provinciis fecerunt, quicunque poſthac [fecerint] non
" mihi [fecerint] ut qui jam intelligebamus enuntiationem illam Memmii
" valde Cæſari diſplicere." *As to the Decree of the Senate, which theſe*

[*r*] Ad Att. IV. 17. [*s*] T. p. 119. [*t*] Ad Att. IV. 16.

Conſuls

Conſuls forged, whoſoever ſhall make ſuch an one, will not do it by my conſent, who am aware how diſpleaſing it was to Cæſar when it was told. So that the fear of diſpleaſing Cæſar was what kept him from coming to ſuch an agreement. We may farther diſcover the very name of the province he was to have had [*u*]: "Perſpice æquitatem animi mei et ludum et "contemptionem *Seleucianæ provinciæ* mehercule cum Cæſare ſuaviſſimam "conjunctionem. Hæc enim me una ex *hoc naufragio* tabula delectat." *Behold my tranquillity of mind, my contempt of the province of Seleucia, and intire friendſhip with Cæſar, the only bottom that ſaves me in this ſhipwreck.* So that it was out of fear or affection to Cæſar that made him give up his pretenſions to Seleucia. Take this key, and all is plain, which to Victorius ſeemed dark and myſterious. T. p. 120. How far this proves the point, muſt be left to the reader to determine.

From a reflection on theſe corruptions, Cicero, Dr. M. obſerves, foretells the approaching ruin of the Romans, and when he bewails the wretchedneſs of the times, uſually joins the wickedneſs of their morals as the ſource of it. He tells us, however, leſt theſe corrupt candidates ſhould eſcape, they were all publicly impeached by different proſecutions, but conceals, in the mean time, that they were all defended by this very Cicero: "Candidati Coſ. quatuor omnes rei: cauſæ ſunt difficiles; ſed *enitemur*, "ut Meſſalla noſter ſalvus ſit, quod eſt etiam cum *reliquorum* ſalute "conjunctum [*x*]." Again: "Meſſallam—reliquoſque moleſtia levatos "*vehementer gaudeo* [*y*]." Nay, what is more, we have his own teſtimony upon record, that he did not know what to ſay for them. "Quid poteris "pro iis dicere? Ne vivem ſi ſcio. In illis quidem tribus libris [De "Oratore] quos tu dilaudas non reperio." This is a remarkable proof what lengths he would go in undertaking cauſes. If we wanted this, we have further proof from his own teſtimony: "Cur autem laudarim [Va-"tinium] peto a te, ut id a me neve in hoc reo, neve in aliis requiras [*z*]." *I wiſh you would tell me for what reaſon I undertake the praiſe of Vatinius: I aſk it of you, that you may never put it to me either in the preſent caſe, or in any other.* A practice, this, that might be defended from our own times, but not from his principles: "Cumque nihil tam incorruptum eſſe debeas

[*u*] Ep. IV. 18.
[*y*] Ep. 24.
[*x*] Ep. ad Quin. Fr. III. 3.
[*z*] Ep. ad Fam. I. 9.

" in rep. quam ſuffragium, quam ſententia, non intelligo, cur, qui ea pe-
" cunia corruperit, pœna dignus ſit, qui *eloquentia*, laudem etiam ferat.
" Mihi quidam hoc plus mali facere videtur, qui *oratione*, quam qui pre-
" tio corrumpit, quod pecunia corrumpere prudentem nemo poteſt, di-
" cendo poteſt." Fragm. de Rep. ap. Marcell. [*a*]—*As nothing ought to be ſo unbiaſſed as one's judgment, I don't ſee why it ſhould be criminal to corrupt it with money, and yet praiſe-worthy to pervert it with* ELOQUENCE. *A method, which ſeems to me to be attended with the greater malignity, ſince common prudence is a guard againſt the one, againſt the other a weak defence.*

4to. I. 506. 8vo. II. 116.

Gabinius bragged every where that he was going to the demand of a triumph, and, to carry on that farce, continued a while without the gates, till, perceiving how odious he was to all within, he ſtole privately into the city by night, to avoid the diſgrace of being inſulted by the populace.—Three *different impeachments* provided againſt him; 1. For treaſonable practices; 2. plunder of his province; 3. bribery and corruption.—The *firſt indictment* fell to Lentulus, who accuſed him *the day after he entered the city*. Gabinius durſt not venture to *ſhew his head for the firſt ten days, till he was obliged to come to the ſenate.*] It is ſaid *Gabinius durſt not venture to ſhew his head the firſt ten days, till he was obliged to come to the Senate.* Yes, in the *city* he did, where he had like to have been killed: " Gabinius
" ad IV Calend. Octobr. [*b*] nocte in urbem introivit, et *hodie* hora octava
" cum edicto C. Alfii de majeſtate cum adeſſe oporteret, concurſu magno
" et odio univerſi populi pene afflictus eſt [*c*]," *hodie* Sept. 29. *the day after his entry*, for Cicero, after he had begun his letter, kept it by him, and writes down the events juſt as they happened. Dr. M. has miſtaken the paſſage which mentions his firſt coming to the *Senate* for his firſt coming into the *City*: " Cum Gabinius, quacunque veniebat, triumphum ſe poſ-
" tulare dixiſſet, ſubitoque bonus Imperator noctu in urbem hoſtium
" plane invaſiſſet *in Senatum* ſe non committebat interim [not—Interim
" ipſo decimo die]. Ipſo decimo die—*inrepſit* [not as the Edd. have it
" *in re hæſit*] ſumma infrequentia [*d*]." *Having given out that he was coming to demand a triumph, this mighty General poſſeſt himſelf of the city, as if*

[*a*] T. p. 121. [*b*] Sept. 28.
[*c*] Ad Quint. III. 1. [*d*] Ad Quint. III. 2.

it

it had been an enemy's, but durſt not yet venture into the Senate by night, till after ten days, when there was a very thin houſe, he crept into it.

2. He was not charged at firſt with *three different impeachments*, but by three different parties, L. Lentulus, Tiberius Nero, and C. Memmius, who all accuſed him of *treaſon*. It is ſaid expreſsly, "quod Cato non volebat, "*adhuc* de pecuniis repetundis non erat poſtulatus [*e*]." *Becauſe Cato was not well, he* [Gabinius] *was not impeached of plundering the provinces.*

3. *Lentulus* might *firſt* lay the *indictment* before the Prætor; but it was *Memmius* that *firſt accuſed* him before the people; "Gabinium ad populum "luculenter calefecerat Memmius [*f*]." Afterwards they all accuſed him of *plundering* his provinces: "Apud Catonem erat divinatio in Gabinium "futura inter Memmium et T. Neronem et C. et L. Antonios [*g*]." The third impeachment was of *bribery*, by P. Sylla [*h*]. This Dr. M. makes the *firſt*, whereas it was the laſt, probably the conſequence of the other trials, in which he bribed his judges to get acquitted, and ſo, as was ſaid of Catiline, came off from the trial as poor as his judges were before it. Cicero ſeems to intimate this, where, having mentioned his acquittal and the corruptneſs of his judges, he adds, "Candidati Coſ. omnes rei ambitus. "Accedit etiam Gabinius, quem Q. Sulla, non dubitans quin *feris eſſet*, "poſtularat." *All the Conſuls were accuſed of bribery; to theſe I may add Gabinius, againſt whom Sylla not doubting but he was far gone in debt preferred a bill.* "*Feris eſſe*" is an expreſſion the commentators are much at a loſs about, and yet Cicero uſes it to the ſame purpoſe elſewhere, "egere, "feris eſſe Gabinium, ſine provincia *ſtare* non poſſe [*i*]."

Dr. M. obſerves, that Cicero, out of regard to Pompey, refrained in the indictment of treaſon from being Gabinius's accuſer; but gives us the paſſage ill read and ill underſtood. "Ego tamen me teneo ab accuſando "vix mehercule. Sed tamen teneo, vel quod *nolo* cum Pompeio pugnare "(ſatis eſt, quod inſtat de Milone), vel, quod judices nullos habemus, "ἀπότευγμα formido [*k*]." Which ſhould be "vel quod *mihi* cum Pom-"peio pugnare ſatis eſt, quod inſtat, de Milone, vel quod judices nullos "habemus, ἀπότευγμα formido." *I have much ado to forbear undertaking the accuſation of Gabinius: however I do forbear, as well becauſe it is enough to have contended with Pompey about Milo, as becauſe from want of good*

[*e*] Ad Quint. Fr. III. 1. [*f*] Ad Quint. III. 2. [*g*] Ibid.
[*h*] Ad Quint. Fr. III. 3. [*i*] Orat in L. Piſon. c. 6. [*k*] Ad Quint. III. 2.

judges

judges I have reaſon to be diffident of ſucceſs. As Cicero thought, Gabinius, by the induſtry of Pompey, was acquitted: but how? "Omnino πρώρα "πρύμνα [*l*]." By a tumultuary proceeding, every thing carried in the wrong way [*m*].

4to. I. 523. 8vo. II. 134.

—— yielded that Calvinus and Meſſala ſhould be conſuls. Theſe are agreeable likewiſe to Cæſar: *Cicero had particularly recommended Meſſala to him*; of whom he ſays, in a letter to his brother, As to your reckoning Meſſala and Calvinus ſure conſuls, you agree with what we think here; for I will be *anſwerable* to Cæſar for Meſſala.] It ſhould be *Cæſar had particularly recommended Meſſala to Cicero*, who therefore would be anſwerable to Cæſar for his ſucceſs. Dr. M. was miſled by the modern cuſtom and phraſe, of being anſwerable *for his behaviour*. T. p. 121.

4to. I. 5. 8vo. II. 140.

The *prieſts of all kinds* were originally choſen by their colleges, till Domitius, a tribune, transferred the choice of them to the people.] Not the prieſts of ALL KINDS were choſen by their colleges: the Pontifex Maximus never was, but by XVII of the tribes, a majority of which decided the choice, as Cicero tells us in his Second Agrarian Oration, and is abundantly proved by Gruchius de Comitiis l. ii. c. 2. by Gutherius l. i. c. 8. and by Noris, Cenot. Piſan. Diſſ. II. c. 5. p. 124.

4to. II. 8. 8vo. II. 173.

At Athens Cicero and his brother ſpent their time very agreeably—abroad in viewing the buildings and antiquities of the place, with which Cicero was *much delighted.*] Not ſo very much: Dr. M. has miſtaken the words of Atticus for thoſe of Cicero. "Quid eſt præterea [*n*]? Nihil "fane niſi illud, *Valde* [dicis] *me Athenæ delectarunt.* Urbs duntaxat et "urbis ornamentum et hominum amoris in te—*Sed multum* [inquis] *et* "*philoſophia.* Ἄνω κάτω ſi quid eſt, eſt in Ariſto." *Have I omitted any thing in anſwer to yours? Nothing, unleſs to reply to your ſuppoſal, That Athens gave me great ſatisfaction. No, nothing but the mere ſhell of the city. The ornaments of it, and the great affection the people expreſſed for you.—Well, but, did not the philoſophy?—Really if there is any left here and there, it is chiefly*

[*l*] Att. IV. p. 16. [*m*] T. p. 123, 4, 5. [*n*] Ad Att. V. 10.

concentered

concentered in Ariſſus. The Greek Dr. M. has omitted as unneceſſary, and many others take ἄνω κάτω to ſignify the uncertain doctrine of the Academics, who affirm nothing. But Atticus did not enquire after that ſect only, but of philoſophy in general, which, in Cicero's opinion, was at a low ebb even there. For want of the Doctor's hitting on this, we have loſt a reflection on the migration of learning. Our once barbarous iſle would have riſen ſuperior to Athens, as upon another occaſion it does to Rome. See 4to. I. 495. 8vo. II. 102. T. p. 126.

4to. II. 12. 8vo. II. 178.

On the 21ſt of May a report was ſpread through the Forum and the whole City, that you were killed *on the road by Q. Pompeius:* but I, who knew him to be then at *Bauli*, and in ſuch a ſtarving condition that I could not help pitying him, being forced to turn *pilot for his bread*, was not concerned about it.] "Maximus rumor fuit a Q. Pompeio in itinere occi-"ſum[o];" which ſhould be rendered, *A report was ſpread, which* CAME FROM *Q. Pompeius, that you was killed on the road*[p]. Had Cicero intended Dr. M's ſenſe, he would have confuſed the report by ſhewing how inconſiſtent it was with the rout of Cicero to fall in the way of Q. Pompeius. *I*, he would have ſaid, *who knew him to be at Bauli in baniſhment, and that you before this time was to meet Cn. Pompey at Tarentum, and from thence was to go to Brundiſium, was not concerned about it:* whereas, to ſhew the unlikelihood of the report, he only dwells on the character of the reporter. *I, who knew Q. Pompey, was learning the art of faſting at Bauli, inſomuch that I even pitied his hunger, was not concerned at his invention of a lie for a dinner*, &c.—"Qui ſcirem *empeneticam* facere (as Turneb reads), et "uſque eo ut ego miſererer ejus *eſuriei*, non ſum commotus; et hoc *men-*"*dacio*, ſi qua pericula tibi impenderent, ut defungerentur optavi." I have altered the turn of the Engliſh; whereupon Cicero puns [a little obſcurely] upon the words *Mendicus* and *Mendax*, both derived from the ſame root, and which would here comprehend the idea of the word *Empinetica*. T. p. 101.

4to. II. 13. 8vo. II. 178.

How! was it this, think you, that I charged you with; to ſend me the making of Gladiators; the adjournments of cauſes; and *Chreſſus's News-*

[o] Ad Quint. Fr. I. 8. [p] T. p. 101.

letter?]

letter?] As if a news-paper was publiſhed at Rome, as now-a-days with us. No, Cœlius, as the former letter tells us, was to ſend Cicero an account of all the news of the town. But as he had too much buſineſs of his own to take a journal of whatever paſſed, he deputed Chreſſus (a freedman probably) to that office, who made up a volume of ſuch ſort of materials. This is what Cœlius ſent, without ſo much as reading it over. Cicero deſires him to excuſe himſelf that trouble and charge for the future, and only to ſend him an account of the moſt material tranſactions in the ſtate. T. p. 100.

4to. II. 14. 8vo. II. 179.

The Greeks flocked eagerly from all parts to ſee a man ſo celebrated through the empire for the fame of his *learning* and *eloquence* [*q*]. " Cum " *decumanis*, ac ſi veniſſem cum imperio, Græci, quaſi Ephetio Prætori, ſe " alacres obtulerunt; ex quo ſe intelligere certo ſcio, multorum annorum " oſtentationes meos nunc in diſcrimen eſſe adductos. Sed, ut ſpero—om- " nibus ſatisfaciemus; et eo facilius, quod in noſtra provincia confectæ " ſunt pactiones." The *Greeks* admired his eloquence much about the ſame as the *farmers of the taxes*. Cicero was now entering into his province, and he tells us, *before he came to it at Epheſus the farmers of the taxes and the Græcians came about him as if he had even juriſdiction there; from whence you will underſtand*, ſays he, *that all my boaſts* [of lenity and juſtice] *will now be put to the trial. But I hope to ſatisfy all parties*, the provincials and the taxers, *and the rather, becauſe in my province an agreement has been already made* for one year. T. p. 128, 9.

4to. II. 19 and 24. 8vo. II. 185.

When Ariobarzanes came to *offer* Cicero the ſame preſent of money which he had uſually made to every other Governor, he *generouſly refuſed it*, and deſired only, that inſtead of giving it to him, it might be paid to Brutus.] " Mandatorum mihi libellum [Brutus] dedit; iiſdemque de " rebus tu mecum egeras; omnia ſum diligentiſſime perſecutus. Primum " ab Ariobarzane ſic contendi, ut talenta, quæ mihi pollicebatur, ille " daret [*r*]." Which Dr. M. thus tranſlates: *Brutus gave me a memorial of the particulars, which you had talked over with me before: I purſued your*

[*q*] Ad Att. V. 13. [*r*] Ad Att. IV. 1.

[his]

[his] *inſtructions exactly. In the firſt place, I preſſed Ariobarzanes to give that money to Brutus, which he promiſed to me*,—yes, had promiſed to pay me *on the account of Brutus*. Brutus had given Cicero ſome commiſſions in writing: Among the reſt, one was to get-in this debt of Ariobarzanes for him. Cicero ſays, he had preſſed Ariobarzanes to pay that money, which he had promiſed on his account. Nothing of offering a *preſent of money* to Cicero in the caſe; and Dr. M's tranſlation might have paſſed for right, if he had not, by his comment, cleared up his own meaning againſt the author's. Dr. M. afterwards obſerves, Cicero never left urging king Ariobarzanes, till he had ſqueezed from him a hundred talents, in part of Brutus's debt, the ſame ſum probably which had been deſtined to Cicero himſelf; the ſame miſtake ſtill; the talents were no other than thoſe he owed Brutus. T. p. 128 [*s*]. We have more proofs of Cicero's generoſity.

The city of Salamis owed to two of Brutus's friends, as he pretended, Scaptius and Matinius, above twenty thouſand pounds ſterling upon bond, at a moſt *extravagant intereſt*; and he begged of Cicero to take their perſons and concerns under his ſpecial protection.—He enjoined the Salaminians to pay off Scaptius's bond, which they were ready to do according to the tenor of his edict, by which he had ordered, that no bonds in his province ſhould carry above *one per cent. by the month*. Scaptius inſiſted on *four per cent.* as the condition of his bond expreſſed; while the Salaminians, as they proteſted to Cicero, could not have paid the original debt, if they had not been enabled to do it out *of his own dues*, that he had remitted to them.—Brutus, in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confeſs, what he had *all along diſſembled*, that the debt was in reality his own, and Scaptius only his agent.] 1. If Cicero did not underſtand that this money was in reality owing to Brutus, it is certain he had intimation that he was nearly concerned in the loſs of it [*t*]. For in the written inſtructions Brutus had given him, it was ſaid the Salaminians were indebted to Scaptius and Matinius, and that he was bound for both of them in a great ſum. So that their payment of him depended in a great meaſure on Cicero's ſucceſs with the Salaminians. 2. It ſhould be remembered, that the exorbitant intereſt with which Cicero and Dr. M. are ſo much offended, was the legal intereſt as far *as an act of the Senate* could make it ſo. The caſe was this [*u*]: The Salaminians wanted to

[*s*] Ad Att. IV. 3. [*t*] Ad Att. VI. 1. [*u*] Ad Att. V. 21. VI. 2.

borrow

borrow money of ſome perſons at Rome to enable them to pay their taxes, which was contrary to the Gabinian law: Theſe friends of Brutus were ready to advance the ſum, could they have an act of the Senate to indemnify them. By Brutus's influence they got one paſſed; ſtill they thought themſelves not ſafe, becauſe the Gabinian law had made all bonds in ſuch caſes void, upon which a ſecond act was paſſed to confirm ſuch bonds. All this Cicero tells us himſelf, ſo that there was no underhand dealing in the caſe; I may add, nothing in demand of intereſt that was unuſual. For thoſe that lent money contrary to the Gabinian law *uſed* to take four per cent. per month, on account of the hazardous ſecurity, for it might admit of a diſpute, whether an act of Senate could ſet aſide the Gabinian law, and the Provincial prætor could exerciſe his juriſdiction more arbitrarily than the city one. But as the Senate had now allowed a bond to be good that carried four per cent. intereſt, it will be aſked, how came Cicero in the preſent caſe to take but one?

As to the dues that Cicero remitted to theſe Salaminians, it ſhould have been obſerved, that they were no other than thoſe extortions which former prætors uſed to exact of particular cities to be exempted from having ſoldiers quartered on them [*x*]. Cicero forbore to demand, as with the greater juſtice he ought, now the army was ſent under Quintus in Cilicia. A proof therefore of his humanity, not of his juſtice [*y*].

4to. II. 25. 8vo. II. 191.

In the ſuſpence of the Parthian war, Cicero's friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in ſome pain for the ſafety of his ſucceſs: but now that he found himſelf engaged, and puſhed to the neceſſity of acting the general, he ſeems to have wanted neither the courage nor conduct of an experienced leader.] He talked big indeed upon his firſt ſetting out to his province [*z*]. "Ἀφράξι Rhodiorum et dicrotum Mi-" tylenorum habebam, et aliquid ἐπίκωπον. [l. ἐπικὸν δέ.]" *I had ſome Rhodian pinnaces, and Mitylenian gallies; and ſome heroic action muſt be undertaken.* But if we examine into his conduct againſt the Parthians, it will be found very ſuſpicious. *As our army,* ſays he, *is in a weak condition, and I have but a ſmall number of allies* [*a*] *whoſe fidelity I can depend upon, my greateſt ſecurity is, that we ſhall ſhortly go into winter quarters. I am*

[*x*] Ad Att. V. 20.
[*z*] Ad Att. V. 11.
[*y*] T. p. 128.
[*a*] Ad Att. V. 18.

only

only afraid, if the enemy before that ſeaſon does not advance into my province, that the Senate will then forbear ſending Pompey. And though his fear makes him diſtruſt theſe allies, his vanity, in the ſame letter, makes him repreſent them to Atticus *as more firmly attached to him, than they ever were to any governour.* Well, Cicero had not yet done with the Parthians, though Dr. M. diſperſes them, and ſays, the danger *from them was over for this ſeaſon*, and ſo makes him engage with a new enemy. But Cicero tells us [*b*], that, underſtanding the *Parthians* were poſted upon the borders of Cilicia, he fell upon them at Amarius, and took ſome ſtrong forts. But how? "*Nocturno* Pontinii adventu, noſtro *matutino*." So that the ſurprize, which he mentions in another letter [*c*] as the cauſe of their defeat, was owing probably to Pontinius. Five days after he departed for Pindeniſſum, having heard perhaps of another approach of the Parthians. For 'tis certain, while Cicero was there, Bibulus received an *unlucky defeat at Amanus.* "Venit interim Bibulus—cohortem primam totam perdidit "—plagam odioſam acceperat cum re, tum tempore [*d*]."

The next campaign Cicero was in terrible apprehenſions again from the Parthians [*e*]: *He knows the Senate will ſend ſomebody againſt them, and that he ſhall be called home. He dreads June and July: but thoſe two months Bibulus may hold out againſt them. But what will become of him*, ſays he, *whom I ſhall depute in my ſtead?* In ſhort, he left his province to *Cælius, a giddy-headed boy*, as he knew very well, *of no conduct or ſolidity in the world.* "Puerum, inquies, et fortaſſe fatuum, et non gravem, et non continen-"tem [*f*]." T. p. 133—136. It muſt be owned, however, he makes ſome apology for this; that the Parthians, juſt at that juncture, by great good fortune, were retired; that he ſhould otherwiſe have ſtaid himſelf, even againſt the decree of the Senate, &c. And he deputed Cælius for the preſent.

To proceed: Cicero made a point, it ſeems, of gaining a thankſgiving, if not a triumph, for his victory at Amanus. Cato voted againſt it; and his letter of excuſe to Cicero, though Dr. M. thinks a little otherwiſe, ſhews with what genteel addreſs he kept up to the rules of *friendſhip*, at the ſame time that upon a principle of conſcience he oppoſed his *friend*. Dr. M. ſays, in his ſpeech to the Senate he extolled both Cicero's *civil and*

[*b*] Ad Att. V. 20. [*c*] Ad Fam. XV. 4. [*d*] Ad Att. V. 20.
[*e*] Ad Att. VI. 1. [*f*] Ad Att. VI. 3.

military

military adminiſtration. Yes, " Dedit integritatis, juſtitiæ, clementiæ, fidei " teſtimonium [*g*];" but not a word of *military* conduct. That Cato, though he voted againſt the decree, *yet aſſiſted in drawing it up, and had his name inſerted in it, which was the uſual mark of a particular approbation of the thing:* which is more ſure than Cato apprehended; for he might as well have *voted* his approbation, as *teſtified* it in writing. T. p. 136, 137.

4to. II. 40. 8vo. II. 208.

Tullia parted from her ſecond huſband, probably by divorce—for Craſſipes appears to have been alive at this time, and under *Cicero's diſpleaſure*, who mentions him as the only Senator, beſides Hirrus, to whom he did not think fit to write about the affair of his ſupplication. Ad Att. VII. 1.] Cicero did not write to Craſſipes, probably becauſe he concluded he would vote for him without it, as it is plain he did; for he ſays only Cato, Favonius, and Hirrus voted againſt it [*b*]. Tullia was divorced from Craſſipes before Cicero went to his province [*i*]; and a good underſtanding was kept up between them while he was abroad [*k*]. T. p. 188.

4to. II. 49. 8vo. I. 218.

U. C. 703. Coſſ. L. Æmilius Paulus,
C. Claudius Marcellus.

Dr. M. here rightly calls the former conſul *L. Æmilius Paulus*; who was the brother of the triumvir *M. Æmilius Lepidus.* But both he and Dr. Tunſtall afterwards, through miſtake, call him *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus* [*l*]; the former Ep. Cic. ad Brut. p. 21. the latter in Obſervations, p. 309. This diſtinction has been clearly made out by Perizonius, Anim. Hiſt. c. III. who obſerves, that *M. Æmil. Lepidus Q. fil. Coſ.* 676. had three ſons, 1. M. Lepidus, who was adopted by Scipio; 2. L. Æmilius Paulus Coſ. 703. who was proſcribed by his brother; 3. The triumvir *M. Æm. Lepidus.* The youngeſt bore the prænomen of the father, which was given him probably becauſe the eldeſt by adoption exchanged his own prænomen for that of the father who adopted him. This Lucius *Æm. Paulus*, the ſecond ſon, having himſelf only one ſon, was willing to perpetuate in him the two

[*g*] Ad Att. VII. 2. [*b*] Ad Att. VII. 9.
[*i*] Ad Att. VII. 9. [*k*] Ad Fam. XIII. 9.
[*l*] *M. Æmil. Lepidus's brother* (ſays Dr. M. ad Brut. p. 21) was PAULUS *Æmilius Lepidus, who had been conſul with Marcellus*, 703. No, he ſhould have ſaid LUCIUS *Æmilius Paulus.*

moſt

moſt honourable names of the family, that of Paulus, who, by conquering Perſeus, brought ſo much money to the treaſury, that the city was eaſed of any tribute to it; and the name of *Lepidus*, who was Pont. Max. at the ſame time. He is called therefore *L. Æmilius Paulus Lepidus*, or *L. Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*; but the father always *L. Paulus*, or *L. Æmilius Paulus*, without the addition of *Lepidus*. His ſon Paulus Lepidus, having two ſons, divided again the honourable appellations of the family, naming the eldeſt L. Æmil. Paulus; the younger M. Æmil. Lepidus.

4to. II. 52. 8vo. II. 223.

Upon taking leave of Cilicia, Cicero paid a viſit to *Rhodes* [*m*]—here he received the news of Hortenſius's death.] This upon the ſeeming expreſs teſtimony of Cicero: "Cum e Cilicia *Rhodum* veniſſem, et *eo* mihi "de Q. Hortenſii morte effet allatum [*n*]." And yet, from a better teſtimony of the very ſame Cicero it may be proved, he heard of Hortenſius's death before he ſet out from Cilicia: "Ego dum *in provincia* omnibus "rebus Appium orno, ſubito ſum factus accuſatoris ejus frater." In the ſame letter follows, "De Hortenſio te certo ſcio dolere: equidem "excrucior: decreram enim cum eo valde familiariter vivere [*o*]." The ſcene of his ſeveral treatiſes, where he introduces different perſons, he lays, not agreeable to truth, but juſt as it moſt ſuits the plan of his drama. In this of Brutus, that he might bring in the mention of Hortenſius to the beſt advantage, he repreſents the news of his death coming to him at Rhodes, a place famous for eloquence, and whence he would naturally call to mind Milo, who was of this city, and when at Rome was præceptor to them both in eloquence. Accordingly he thus introduces him: "Eodem "anno etiam Miloni Rhodio Romæ dedimus operam, et actori ſummo "cauſarum et magiſtro." T. p. 156.

4to. II. 54. 8vo. II. 224.

Theſe two rivals lived always with great civility and reſpect towards each other, till Cicero in *the caſe of his exile* diſcovered the plain marks of a lurking envy and infidelity.] Almoſt four years before this there was a jealouſy between them, as we have before obſerved; thoſe words of Atticus, *Poſteaquam non auderet reprehendere laudare cœpiſſe* [*p*] being ſpoken

[*m*] T. p. 56. [*n*] Brut. init. [*o*] Ad Att. VI. 6. [*p*] Ep. ad Att. I. 13.

of Hortenſius. And it is probable the glory that Cicero gained by his conſulſhip might be the occaſion of Hortenſius's envy, which he frequently cried up more according to the ſenſe of the times than from the affection of his heart. T. p. 38.

4to. II. 54. 8vo. II. 225.

From Rhodes he paſſed on to Epheſus. T. 144.

4to. II. 55. 8vo. II. 226.

In his voyage from Athens towards Italy, Tiro happened to fall ſick, and was left behind at *Patræ* to the care of friends and phyſicians.] Tiro was left behind at two places [*q*], as it ſhould ſeem, on account of ſickneſs; the firſt very manifeſtly before he was got out of Cilicia, and was come to Laodicea [*r*]. " Tiro ad te dediſſet litteras, niſi eum graviter ægrum Iſſi " [al. Eteæ] reliquiſſent;" for which ſhould probably be read ἀσιτίᾳ, i. e. ſick for want of appetite. Hence he writes, " Plane curationes ejus [medici] " non probo: jus enim dandum tibi non fuit, cum κακοζόμαχος eſſes [*s*]." Again, " *Inedia* [the very word in Latin, which before in Greek ἀσιτίᾳ,] " et purgationibus et vi ipſius morbi conſumptus [*t*]." In the ſecond illneſs he was left at *Patræ*. T. 144, 145. The firſt Dr. M. has omitted: Mr. T. ſays, he has confounded the two ſeizures together, and made the firſt ſickneſs to happen at Patræ: but I ſee no reaſon for that charge. He may be guilty of an *omiſſion*, if it is to be called one, but not of *confuſion*.

4to. II. 62. 8vo. II. 60.

They had got with them the copy of a ſpeech, which Antony made to the people four days before—a perpetual invective on Pompey's conduct —complaints againſt the arbitrary condemnation of citizens, and *the terror of his arms* [*u*]. " In qua erat accuſatio Pompeii uſque a toga pura, que- " rela de damnatis, terror armorum [*x*]." *In which was ſet forth the terror of* HIS *arms*, i. e. his own and Cæſar's, as Corradus has obſerved, not *Pompey's*, as Manutius and Dr. M. It follows, " IN QUIBUS [armis], " quid cenſes (aiebat) facturum eſſe ipſum [Cæſarem] ſi id poſſeſſionem " reip. venerit, cum hæc quæſtor ejus infirmus et inops audeat dicere."

[*q*] T. p. 146. [*r*] Ad Att. VI. 7. [*s*] Ep. ad Fam. XVI. 4. [*t*] Ib. Ep. 10.
[*u*] T. p. 146. [*x*] Ad Att. VII. 8.

T. 146. But it is at leaſt matter of doubt ſtill: for IN *quibus armis quid facturum cenſes*, is ſcarce Latin, WITH *which arms what think you will he not attempt?* Rather, *Upon which things*, [reflecting on what had paſſed in Antony's ſpeech] *what think you*, ſays Pompey, *Cæſar will do, if his little Quæſtor can talk at this rate?* And then Manutius's obſervation may hold, as far as I ſee, that Antony did not *threaten* in his ſpeech, but *accuſe*, and therefore ſpoke of the terror of Pompey's arms, not Cæſar's.

4to. II. 55. 8vo. II. 225.

His predeceſſor Appius, who paſſed alſo through Athens on his return, had *ordered* a new portico to be built at his coſt to the temple of the Eleuſinian Ceres; which ſuggeſted a thought likewiſe to Cicero of adding ſome ornament of the ſame kind to the academy. In all probability it was *never executed.*] Appius only *thought* of building a new portico, and ſo did Cicero of a temple; it is certain neither of them executed it. "Me tamen de Academiæ προπύλῳ jubes cogitare, cum jam Appius de "Eleuſine non cogitet [*y*]?" *Would you have me think of the portico to the academy, when Appius has given over his thoughts of one at Eleuſine.* T. p. 140.

4to. II. 56. 581. 8vo. II. 226. III. 378.

How much we are indebted to *Tiro* for preſerving and *tranſmitting* to poſterity the *precious collection of Cicero's letters*—Not a ſingle letter of Atticus's was ever publiſhed; which can hardly be charged to any other cauſe, but his having *withdrawn them from Tiro after Cicero's death*, and ſuppreſſed them with ſingular care.] If this collection of letters had been owing to Tiro Cicero's ſervant, we ſhould have had them delivered down to us in the order in which Cicero *ſent them:* whereas there are ſome evidently publiſhed out of time in the order Atticus revived them. Ad Att. II. 12. Of this we have a remarkable inſtance in that dated from the Three Taverns, which, in the 13th he tells him, *being put into a wrong pacquet, was brought back to Rome, and thence to his Formian Villa, inſtead of being ſent on: That he had now ſent it along with the preſent.* And ſo it ſtands in the editions of this day, "Negent illi," &c. preceding the XIIIth, whereas it ſhould be before the VIIth. Other inſtances there are of the like nature [*z*]. That none of Atticus's letters remain, and ſo many of

[*y*] Ad Att. VI. 6.

[*z*] See note of Mongault II. 11.

Cicero's,

Cicero's, may eaſily be accounted for, from the careleſsneſs of the latter to preſerve what he received: whereas Atticus was careful of Cicero's, with a view to complete his collection, and afterwards to make a penny of them. For that Atticus had a paſſion for money is plain, from his keeping a number of Gladiators, to let out for hire to the public ſhews [*a*]: and for the ſame end kept *Tranſcribers, Collators, and Embelliſhers*, &c. "Pueros literatiſſimos, anagnoſtas optimos, plurimos librarios [*b*]." Not that all the Epiſtles are now publiſhed in the order Atticus received; ſome diſlocations having happened from various other accidents. T. p. 15. 16.

4to. II. 69. 8vo. II. 241.

Cicero had Capua with the inſpection of the ſea coaſt from Formiæ: he would not accept any greater *charge*, for the ſake of preſerving his authority in the taſk of mediating peace; and for the ſame reaſon, when he perceived his new province wholly unprovided againſt an enemy, and that it was impoſſible to hold Capua without a ſtrong garriſon, he reſigned his employment, and choſe not to act at all.] Cicero labours ſo much for reaſons for reſigning, or rather declining the poſt of defending Capua, that it is plain he could aſſign no good one: Among the reſt he gives this, *that, after conditions of peace had been ſent by L. Cæſar and Fabalus* [*c*], *he would give no umbrage to one to whom Pompey, even ſince arms had been taken up on both ſides, offered a Conſulſhip and a triumvir.* Thus it is he uſes to lay the blame of all his compliance with Cæſar on Pompey's example [*d*]. And yet this very man, in his letter to Cæſar, tells him, *that he thought him injured in the war raiſed againſt him; that it was owing to envy and malice that ſome endeavoured to deny him the honour the people of Rome had decreed him; that he, for his part, did not only promote his pretenſions to the Conſulſhip* [*e*], *but engaged the intereſt of ſeveral others.* So little grounds had Dr. M. to imagine, that whereas Cælius's opinion [*f*], *that in a public diſſenſion, as long as it was carried on by civil methods, one ought to take the honeſter ſide; but when it came to arms, the ſtronger.—Cicero thought, that where our duty and ſafety interfere,*

[*a*] Ad Att. IV. 4. 8.
[*b*] Corn. Nepos, Vit. Att. See likewiſe Ad Att. II. IV. 4. &c.
[*c*] Ad Att. I. 9. [*d*] Ad Att. VII. 1. VIII. 3.
[*e*] Pont. IX. 11. [*f*] Vol. II. 102, 103.

we

we ſhould adhere always to what is right, whatever danger we incur by it. T. p. 137.

In what fear is he, in another place, leſt, by conſulting the ſafer ſide rather than the honeſter, he had loſt the opinion of the Good? And almoſt wiſhes a misfortune to them, to *juſtify* his conduct in not following them to Africa [*g*]. T. p. 156, 7, 8.

4to. II. 93. 8vo. II. 268.

If we did *not know* from Cæſar himſelf that *he will do* what we think he ought to do, treat about a reconciliation between him and Pompey, *we ſhould give over* exhorting you to come and take part in thoſe deliberations, that by your help the whole affair might be ſettled with eaſe and dignity. Or if, on the contrary, we believed that Cæſar *would not do it*, &c. But ſince at preſent we can only *gueſs*, rather than *know*, what Cæſar will do.] Strange, that they ſhould rather *gueſs* than *know*, when before they ſaid they *knew from Cæſar himſelf*. Read, without the word NOT; IF *we knew from Cæſar himſelf*, &c. [*b*]. "Nos SI [not NISI] id—eum facturum ex "ipſo cognoviſſemus, te hortari deſineremus: aut *ſi* ex contrario puta- "remus Cæſarem id non facturum," &c. T. p. 153. But ſtill I will preſume to ſay, the paſſage is not right; for what ſort of reaſoning is that, *we ſhould give over exhorting you to come, that the whole might be ſettled with eaſe and dignity?* It ſhould be read undoubtedly "Nos NON, ſi—id eum "facturum ex ipſo cognoviſſemus, te hortari deſineremus ut velles iis "rebus adeſſe, quo facilius," &c. *If we* KNEW *from Cæſar himſelf that he will do what we think he ought to do, we ſhould* NOT *give over exhorting you to come and take part in thoſe deliberations.* They put it in all poſſible lights, but ſtill all of them to ſhew that Cicero ought to come. The NON was omitted by the librarian by reaſon of a contraction n̄ ſi; or from the nearneſs to NOS NON ſi.

4to. II. 99. 8vo. II. 273.

I ſhould not be concerned at the report which is ſpread of you, *eſpecially* when I take it to be *but falſe.* But, out of the exceſs of my affection, I cannot diſſemble, that even a report, though falſe, makes ſome impreſſion on me.] "—— non poſſum diſſimulare mihi famam quoque, quam-

[*g*] Ad Att. IX. 7. [*b*] Ad Ian. IX. 8.

"vis .

" vis ſit falſa, magni eſſe [*i*]." A pithy ſentence! *Though I ſhould not be concerned at a report ſpread of you that is falſe, yet I muſt own I am concerned at it.* The MSS. brighten up the ſentence wonderfully :—" famam quo-" que, quamvis ſit falſa, *falſam agnoſcere* magni eſſe :"—*I cannot diſſemble, that though it is falſe, yet that it is a part of friendſhip to own it ſo.* T. p. 154.

4to. II. 112. 8vo. II. 289.

Cato, whom Pompey had ſent to poſſeſs himſelf of Sicily, thought fit to quit that poſt, and yield up the iſland to Curio, who came likewiſe to ſeize it on Cæſar's part.—Cicero was much ſcandalized at Cato's conduct.] And yet it is ſomewhat ſtrange that Dr. M. ſhould paſs by an inſtance of Cicero's, which betrayed greater cowardice. He had been egged on by Atticus to erect a ſtandard, as Cælius had done heretofore for Marius, to which the honeſt men might likewiſe reſort. " Nos a te admoniti de Cælio cogita-" bimus—Quod optas, Cælianum illud matureſcit—vexillo opus eſt; con-" volabunt [*k*]." Again : *I am often reſolving to do ſomewhat like Cælius, and if opportunity offers, ſhall not ſlip it* [*l*]. And yet it no ſooner offered, than in the midſt of his reſolutions he run away; then tells Atticus that he thought of Cælius's miſcarriage, not of his bravery, which was what he before had been talking of imitating [*m*]. *I went privately to my houſe near Pompeii, to remain there while every thing was got ready for my voyage. I was no ſooner come, than our friend Minnius told me that the captains of the three cohorts that were at Pompeii would ſpeak with me the next day, and would deliver up to me the place. But I ſlunk away before day, that I might have no interview with them. For what were three cohorts? and if there had been more, what proviſion was there? I thought of the event of Cælius, which you mentioned in your letter, which I that day received upon my coming to Cumæ. Poſſibly it may be only a feint to try me: but by getting away I ſecured myſelf from being ſuſpected.* T. p. 135. 'Tis ſtrange Dr. M. ſhould paſs this over, when Mongault had pointed out Cicero's mean conduct, and ſays, we may apply to him what Jupiter in Homer ſays to Venus.

An inſtance of the like behaviour we have ſeen before in the affair of Capua.

[*i*] Ad Att. X. 8.
[*k*] Ad Att. X. 14. 15.
[*l*] Ad Att. X. 12.
[*m*] Ad Att. X. 16.

4to.

4to. I. 280, 1. 8vo. I. 291, 292.

As all Patricians were incapable of the Tribunate by its original inſtitution, ſo Clodius's firſt ſtep [in order to be choſen Tribune] was to make himſelf a Plebeian, by the pretence of an adoption into a Plebeian houſe, which could not be done without the ſuffrage of the people. This caſe was wholly new—The ſolicitor of it was one Herennius, an obſcure hardy Tribune, who *firſt moved it to the Senate*, and afterwards to *the conſul*—The Conſul Metellus oppoſed it, and declared that he would ſtrangle him ſooner with his own hands, than ſuffer him to bring ſuch a diſgrace upon his family.] Here Dr. M. falls into a miſtake with Manutius and others; Metellus was not againſt the adoption, but againſt the form in which Herennius propoſed it ſhould be done. *Metellus eſt Conſul egregius, ſed imminuit authoritatem ſuam, quod habere dicit cauſam promulgatum illud idem Clodio* [*n*]. "Metellus, ſays Cicero, leſſens his authority, in ſaying that "the law that was propoſed to the people concerning Clodius's adoption "into a Plebeian family was founded on juſtice and reaſon." But what the Conſul ſtrenuouſly oppoſed was, that it ſhould not be propoſed to the people in the *Campus Martius*, but in the Comitia Curiata, held in a part of the Forum, the court to which, as Gellius tells us, cauſes of adoption particularly belonged [*o*]. Cicero ſays, ID *præclare Metellus impediebat*. II. 1. What is that but what he told Atticus before; Herennius laboured "ut "univerſus populus IN CAMPO MARTIO ſuffragium de re Clodii ferat." I. 18. Dio is clear, τρόφασιν δὲ ἐποιήσατο, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πάτρια—ἐγεγόνει. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ εἰσφορᾷ τὸ φρατρικὸν νόμῳ μόνως ἐξῆν γίνεσθαι [*p*].

But what was it the Tribune Herennius *firſt moved* to the Senate? An affair that did not belong to them: "Genus hoc in alienam familiam "tranſitus per populi rogationem ſit—Comitia arbitris Pontificibus pro-"bentur, quæ *curiata* appellentur." Gellius. T. p. 41, &c.

4to. II. 131. 8vo. II. 311.

Cicero, either through the difficulty of the times, or for want of a ſufficient ſettlement on Dolabella's part, had not yet paid all her fortune,

[*n*] Ad Att. I. 18. [*o*] Ad Att. IV. 1. [*p*] Hiſt. p. 53.

which it was uſual to do at three different payments within a time limited by the law: he had diſcharged the two firſt, and was now preparing to make the *third payment*—but a *divorce enſued* not long after.] Not the *third* payment, but the *ſecond*, as appears from the very words cited by Dr. M. "De penſione *altera* oro te omni cura conſidera[q]." And, though there was ſome deliberation about a divorce, it is probable it did not come to that, though ſeveral of the learned have thought ſo, againſt the authority of Plutarch and Aſconius; the former of whom ſays, ἀπέθανε τὴν γυναῖκα ΠΑΡΑ ΛΕΝΤΑΩ,—the latter "P. Lentulo collocavit, APUD QUEM "illa ex partu deceſſit[r]," i. e. *while ſhe was Lentulus's wife*; for it cannot well mean *at Lentulus's houſe*, becauſe Cicero mentions his Tuſculan villa, as the ſcene that renewed the remembrance of her, where probably ſhe died, which we ſhall mention again preſently.

4to. II. 149. 8vo. II. 331.

Cicero now at laſt parted with his wife Terentia—This drew upon him ſome cenſure, for putting away a wife, the FAITHFUL *partner of his bed.* But ſhe was a woman of an imperious and turbulent ſpirit, expenſive and negligent in her private affairs, &c. Id. et ſupra p. 21, 8vo. The petulant humour of his wife, which BEGAN to give him frequent occaſions of chagrin.] Theſe, I fear, are too ſoft words for her ill temper or extravagance. That ſhe was not the *faithful* partner of his bed *only*, is pretty plainly hinted at in the following paſſage, Ep. Fam. IV. 14. "nihil intra ſuos pa-"rietes tutum, nihil inſidiis vacuum videbat:—novarum neceſſitudinum "fidelitate contra veterum perfidiam muniendum." When huſbands complain of the *intrigues* and *perfidy* of their wives, it is to be underſtood unfaithfulneſs of the worſt kind. It is farther to be obſerved, that their diſagreement was probably of longer ſtanding than the Doctor is aware of, even before Cicero's baniſhment. For it is remarkable, that when he mentions to Atticus, upon his return, all the comforts he was reſtored to, among the reſt the tenderneſs of his daughter, Ad Att. IV. 1, he ſays not a word of his wife. And ſoon after, in another letter, having mentioned his ſelling his Tuſculan villa, though againſt his inclinations, he adds,

[q] Ad Att. IX. 3. [r] Orat. in L. Piſ. in init.

"Cætera

" Cætera quæ me ſollicitant, *μυριπώτερα* ſunt; amamur a fratre et a filia." T. p. 181.

4to. I. 299. 8vo. II. 312.

But to ſay the truth, Publius has been treated ſomewhat rudely by them, ſince he who was lately the *only man with Cæſar*, cannot now find a place among the twenty.] The ſalt of the original is here quite loſt: " Qui " cum in domo Cæſaris UNUS VIR fuerit, who was the ONLY man IN CÆ- " SAR'S HOUSE," alluding to his being the only man at the Myſteries of the Bona Dea, which were kept at Cæſar's houſe. It is ſtrange Dr. M. ſhould overlook this piece of raillery, which Manutius has likewiſe clearly pointed out.

Ibid. And while they beſtow the rich ones upon Druſus or Vatinius, reſerve this barren one for him, whoſe Tribunate was propoſed to be of ſuch uſe to them.] Here a difficulty in the original is ſlided over, which Mr. T. very happily corrects: " illa opima ad exigendas pecunias Druſo, ut opi- " nor, *Peſaurenſia Neptiloni Vatinio* reſervatur," ſome books read; for which Manutius reads Druſo—PESAURENSIAN—and Mr. T. for *Neptiloni*, *Puteoleno*, as Vatinius was ſent to Puteoli: " Miſſuſne ſis a Conſule Puteolos, ut " inde aurum exportari argentumque prohiberes?" Interrog. in Vatin. c. 5. T. p. 43.

4to. I. 310. 315. 319. n. c. 8vo. II. 324. 330. 333. c.

But though it was difficult for Pompey to find a remedy, Cicero preſſed the only one which could be effectual, an immediate breach with Cæſar, who, on the other hand, to gain over Cicero, offered to put him into the commiſſion for diſtributing the lands of Campania, with which the xx Senators were charged. Cicero did not think it for his dignity to accept it; nor cared on any account to bear a part in an affair ſo odious. He then offered, in the moſt obliging manner, to make him one of his lieutenants in Gaul, and preſſed it earneſtly upon him; yet Cicero, after ſome heſitation, declined this alſo. He was unwilling to owe the obligation of his ſafety to any man, and much more to Cæſar.] And Dr. M. a little afterwards endeavours particularly to vindicate Cicero from the charge of

temporiſing againſt a French and an Engliſh author. And yet what will become of this hero if it ſhall be proved that he accepted of theſe honours, nay, perhaps, ſued for ſome of them? The firſt in point of time, though mentioned the ſecond by Dr. M. was the lieutenancy; which Plutarch, in Cic. p. 875, expreſsly ſays he aſked for, Καίσαρος δὲ μέλλοντος εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξιέναι—ὑπὸ τοῦτον ὑποδὺς ὁ Κικέρων—ἠξίωσε πρεσβευτὴν αὐτῷ συγκατέυειν. Cicero himſelf ſays that he accepted, Ep. ad Att. II. 18.—" A Cæſare invitor " in legationem illam, ſibi ut ſim legatus: atque libera legatio voti cauſa " datur. Sed hæc et *præſidii apud pudorem* Pulchelli non habet ſatis, et a " fratris adventu me ablegat; illa et munitior eſt, et non impedit, quo " minus adſim, cum velim: HANC EGO TENEO, ſed uſurum me non puto. " Neque tamen ſcit quiſquam—tu hoc ſilebis. I am invited by Cæſar " to be his lieutenant, and I have the offer *of an honourary lieutenancy*; but " as the latter is not ſecurity enough againſt Clodius, and will ſeparate me " from an interview with my brother, I have taken a commiſſion for the " former, but don't think to make uſe of it: and yet nobody knows of " this—you will keep it a ſecret." From this ſecrecy of both, we may charitably conclude, the orator was aſhamed of the thing, and the hiſtorian was not aware of it; and when we have found him guilty thus far, it is poſſible he went farther—as Plutarch ſays, made in ſome ſhape or other applications to Cæſar for it. Will it be objected, that in the following letter to Atticus, he ſays: " Cæſar me ſibi vult eſſe legatum—ſed ego " hoc NUNC repudio." What does that mean, but *that he* NOW *refuſed* what he before accepted [*s*]? Plutarch clears the whole matter, who ſays, that Cicero aſked Cæſar for a lieutenancy, by the enjoyment of which, Clodius, finding he would eſcape out of his hands during his Tribuneſhip, ſhewed a pretended diſpoſition to be friends with him. Upon this, Cicero was ſo weak as to fling up his commiſſion; which was the occaſion of his ruin, for Cæſar, he tells us, was ſo irritated, that he ſet both Clodius and Pompey againſt him [*t*].

This lets us into another reaſon than what Dr. M. aſſigns, why he refuſed being a commiſſioner for diſtributing the lands of Campania, viz. becauſe it would the more exaſperate the Clodian faction againſt him, the appre-

[*s*] Vit. Cic. p. 876. [*t*] T. p. 45, 46.

henſion

henſion of which, we juſt now learnt, ſate very uneaſy upon him. And Cicero aſſigns this very reaſon himſelf. Ad Att. I. 19. "Coſconio mortuo, "ſum in ejus locum invitatus—nil mihi turpius, neque vero ad iſtam "ipſam ἀσφάλειαν quicquam alienius; ſunt enim illi apud bonos in- "vidioſi[u]." Upon the death of Coſconius, I am invited to ſucceed him. —Nothing can add leſs to my reputation, or indeed to my ſecurity.

Whether he had not more than ſome random thoughts of accepting of ſome poſt from the Triumvirate, the reader muſt determine from his frequent deliberations about it, before it was offered him. Ad Att. II. 5. I have been long deſirous, and ſtill *am ſo*, of ſeeing Alexandria and Egypt.

But conſidering the juncture, and the perſons that may give the offer of going, *I fear the Trojans, and my long robbed friends.* For what will the Optimates, the better party, if any of them are left, ſay?—Cato, &c. But, I had better ſtay, and wait to ſee if this Egyptian embaſſy is offered me. If it ſhould, I may then ſay it will be in my power, and it will be time enough to deliberate. And ſome glory there will be in refuſing it. Whereupon if Theophones ſhall ſpeak any thing to you about it, do not ſay I ſhall not accept of it.—But the great bait was the Augurſhip, with which he owns he might be taken: "*quo quidem uno, ego ab iſtis capi poſ-* "*ſum.*" This was ſomewhat more than *a ſudden ſtart of an unweighed thought, no ſooner thrown out than retracted*, for we find him putting it to Atticus as a caſe of conſcience, VIII. 3. "Qui etſi multis rebus ſignificat "ſe nobis eſſe amicum—tamen utrumque conſiderandum eſt, et quanta "fides ei ſit habenda, et, ſi maxime exploratum eum nobis amicum fore, "ſitne viri fortis et boni civis eſſe in ea urbe, in qua, cum ſummis honori- "bus imperiiſque uſus ſit, res maximas geſſerit, *ſacerdotis ſit ampliſſimo* præ- "ditus, non futuris ſit ſui juris." Though Pompey gives me many teſtimonies of his friendſhip, yet I am to conſider, in the firſt place, whether it is ſincere; in the ſecond place, whether it is conſiſtent with a true patriot, to continue in that city, in which he cannot be free, where he has borne the higheſt honours, and now bears the moſt ſacred. His letter to Cato, therefore, is a ſort of an apology to a man whoſe rigid virtue he ſtood in awe of, as he confeſſes, and who, he was ſenſible, knew his weakneſs.

[u] Ad Att. II. 19.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, as to what Dr. M. urges, that it is certain he might have had it, *if he had thought it worth aſking for;* at firſt, no doubt, he might; but, from what Plutarch above tells us, when he had fallen out with Cæſar, it is very probable he could not.

4to. I. 425. 8vo. II. 25.

From theſe facts (viz. from Milo the Tribune taking the auſpices, and ſo obſtructing the Comitia tributa from being held for the election of an Ædile) it appears that Clodius's new law extended no farther than to hinder the magiſtrates from diſſolving an aſſembly after it was *actually convened* and had entered on buſineſs; for it was ſtill unlawful, we ſee, to convene an aſſembly, while the Magiſtrate was in the act of obſerving the Heavens.] See on p. 339. Dr. M. ſuppoſes that Clodius's new law for abrogating the Ælian and Fuſian law was *perpetual* as far as it extended: but that the ſenſe of it was *limited* to hinder the Magiſtrates from diſſolving an aſſembly when met, allowing them ſtill a power to obſtruct the convening one. But it is more probable that Clodius's law was only *temporary*, a ſuſpenſion of the Ælian and Fuſian laws for that juncture, *ut per eos dies, quibus cum populo agi liceret, ne quis de cœlo ſervaret*, i. e. that for thoſe FIVE following comitial days, which were then open for doing buſineſs, no one, by obſerving the Heavens, ſhould alter the quality of them. This occaſional ſuſpenſion of a law is not without precedents. Two years before this, Cicero tells us [*x*], that *Lurco*, a Tribune of the people, who entered on that office at the time the Ælian law took place, was exempted from the impediments of the Ælian and Fuſian law, to propoſe one concerning bribery. And, which is a further proof that Clodius's law was only temporary, he tells us [*y*], when they were deliberating concerning recalling him from baniſhment, it was decreed that no one ſhould *interrupt their proceedings by obſerving the Heavens:* "vel, quod eſt poſtridie decretum "in curia,—ne quis de cœlo ſervaret? ne quis moram ullam afferret." A decree, for which there was no occaſion, if Clodius's law was then ſubſiſting.

Cicero ſpeaks tragically of Clodius's law, as if it not only aboliſhed the Ælian and Fuſian law, but the whole commonwealth. "Qua una rogati-"one," ſays he, "quis non intelligat univerſam remp. eſſe deletam?—Mitto

[*x*] Ad Att. I. 16. [*y*] Pro Sextio, c. 61.

 "eam

" eam legem, quæ omnia jura religionum, auſpiciorum, poteſtatum; om-
" nes leges, quæ ſunt de jure et de tempore legum rogandarum, una ro-
" gatione delevit." Orat. pro Sextio, c. 26. Theſe expreſſions, ſays Dr. Tunſtall, muſt be underſtood with abatement, and conſidered only as ſtrokes of oratorical colouring. p. 67—70. For my part, ſome liberties I can allow to oratory; but can never think Cicero could with any face make ſuch an outcry againſt a five days ſuſpenſion of a law, be it ever ſo ſacred. If it be ſaid, he was the more enraged at this ſuſpenſion, becauſe it was done to procure his baniſhment, it will be anſwered, it muſt then be ſuppoſed to have been again *ſuſpended* to procure his reſtoration: And let the good effects of it be ſet againſt the bad. 2. Cicero, in his Oration *De Provinciis Conſularibus*, c. 19. A. U. 697, two years after Clodius's law was paſſed, ſpeaks of that law in terms which imply it then ſubſiſted in full force. " Aut vobis ſtatuendum eſt legem Æliam manere, legem Fu-
" ſiam non eſſe abrogatam; non omnibus faſtis legem ferri licere; cum
" lex feratur de cœlo ſervari, obnunciari, intercedi ſolere," &c.—aut mihi
" concedant homines oportet," &c. § 19.—To ſolve this difficulty, Manutius imagines, that the Senate looking on Clodius's law concerning the auſpices as a bad one in general, would not, in the inſtance of recalling Cicero, take notice of its reſtriction; a reſtriction which they could at any time ſupply the want of by their unanimous conſent.

As to Dr. M. and Mr. T. my humble opinion is, that neither of theirs is right. The law which Clodius paſſed was, that no one ſhould take the auſpices during the *comitia centuriata*, where laws were paſſed, but left the cuſtom of electing the minor officers at the Comitia Tributa as before. Hence Cicero juſtly inveighs, " omnes leges, quæ ſunt de *jure* et *tempore*
" LEGUM rogandarum una rogatione delerit."

4to. II. 160. 8vo. II. 344.

His *friends adviſed* Cicero not to *be too explicit* in Cato's praiſe. But ſhould I give a ſlight commendation only of his conſtancy and gravity, even this may be more than they will care to hear.—But the man cannot be praiſed, as he deſerves, unleſs it be particularly explained, &c.] The *friends* that Dr. M. ſpeaks of were none of Cicero's, but ſuch as he knew were againſt any thing in Cato's praiſe[z], " Non affequor ut ſcribam,
" quod tui convivæ non modo *libenter* ſed etiam *æquo animo* legere poſ-

[z] Ad Att. XII. 4.

" ſim.—

" ſim.—Sed vere laudari ille vir non poteſt, niſi hæc [gravitas conſtantia-
" que] ornata ſit. Quòd ille ea, quæ nunc ſunt, et futura viderit, et ne
" fierent contenderit, et facta ne videret vitam reliquerit; horum quid eſt,
" quod Aledio probare poſſimus." *I don't propoſe to write any thing which your friends can read with pleaſure, or even with patience. Should I mention that he foretold all that has happened to us; that he took arms to prevent its happening, and parted with life rather than ſee it happen, which of theſe circumſtances would be agreeable to Aledius,* i. e. to *Balbus*; his name being thus expreſſed in a Greek word of the ſame ſignification with the Latin, for ἀῤῥήδιος and ἀλλήδιος ſignify, according to their etymology, one that has an impediment in his ſpeech, the oppoſite to διαῤῥήδην: " De Hillo [i. e.
" Hirro] balbus enim ſum [*a*]." Thus in the preceding Epiſtle he is denoted by Ἄτυπος, another made name, one that could not *form his letters:* " Ac vereor ne iſte jam auctionem nullam faciat, ſed ludis factis
" ἀτύπῳ ſubſidio currat, ne talis vir ἀλογηθῇ." I fear he will make no auction; but, when the ſhews are over, will run to thoſe arts that require no noiſe (that is, to building, ſee Ep. 2.) that men of his eminence may not be paſſed over in ſilence. T. p. 160, 161.

4to. II. 161. 8vo. II. 346.

Brutus, in *his Piece on Cato*, had made ſome miſtakes in his account of the Debates on Catiline's Plot; in which he had given him the firſt part and merit, in derogation even of Cicero himſelf.—*From whence* we may obſerve, that Salluſt probably copied Brutus's miſtakes, rather than do juſtice to Cicero on that occaſion.] But it was in a *letter* of Brutus, not in his *Piece on Cato*, wherein Cicero complains of his being thus injured: and therefore this ſolution of Salluſt's miſrepreſentation is overthrown:
" Legi Bruti EPISTOLAM, eamque tibi remiſi, ſane non pudenter reſcrip-
" tam ad ea quæ requiſieras [*b*]." T. p. 162.

4to. II. 163. 8vo. II. 347.

Cato, in his private conduct, was ſevere, moroſe, inexorable, baniſhing all the *ſofter affections*, as natural enemies to juſtice. In public affairs he had but one rule of policy, to adhere to what was right, without regard to *times or circumſtances*, or even to a *force that could controul him.*]

[*a*] Ad Fam. II. 10. [*b*] Ad Att. II. 21.

Even

Even this abatement in Cato's character Dr. M. has not made out by any particulars. His accuſation of Murena for bribery, and paſſing it over in his brother-in-law Silanus, has been mentioned already as a proof that he was not a ſtranger to the *ſofter affections*, and yet his open proteſt was a juſt ſalvo of his honour.

In public affairs he was not ſo obſtinate as not to yield to times and circumſtances upon proper occaſions; that is, when the public good called for a compliance, not his own private intereſt. Thus he even conſented to ſupport Bibulus in bribery to oppoſe the encroaching power of Cæſar. [See 4to. I. 285. 8vo. I. 297.] And yet, when, by the united force of this very Cæſar and Pompey, a law was paſſed for the diviſion of the lands of Campania, after his utmoſt endeavours againſt it were fruitleſs, he took the oath, to the obſervance of it. Ibid. 4to. 294. 8vo. 295. The reader may remember his like behaviour with regard to Cicero. T. p. 138. in not.

4to. II. 178. 8vo. II. 364.

Cicero thought beſt to ſend his ſon to Athens. To make the propoſal agreeable, he offered him an appointment that would enable him to live as ſplendidly as any of the Roman nobility who reſided there.] Juſt the contrary: Cicero writes to Atticus about moderating his ſon's expence; that he will allow him the rent of his two houſes at Argiletum and Mount Aventin. "Præſtabo nec Bibulum, nec Acidinum, nec Meſſallam, quos "Athenis futuros audio & majores ſumptus facturos, quam quod ex eis "mercedibus recipietur [*c*]." *I will not make him a Bibulus, an Acidius, or a Meſſalla, who I hear will be at Athens at much greater allowance.* Accordingly, Young Cicero writes to Tiro, that HE *had hired a lodging for his tutor Bruttius, and ſupport, ſays he, his poverty out of my narrow income* [*d*]. See in Dr. M. n. II. 574. 4to. III. 370. T. p. 198—190.

4to. II. 179. 8vo. II. 365.

Tullia died in child-bed at her *huſband's houſe*, which confirms the probability of their agreement in the divorce: It is certain at leaſt that ſhe died at *Rome*, where Cicero was detained by the expectation of the birth, and to receive the *firſt payment of her fortune* back again from Dolabella.]

[*c*] Ad Att. XII. 32. [*d*] Ad Fam. XVI. 12.

The words in Plutarch are παρὰ Λέντλῳ, which ſeems only to mean while ſhe was *Lentulus's wife.* For it is probable ſhe died at Cicero's Tuſculum; from the mention of which place Cicero ſo frequently calls her to mind: *The people about me, not bearing I ſuppoſe to ſee the exceſs of my grief, haſten home.—I will go from this place; but whither? I think to Lanuvium. I endeavour to bring myſelf to bear my Tuſculum* [e]. Again: *Tuſculum will be moſt convenient for me, becauſe I ſhall there receive your letters oftener, and ſometimes ſee you: Otherwiſe, I ſhould be better at Aſture. And yet the things that ſhould renew my grief* [f], &c. As to Cicero's receiving back the firſt payment of her fortune, that might be owing to the Roman law, which allowed *the wife to ſecure her ſettlement, after matrimony, in truſtees hands, when the huſband's circumſtances were bad* [g]: Or to another maxim, *That a wife's dowry followed the children, that were kept with the grandfather* [h]: Now young Lentulus, the ſecond child, was probably kept by Cicero, ſince we find nothing ſaid of him before Tullia's death, though then four years old, though frequent mention is made of the bad circumſtances of his mother; or laſtly, this might be retarded by contract. T. p. 60. 185. See likewiſe Mongault on XII. 45. I would rather therefore ſay, παρὰ Λέντλῳ in Plutarch ſignifies died with child *by Lentulus*; and that Aſconius miſtook, when he ſaid *apud Lentulum*, which can mean only at Lentulus's houſe.

4to. II. 349. 8vo. II. 367.

Howſoever this may colour, it cannot juſtify Cato's conduct, who valued himſelf highly upon his Cyprian tranſactions—and for *the ſake of that commiſſion* was drawn in to *maintain the legality* of Clodius's Tribunate, in ſome warm debates even with Cicero himſelf.] We have ſeen before that Metellus (*Conſul egregius*, as Cicero calls him) thought Clodius's Tribunate legal; and though Cicero did not, he allows many other of the greateſt then did. "Video quoſdam clariſſimos viros, principes civitatis, aliquot locis judicaſſe te cum plebe JURE agere potuiſſe: qui etiam de meipſo, cum tua rogatione funere elatam rempublicam eſſe dicerent, tamen ad penus, etſi miſerum atque acerbum fuiſſet, jure indictum eſſe dicebant—Quare licebit ut opinor; nobis eas actiones non infirmare, quibus illi actionibus conſtitutum tribunatum tuum comprobaverunt."

[e] Ad Att. XII. 26.
[f] Ad Att. XII. 45.
[g] Papp. Digg. l. 24. tit. 3. l. 24.
[h] Papp. Digg. l. 49. tit. 17. l. 16.

Orat.

Orat. pro Domo, c. 19. Why may not Cato then be allowed to have thought Clodius's tribunate a legal thing; without the imputation of his vindicating the authority only becauſe he had acted under it? But there is further proof; for how much ſo ever Cato might pride himſelf in the execution of this Cyprian embaſſy, it is certain he undertook it much againſt his inclinations, as both Dio, p. 78, and Plutarch, p. 776, teſtify. If therefore he had thought Clodius's tribunate unlawful, he would then have remonſtrated againſt it, and not have ſubmitted to the imperious command of a haughty Tribune, who told him he ſhould go againſt his inclinations, if it was not agreeable to them. T. p. 42, 43. 139.

4to. II. 184. 8vo. II. 371.

Was it to paſs her days in the married ſtate with ſome man of quality? for you, *I know, on the account of your dignity,* might have choſen what ſon-in-law you pleaſed, to whoſe fidelity you might have ſafely truſted her.] "Licitum eſt tibi (credo) pro tua dignitate ex hac juventute generum "diligere cujus fidei liberos tuos te tutò committere putares." This paſſage is by ſome brought as a proof of the divorce; unjuſtly indeed; but is ſtill worſe perverted by Dr. M. while he puts that in a parentheſis, which is an ironical anſwer to the foregoing queſtion. *What proſpect of comfort before her? Was it in marriage with ſome young man of firſt quality? You, I'll warrant, could have picked out of this ſet of youth a ſon-in-law ſuitable to your dignity, to whoſe fidelity, &c.* drawing an argument of comfort from the corruption of the age, out of which he was ſnatched. It follows in the ſame epiſtle, *Reflect that your daughter had been married to the nobleſt of our youth.* An expreſſion which would never have dropt from Sulpicius, if there had juſt been a divorce between her and Dolabella, who, if the other two were of the nobility, was of the beſt family of them all. Though Dr. M. as we have ſeen before, makes him one. T. p. 187.

4to. II. 208, &c. 8vo. II. 398, &c.

Cicero drew up a letter, which was communicated to *Hirtius* and *Balbus,* for their judgment upon it, whether it was proper to be ſent to Cæſar.— It was drawn up with ſuch *freedom,* that though Atticus ſeemed pleaſed with it, yet the other two durſt not adviſe ſending it, which diſguſted Cicero ſo much, that he reſolved *not to write at all.*] The letter was com-

municated to Balbus and *Oppius*: Hirtius was now in Spain. "Balbus "minor novi nihil ſane, niſi Hirtium cum Quinto acerrime pro me liti- "gaſſe [*i*]." *Young Balbus brings one no news, but that Hirtius takes my part often againſt Quintus in Spain.* 2. As to the *freedom* in this letter, we have no proof of it. From Cicero's own account of it, which Dr. M. ſubjoins, *what elſe was the ſubject of it but flattery?* And though ſo many things were altered in it by theſe friends, that he muſt write it over again, he defends the flattery of the paſſages excepted to. *As to the Parthian war, what had I to conſider but that which I thought would pleaſe him?* 3. Laſtly, Cicero, in all probability, did draw up another letter, and ſent it [*k*]. *As you, ſays he to Atticus, adviſed me to write a pretty long letter to Cæſar, and Balbus having told me that he and Oppius had writ him word that I had read his books againſt Cato, and much approved of them, I have addreſſed a letter to him to be carried to Dolabella; but have ſent it with a copy to Oppius and Balbus, deſiring them to ſend it on if they like it.* 4to. p. 213. 8vo. p. 401. This very letter Dr. M. mentions ſoon after; which Atticus having wanted longer than ordinary a copy of, Cicero writes thus to him: "Ad Cæſarem quem miſi epiſtolam, ejus exemplum fugit me tum tibi "mittere, nec id fuit quod ſuſpiceris, ut me puderit. Fui nec [ſic leg. "pro *tui ne* ridicule *Micillus*] ridicule ἡμίκαλος, nec," &c. T. 164, 5.

4to. II. 215. 8vo. II. 406.

Lentulus began to preſs him by repeated letters to come and give them his aſſiſtance; for which Dr. M. cites Ep. Att. XIII. 42. and 47. which two letters, though placed by the librarians near each *other*, were writ at very different times, and on different occaſions; the firſt relating to the dedication of a temple (to which Lepidus being head of the College of Augurs ſending for Cicero) was writ *ante nonas Jan.* The other, when Cæſar was expected out of Spain. So that the joining theſe together as a proof that Lepidus ſent for Cicero to come to the Senate, looks as if he was to dedicate a temple there. T. p. 24.

4to. II. 222. 8vo. II. 415.

Young Quintus Cicero was one of the *new fraternity* of the Luperci, inſtituted to the honour of Jul. Cæſar—to the diſſatisfaction of his uncle,

[*i*] Ad Att. XIII. 37.

[*k*] Ad Att. XIII. 50.

who conſidered it, not only as a low piece of *flattery*, but an indecency, &c.] The epiſtle wherein Quintus is mentioned, and as being one of the fraternity of the Luperci, was writ a little after Cæſar's *going into Spain* [*l*]; of which there were then two colleges, the *Fabii* and the *Quintilii*: the third, in honour of *Julius Cæſar* [*m*], was not inſtituted till after his *return from thence*. Another proof that theſe were not the Julian Luperci, might be brought from Philotimus being amongſt them [*n*].

4to. II. 224. 8vo. II. 417.

Cæſar had now prepared all things for his expedition againſt the Parthians—had ſettled the ſucceſſion of all the Magiſtrates *for two years* to come.] No, he ſettled all, both City and Provincial, for *five* years, as appears from Appian [*o*]. Εἰς γοὺρ πεντάετες (ὡς ἴςε) καὶ τοὺ ἄρικα ἡμῶν καὶ ἐτήσια, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἢ ςραλοπέδων ἡγεμόναι διετάξατο. So Suetonius, *in plures annos* [*p*]. Hirtius, "Nihil enim jam video opus eſſe noſtra cura, quoniam "præſidia [magiſtratuum] ſunt *in tot annos proviſa* [*q*]." Again: "Bella "eſt hujus juris quinquennii licentia [*r*]." To this and other paſſages it will be objected: "Etiamne Coſſ. et tribunos plebis in biennium, quos "ille [Cæſar] voluit [*s*]?" *Are we to have thoſe Conſuls and Tribunes for two years which he nominated?* This was the news Cicero had heard about a month after the death of Cæſar, and was probably an agreement between Antony and the Conſpirators, for thoſe officers only to continue *two years* longer, though Cæſar had nominated them. Cicero thinks much of that: *What is more ſhocking, ſays he, than to confirm thoſe very things for which he incurred our hatred.* The officers named by Cæſar were ſome of them among the Conſpirators, and ſome ſuch as both parties hoped to make their own; viz. Hirtius and Panſa Coſ. for the firſt year, and Caſca one of the tribunes; for the ſecond year, Conſuls L. Plancus and Decimus Brutus. T. p. 167.

4to. II. 245. 8vo. III. 3.

It is evident, from ſeveral of Cicero's letters, that he *propheſied* very early, that Cæſar's reign could not laſt ſix months, but muſt neceſſarily fall either by violence, or by itſelf; and hoped to live to ſee it [*t*]. This is

[*l*] Ad Att. XII. 5. [*m*] Dion. Hiſt. Rom. p. 243. [*n*] See ad Att. XI. 10.
[*o*] Bell. Civ. Lib. II. [*p*] In Cæſ. c. 76. [*q*] Ad Att. XV. 146.
[*r*] Ad Att. XV. 11. [*s*] Ad Att. XIV. 6. [*t*] Ad Att. X. 1. et XII. 45.

ſupported

ſupported by two Epiſtles, the one writ five years, the other a year, before Cæſar's death was thought of. And yet his prophetic ſpirit is not to be looked upon as a proof of any human foreſight grounded on the natural courſe of things, but a ſort of divination, which it was uſual among the ancients to make of any tranſaction of moment. Thus, when Cicero was to take a voyage to Pompey, Atticus is to ſend his predictions about it: *I go to Arpinum, thence I ſhall expect your letter of omen* [*u*]. You will ſay what is bad; and yet will you then go on? "Yes, ſays Cicero, many things "have deceived the perſon I am going to. However, I ſhall *expect your let-*"*ter* [*x*]." So he obſerves of the foreſight of Themiſtocles, who, though he was the beſt diviner in the world, fell into thoſe misfortunes which that led him into. At laſt Cicero receives Atticus's augury [*y*]. "Your letter "of omen is now come, and I am all inflamed. And yet you ſay not a word "of my journey, or the conſequence of it." Upon the whole, this is a proof, not of his foreſight, but of his ſuperſtition. T. p. 21, 22.

4to. II. 293. 8vo. II. 56.

In the end of May Cicero moved towards Rome to aſſiſt at the Senate on the firſt of June. The nearer he came to the city, the more he was diſcouraged from the thoughts of entering it. HIRTIUS *diſſuaded his going, and reſolved to ſtay away himſelf*; Varro ſent him word, &c.—Theſe informations determined him at laſt not to venture to the Senate; but to *withdraw* himſelf from that city, &c.] Cicero's not coming to Rome, or his withdrawing from thence by the firſt of June, was not owing to Hirtius's advice, who was at Rome that very day, and ſent a letter to Cicero then, and not before, to adviſe him to keep away. That Hirtius was at Rome himſelf on that day is pretty plain, from 1 Philip. c. 2. "Coſſ. deſignati ſe audere negabant in "ſenatum venire, patriæ liberatores urbe carebant." *The conſuls elect* [Hirtius and Panſa] *ſaid they durſt not come into the Senate; the deliverers of their country* [*Brutus and Caſſius*] *were abſent from the city.* But ſtill plainer from what he writes to Cicero. "Rure jam redierim, queris. An ego cum "omnes caleant, ignaviter aliquid faciam? Etiam ex urbe ſum profectus; "utilius enim ſtatui abeſſe. Has tibi literas exiens in *Tuſculanum ſcripſi*; "*noli autem me* tam ſtrenuum putare ut ad nonas recurram [*z*]." *You*

[*u*] Ad Att. IX. 18.
[*y*] Ad Att. X. 2.
[*x*] Ad Att. X. 8.
[*z*] Ad Att. XV. 6.

aſk

aſk if I am returned from the country; whether, when all are warm, I have acted with timidity? Yes, as I thought it prudent to be abſent from the city on this day, I am now ſetting out from it, and ſend you this juſt going to my Tuſculanum. But don't imagine I ſhall be hardy enough to return thither again by the fifth. And yet this latter reſolution he ſeems to have changed, from what Cicero writes afterwards in Ep. 5. which ſhould follow Ep. 6. " Ut tu de provincia Bruti & Caſſii per S. C. ita ſcribit et Balbus et Hirtius; " qui quidem ſe acturum [in ſenatu], et enim jam enim in Tuſculano eſt, " mihique ut abſim vehementer auctor eſt. Et ille quidem periculi " cauſa, quod ſibi etiam fuiſſe [i. e. Kalendis] dicit." What you write of the province granted to Brutus and Caſſius by the Senate is to the ſame effect with what I have received from Balbus and Hirtius; who will act in the Senate, for he is now at the Tuſculanum [whither he went on the firſt of June], and very much preſſes me to keep away from the city, to avoid thoſe dangers which, he ſays, attended him. T. p. 20, 21. I would only obſerve, that Hirtius does not ſeem to have changed his reſolution; the ſuppoſition that he did is only built upon an elliptical expreſſion, which, to connect with what follows, is better filled up by a negative than an affirmative: *qui quidem ſe acturum* NEGAT, *et enim jam in Tuſculano eſt, who ſays he will not act in the Senate, for he is now at his Tuſculum.* The eye of ſome ſcribe loſt a word perhaps by the likeneſs of the termination AT, and the beginning of ETenim.

4to. II. 294. 8vo. III. 57.

Dolabella named him for one of his own lieutenants, which anſwered his purpoſe ſtill better; for, without obliging him to any ſervice, or *limiting him to any time*, it left him at liberty to go wherever he pleaſed.] Theſe commiſſions were granted, not for an unlimited time, but for five years, as we have already obſerved, as appears from what follows in the very Epiſtle which Dr. M. cites [*a*]. " Dolabella me ſibi legavit. Bella eſt autem " hujus juris QUINQUENNII licentia." T. p. 166.

4to. II. 302. 8vo. III. 66.

Atticus, whoſe philoſophy was as incompatible as ambition with all affections that did not terminate in himſelf, was frequently drawn by the

[*a*] Ad Att. XV. 11.

goodneſs

goodneſs of his nature to correct the viciouſneſs of his principle. He had often reproved Cicero for an exceſs of love to his daughter Tullia, yet he no ſooner got a little Attica of his own, than he began to diſcover the ſame fondneſs. Cicero rallies him: "I rejoice to perceive that you take "ſo much delight in your little girl—ADIEU *then to* PATRO, *and all your* "EPICUREAN SCHOOL.] All this fine reflection is built on a falſe reading. "Filiolam quam tibi jam Roma jucundam eſſe gaudeo; eamque quam "nunquam vidi, tamen et amo, et amabilem eſſe certo ſcio. Etiam atque "etiam valete *Patron* et tuis *condiſcipulis* [*b*]," which ſhould be read, the pointing altered, "etiam atque etiam vale. De Patrone et tuis condiſcipulis, "quæ de parietinis in militia laboravi, ea tibi grata eſſe gaudeo;" i. e. *Again and again farewell. I am glad that my endeavours, while I was abroad,* towards gaining a grant of the old walls for Patron *and* HIS *ſchool gave you pleaſure.—In militia*, i. e. in peregriatione. So VI. 2. "In hac peregrina-"tione militiave noſtra." Atticus had interceded with Cicero to uſe his intereſt with Memmius to get thoſe walls bequeathed by Epicurus to his ſucceſſors granted to Patron, which Cicero obtained, and by that means ſecured to Atticus a great intereſt with him. See Ibid. II. "Apud Pa-"tronem et reliquos verones te in maxima gratia poſui." Where Junius, Popma, and others would change *verones*, a term of reproach into *borones*; becauſe Cicero would never give the Epicureans ſuch an ignominious name to Atticus, who was himſelf one of them. But it is rather an argument that Atticus was not one of them, though Dr. M. has followed them and many other writers in this miſtake. T. p. 175. But ſhould we not for the ſame reaſon read *condiſcipulis ſuis* for *tuis?*

4to. II. 518. 8vo. III. 304.

Cicero's moſt conſpicuous and glaring paſſion of his ſoul was, the love of glory and thirſt of praiſe—the conſenting praiſe of all honeſt men, and the incorrupt teſtimony of thoſe who can judge of excellent merit, which reſounds always to virtue as the echo to the voice; and ſince it is the general companion of good actions, ought not to be rejected by good men.] And yet, upon a view of Cicero's life, there are ſeveral traits which cannot be juſtified upon any ſuch principle. While he ſtood for the Conſulſhip, he writes to Atticus: *I have thoughts of undertaking the defence of Cataline* [*c*].

[*b*] Ad Att. Ep. V. 19. [*c*] Ad Att. V. 19.

If

If I get him acquitted, I hope it will make him go hand in hand with me in making intereſt. On the contrary, he excuſes himſelf for not undertaking the defence of Cæcilius, Atticus's uncle, againſt Satrius, in theſe terms: *If you will judge of me with ſeverity, you muſt impute it to my thirſt of honour; for you ſee the courſe I ſteer, how deſirous I am, not only of retaining my intereſt, but of encreaſing it.* T. p. 170.

4to. II. 535. 8vo. III. 312.

We have about a thouſand of Cicero's letters ſtill remaining, *all* written after he was *forty* years old; which are but a ſmall part, not only of what he writ, but of what were actually publiſhed after his death by his ſervant Tiro.] Not *all*; the fifth and ſixth, containing an account of his father's and his brother Lucius's death, were writ when he was thirty-eight only. T. p. 13.

4to. II. 545. n. 1. 8vo. III. 337. n. 1.

Though Cicero's orations are not always the proper vouchers of his opinions, yet they are the beſt teſtimonies that can be alledged for the *truth of facts*; eſpecially thoſe which were ſpoken to the Senate or People, &c.] No certain evidence of facts; it being the buſineſs of orators not only to conceal the truth, but to aſſert or admit falſities ſometimes, when they make for their cauſe. To give a remarkable inſtance of this in Cicero's oration for Milo: It was propoſed to defend Milo, by maintaining that Clodius was of ſervice to the ſtate; which Cicero rejected. But the plaintiffs having urged, that Milo had laid in wait for Clodius, he takes hold of that, and aſſerts what was totally falſe, viz. That there was ſome lying in wait by one or other, which the Senate had determined to be againſt law. This then is the only feint to be tried. "Inſidias factas eſſe conſtat, et id eſt quod Senatus contra remp. factam judicavit. Ab utro factæ ſint incertum eſt. Nunquid igitur aliud in judicium venit, niſi uter utri inſidias fecerit [*d*]."

4to. II. 552. 8vo. III. 345.

As the duty of all good citizens] the part of a wiſe man, a politician. *Confeſſional*, p. 263. ed. 1770.

4to. II. 566. 8vo. III. 362.

The Epicurean ſcheme, which Atticus followed, determined him never to act in ſtate-affairs himſelf, or never at leaſt ſo far as to diſturb his eaſe,

[*d*] Orat. pro Milone, c. 5.

or endanger his ſafety.—To the ſame purpoſe, 4to. I. 352. 8vo. I. 370. We may imagine, ſays Dr. M. what his character ſeems to ſuggeſt, that though he had a greater love for Cicero than for any man, yet it was always with an exception of not involving himſelf in the diſtreſs of his friend, or diſturbing the tranquillity of his life by taking any ſhare of another's miſery; and that he was following only the dictates of his *temper* and *principles*, in ſparing himſelf a trouble, which would have made him ſuffer more than his philoſophy could eaſily bear.] 1. Bad as the Epicurean principles were, Dr. M. obſerves, on another occaſion, that they were many of them worthy, virtuous, generous friends, and lovers of their country. 2. Theſe are hard things to ſay of a man, of whom Cornelius Nepos has given ſo glorious a character: "Se nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediiſſe, nunquam cum ſorore fuiſſe in ſimultate—Neque id fecit "*natura* ſolum—ſed etiam *doctrina*. Nam et principum philoſophorum ita "percepta habuit præcepta, ut iis ad *vitam agendam*, non ad *oſtentationem*, "uteretur." One who never grieved his parent—but when he died. That his goodneſs was not owing to Nature only, but to principle, having imbibed the rules of the philoſophers, not for ſpeculation, but practice, more for the uſe than ornament of life. 3. Though Atticus kept up a friendſhip from his youth with the Epicureans, he was not one of them himſelf, as the Commentators have generally ſuppoſed. The following words are quite inconſiſtent with their principles: "Ut nos," ſays Cicero, "a te admonemur, recte in illis libris [politicis] diximus, nihil eſſe bonum, niſi quod honeſtum; nihil malum, niſi quod turpe ſit [*e*]." You remind me, that I have juſtly laid it down as a maxim, that no action is juſtifiable that is not honeſt; and that, in another place [*f*], we ſee Atticus agreeing with Cicero in maxims the moſt oppoſite to the Epicureans in the world: *I am glad to hear you are fond of your little one, that you eſteem natural affection for children laudable; for if that is once rooted out of human nature, you diſſolve ſociety. Carneades would cry, good luck and a boy! Coarſe enough, but more modeſt than Lucius and Patron* [Epicureans], *who reduce every thing to their own pleaſure, and leave nothing to be done for the ſake of another. When they ſay a man ſhould behave well to others, not from a principle of juſtice, but that others may behave ſo to him, what is this but laying down rules of prudence, not of honeſty?* But this we have treated of in thoſe

[*e*] Ad Att. X. 4. [*f*] Ad Att. VII. 2.

books.

books De Republicâ, which I writ at your inſtigation. In another paſſage concerning his affection for his daughter [*g*], Dr. M. repreſents him from Cicero as bidding farewell to Patron and the followers of Epicurus; but that, as we have before ſeen, is a ſuppoſition built on a falſe reading [*h*]. As a farther proof that Atticus was no Epicurean, the ſhort of the matter is this: It was a faſhion among the great men at Rome, to eſpouſe ſome ſort of philoſophy or other, which yet they would change without offence to any one, except the maſter they profeſſed under, who, as Cicero tells us, "ferebat iniquo animo, ſi quis a ſua diſciplina deſciviſſet [*i*]." Thus Atticus is repreſented making conceſſions againſt the Epicurean ſyſtem—*provided none of his fellow pupils hear him*—"condiſcipulorum ne quis exau-"diat [*k*]." And in the Epiſtles [*l*]. Let us return to the Tuſculan diſputations, and for your ſake keep out of ſight of Saufeius your tutor. "Saufeium propter te celemus." It is certain that many came from other ſects to the Epicureans, as Dr. M. has obſerved; and from what has been cited above, that Atticus had in a great meaſure left them. T. 178, 179.

4to. II. 569. 8vo. III. 365.

There we ſee the man who could declare of himſelf with truth, in an appeal to Atticus, as to the beſt witneſs of his conſcience, that he had always done the greateſt ſervices to his country when it was in his power; or when it was not, had never harboured a thought of it but what was DIVINE.] "Præclara conſcientia ſuſtentor, cum cogito me de Repub. aut "meruiſſe optimè cum potuerim; aut certe nunquam niſi *divinè* cogi-"taſſe [*m*]." This he ſpoke of his divination in politics, by which he foretold the misfortunes that would happen; for he adds, "eaque ipſa tem-"peſtate everſam eſſe rempublicam, quam ipſe XIV annis ante proſpex-"erim." T. p. 4.

4to. II. 574. 8vo. II. 370.

In one familiar chat, as we ſit at table, the *night ſteals* upon us without thinking of it.] It ſhould be—*he* [Craſippus] *ſteals in upon us.* "Cra-"ſippo me ſcito non ut diſcipulum, ſed ut filium, eſſe conjunctiſſimum [*n*]

[*g*] Ad Att. XIX. 5. [*h*] Ad Att. XII. 2.
[*i*] Tuſc. Diſp. l. v. 40. See Warb. Div. Leg. I. p. 380. Ed. 2.
[*k*] Leg. I. c. 7. [*l*] Ad Att. XV. 4.
[*m*] Ad Att. X. 4. [*n*] Ep. Fam. XVI. 21.

" —Sum totos dies cum eo, noctiſque ſæpe numero partem. Exoro
" enim ut mecum quam ſæpiſſime cœnet. Hac introducta conſuetudine,
" ſæpe *inſcientibus nobis* et *conantibus* obrepit." T. 190.

I ſhall conclude this ſubject with a remarkable inſtance of human frailty and human vanity in this ingenious writer's remark on the Roman Senate. He had unluckily ſaid, that the *Olympiad* [o] *was both by ancients and moderns taken for a term of five years complete* (a miſtake which perhaps no ancients and few moderns have fallen into), *but that it was only four*; *as the luſtrum was among the Romans*. If this was the period of a luſtrum, Horace felt his blood grow cool very early, who bade the girls not be afraid of him, becauſe he had paſt the eighth luſtrum [p], which at this reckoning was when he was XXXII years old. Both ſides of the miſtake being ſhewn to be all his own, he would admit of no confutation but from himſelf, and then raiſes a cloud over the queſtion, that no one might ſee through it. He collects together the ſeveral periods in which a luſtrum was held, and ſays, if we compute from *the eleventh, or the firſt held by the cenſors to the laſt of Appius Claudius, the intervening ſixty will each of them contain about ſix years and an half. From which we ſee, that though time and cuſtom* [which by the way is the ſole arbiter of words] *have fixed the notion of a quinquennium or term of five years to the word* luſtrum, *yet there is no ſufficient ground for it in* FACT, *or the* NATURE OF THINGS [q]. A common reader would have repreſented the caſe thus: A luſtrum was to be held every five years according to the firſt inſtitution among the Romans; for which reaſon, when applied to time, it always ſignifies that period; but becauſe taking an eſtimate of every citizen's fortune was the moſt eſſential part of the ceremony, and as the people grew rich they had too much ſpirit, or too little virtue, to bear ſuch a general exciſe, it was often omitted, and the luſtrum was performed occaſionally, as policy required, or prudence could effect it.

[o] Diſſertation on the Origin of Printing, 4to, p. 11.

[p] —— Fuge ſuſpicari,
Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas
Claudere luſtrum. Hor. Od. ii. 4.

Mr. Bowyer has enlarged on this ſubject in "The Origin of Printing, 1766," p. 32.

[q] Eſſay on the Roman Senate, 1747, 8vo, p. 107. 4to, vol. III. p. 429.

Refe-

References to Mr. Tunstall's Observations.

Middleton, Dr. Inconſiſtent with himſelf, 56. 74. 149, 150. 166. 201, 202. 205. 283. 285, *x.* 286.—with himſelf and the ſuſpected letters, 306. 353. *f.*—miſtakes Eraſmus, 53.—miſtakes concerning Tiro's being the perſon to whom we are indebted concerning Cicero's Epiſtles, 74.—and concerning the affair of the Salaminians, 87, 88.—accuſes M. Antony of *abuſing* young Quintus, where it is probable he ſpoke upon good information, 97.—miſtaken in his idea of Brutus's eloquence, 94—96. in Cicero's motive to write the praiſe of Cato, 92.—in the ſubject of Cicero's letter to Cæſar, 100.—and in the alteration of it, p. 101.—his wrong and his right tranſlation of Plutarch, 115.—his wrong tranſlation, 116.—unjuſtly makes Octavius *firſt* form the plan of his power at the victory before Modena, 134.—miſtaken in the meaning of the word *Acts*, 156.—in the ſenſe of Att. v. 19, 167.—in imagining that Brutus approved of Cicero's manner of oratory, 180, 181.—acknowledges one thing proved contrary to what he has aſſerted, 183.—acknowledges a miſtake half proved againſt him, 183.—his extraordinary rule of determining which of the two Brutus's are meant in Cicero's letters, 184, 5.—his artful logic, in ſhewing that the opportunities *Marcus Brutus* loſt of ſaving the Republic were charged to *Decimus Brutus*, 192. *i.*—miſunderſtands the ſuſpected epiſtles, 205. 214. 225. *c.*—differs from Plutarch and Appian in his opinion of Cicero's joining intereſt with Octavianus for the Conſulſhip, 226.—differs from the ſuſpected letters in his own account of many particulars, 224. 232. 253. *b.*—Octavius's view to the Conſulſhip from the ſuſpected letters, 224. 232. 253, *b.*—miſtaken in the time of the death of Panſa after the ſecond action at Modena, 260, *y.*—falſely refers Brutus's letter, in which Antony is ſaid to be his priſoner, to the time of his ſending his *firſt* public letter concerning his ſucceſſes in Macedonia, 285, *x.*—his reflexion groundleſs on the wiſdom of Panſa, in refuſing to part with any troops out of Italy, 291.—aſcribes the title of Philippics to a cauſe to which Plutarch was a ſtranger, 298, *p.*—falſely ſays that Plutarch made little or no uſe of them, ibid.—miſtaken in the date of Plancus's letter, 301.—miſunderſtands the ſuſpected letters, 315. 319, *k.* 381, *t.* 384, *y.*—miſtaken in the devolution of the auſpices on the death of the Conſuls, 328, *c.*—concerning Cicero's predicting the death of Jul. Cæſar, 343.—in ſuppoſing Lepidus's eſtate confiſcated, 371.—alters the text of the ſuſpected letters without reaſon, 381, *t.* 392. *y.*

In

In his Review of Dr. MIDDLETON, Mr. BOWYER left the few following OBSERVATIONS on Mr. MELMOTH's CICERO.

Vol. I. p. 15. The truth is, I never once *made a motion* in the Senate to his prejudice: on the contrary, as often as any queſtion aroſe in which he was concerned, I always voted on the moſt favourable ſide.] *Nulla eſt a me unquam* SENTENTIA DICTA *in fratrem tuum; quotieſcunque aliquid eſt actum, ſedene iis aſſenſi, qui mihi leniſſime ſentire viſi ſunt.* Ill tranſlated. See Spelman.

Vol. II. p. 192. Patricians of the *lower order.*] *Fuerunt Patricii minorum gentium*, which according to Mr. Hooke ſhould be tranſlated, deſcendants of the Senators of the SECOND CREATION. According to Livy, there were only 100 Senators created during the reign of Romulus; and 100 more afterwards by Tarquinius. Now it does not appear that Tarquin's Senators were more ignoble by birth, or of a lower rank, than thoſe of Romulus. Both the one and the other became noble by being made Senators, or *Patres*; and the deſcendants of both were called *Patricians*, not becauſe deſcended from *Patricians*, but becauſe deſcended from *Patres* or *Senators*. Hooke's Roman Senate, p. 24.

P. 309. Cilicia, to which you know three Aſiatic departments were annexed.] Upon the breaking out of the civil war, three departments, which had been annexed to the Province of Cilicia when Cicero was proconſul there, were taken away, and put under the proconſul of Aſia. Theſe were part of the greater *Phrygia*, called afteward *Pacatiana*, the chief city of which was *Laodicea*, as appears from this Epiſtle. 2. *Lycaonia*, added to the juriſdiction of Aſia, l. xiii. ep. 73. 3. *Pamphylia*, as may be collected from l. xii. ep. 15. Lentulus Spinther proqueſtor to Trebonius, who was proconſul of Aſia, ſays, *Sida* is the *laſt town of my province.* But before, when Cicero was proconſul of *Cilicia*, he ſays, ep. 5, it *bordered on the ſhore of his* province. Noris, Cenotaph. Piſan. p. 218. Sigonius makes *Piſidia* to have been placed under the Aſian juriſdiction, which is not probable.

Epitome

Epitome of CICERO's LIFE; abridged from Dr. MIDDLETON by Mr. BOWYER, but left imperfect.

U. C.		Capit.	
647	Jan. 3. M. T. Cicero born		Vol. I. 8vo, page 1
	And Pompey born the laſt of September the ſame year		ibid.
	Of Helvia, whoſe ſiſter married C. Aculeo, a Roman knight		2
	At Arpinum a city of the Samnites		4
	His father, Marcus		8
	Bred up at Rome, with his couſin Aculeo, by the direction of L. Craſſus, under a Greek Maſter in a houſe of 200l. a year		10
651	Put under Aretas the poet; in the houſe of Lucullus, *Cic.* Ep. v.		11
662	Takes the manly gown	XVI	12
	Placed under Q. M. Scævola the augur, and, at his death, under another Scævola, the high prieſt		13
	Cuſtom of lawyers to ſit in open thrones, to give advice, like confeſſors in foreign churches		15
663	His method of ſtudy, publiſhes ſome pieces of poetry.	XVII	17
	Addicted under Phædrus to the Epicurean philoſophy, which he afterwards deſerted		18
664	In the ſocial war, makes a campaign under Cn. Pompey the Conſul, father of Pompey the Great	XVIII	19
	And near the perſon of the lieutenant Sylla		21
665	War with Mithridates King of Pontus, which occaſioned the firſt civil war between Marius and Sylla	XIX	22
	Marius defeated		23
666	Marius recalled to Rome by Cinna, who put to the ſword, among others, Antonius, grandfather of that Antonius who afterwards put Cicero to death	XX	24
667	Marius, being declared Conſul, dies Jan. 13, Cicero's countryman	XXI	25
	Cicero publiſhes his book *De Inventione*,		28
	Philo, an Athenian, having fled from the fury of Mithridates to Rome, Cicero becomes his ſcholar		ibid.

Attends

U. C.	Capit.		Page
		Attends the lectures in oratory of Molo the Rhodian	29
		And keeps Diodotus in his houſe as his preceptor in logic	ibid.
668		Sylla makes peace with Mithridates	30
669		Cinna put to death by his own ſoldiers; Sylla lands at Brunduſium, and is joined by Pompey	ibid.
670		Norbanus, the conſul, defeated by Sylla, and L. Corn. Scipio baniſhes himſelf to Marſeilles	31
671		Marius Graſidianus, the adopted ſon of Marius VII conſul, being beſieged in Præneste, writes to the prætor at Rome to call a Senate, when many of them were maſſacred; after which Marius kills himſelf	ibid.
		Carbo put to death by Pompey	ibid.
		Proſcription under Sylla	ibid.
		Jul. Cæſar eſcapes; having married Cinna's daughter, was deprived of her fortune and the prieſthood	33
		L. Flaccus, being choſen *Interrex*, declared Sylla *Dictator* for ſettling the ſtate	34
		Who takes from the Equeſtrian order the judgment of cauſes, and reſtores it to the Senate: re-places the choice of the prieſts in the colleges of the prieſts; and abridges the power of the tribunes	35
		Molo the Rhodian comes to Rome a ſecond time, to ſolicit the payment due to his country for their ſervices in the *Mithridatic* war, who was was allowed to ſpeak to the Senate in Greek without an interpreter	ibid.
672		Cicero offers himſelf to the bar	38
		Defends P. Quintus	XXII ibid.
673		And S. Roſcius	XXVII ibid.
674		Defends the rights of ſome towns in Italy to the freedom of Rome, which Sylla had deprived them of	XXVIII 42
		Sets forward on his travels to Greece and Aſia, to correct his manner of ſpeaking	43
		Is initiated at Athens in the Eleuſinian myſteries	44
		An account of them	45

Studies

U. C.	Capit.	Page
	Studies oratory under Milo at Rhodes, and philoſophy under Poſidonius	47
	Where he declaimed in Greek becauſe Milo did not underſtand Latin	ibid.
675	Sylla dies	50
676	Cicero returns to Italy after two years excurſion	xxx. 48
	Pompey about this time, the firſt of the Equeſtrian order, triumphed for his victories in Africa; and Julius Cæſar, ſix years younger, gained a civic crown for his behaviour at Mitylene	50
	The faction begun between Marius and Sylla breaks out into a new war between the conſuls Q. Catulus and M. Lepidus, which was ended by Brutus being ſlain by Pompey after the battle of Modena the next year	54, 55
	Cicero in his return home is ſaid to have gone to the oracle at Delphi	56
	This year he probably married Terentia, whoſe ſiſter was one of the veſtal virgins	63, 64
677	Defends Roſcius the player	xxxi. 57
	Gains the Quæſtorſhip, at the comitia tributa, as ſoon as he was capable of it, when Cotta was choſen conſul, and Hortenſius ædile	59, 60.
	The buſineſs of pleading not undertaken for pay	56
	Quæſtors at this time twenty in number, which office, at the expiration of it, gave an admiſſion into the Senate	61
	Aug. 5. has a daughter born, who was afterwards at the age of XIII, the year before his conſulſhip	63, 64
678	Has the province of Lilybæum in Sicily aſſigned to him	xxxii. 65
	Defends there by his pleadings ſome young noblemen who fled from the army, and were ſent thither to be tried before the prætor of Sicily	69
	Diſcovers at Syracuſe the tomb of Archimedes, which the inhabitants of the place were ſtrangers to	68
679	Returning to Rome at the expiration of his office, lands at Puteoli near Baiæ	xxxiii. 69

U. C. Capit. Page

At his return to Rome, finds the conſul L. Lucullus exerting his power againſt L. Quinctius the tribune, who wanted to reverſe the acts of Sylla 60

C. Verres at this time prætor of the city, whoſe office was to determine on matters of right and property by his own arbitrary decrees 71

An extraordinary commiſſion granted to M. Antonius, the father of the triumvir, who invaded Crete by virtue of it 72

682 The ſervile war ended by M. Craſſus in ſix months, in the third year from its breaking out xxxvi. 73

The Sertorian war put an end to by Pompey, for which he gained a ſecond triumph, though only a private citizen and of the Equeſtrian order 70

683 Pompey the next day enters on his conſulſhip, to which he had been choſen in his abſence xxxvi. ibid.

An account of Craſſus the other conſul 80

The office of a nomenclator 81, 82

Cicero choſen ædile in the xxxviith of his age 83

The nature of the office, two Curule and two Plebeian ædiles, ibid.

Cicero after his election undertakes the proſecution of Verres the late prætor of Sicily 84

And goes into Sicily to get evidence againſt him 87

Speaks in Greek to the Senate there 89

Hiſtory of various tranſactions of Verres 94—114

The *tribunitian power* reſtored by Pompey the conſul, ſeconded by Jul. Cæſar, and of *judging cauſes* to the Equeſtrian order 115

The power of judicature afterwards veſted jointly in the Senate and Knights, a certain number of each drawn out by lot ſate in judgment with the prætor 116

The office of cenſors reſtored, which had been intermitted for xvii years from the time of Sylla 117

L. Gellius and C. Lentulus, the two new Cenſors, expel ſeveral Senators for corruption, and among them C. Antonius the uncle of the triumvir ibid.

Cicero

U. C. Capit. Page

684 Cicero choſen *ædile* xxxviii 118
The nature of the office ibid.
The capitol, which had been burnt down by Sylla, dedicated this year by Q. Catulus conſul 121
[Whoſe name remained on it till the time of Vitellius, as Tacitus ſays.]
Defends *Fonteius*, who, having been prætor of Narboneſe Gaul, was accuſed by the people of laying an arbitrary tax on the exportation of wines 122
And Cæcina about the right of ſucceſſion to a private eſtate 123
685 Laments the loſs of his couſin Lucius in a letter to Atticus, which is the firſt of all the epiſtles now remaining, xxxix. ibid.
686 Is candidate for the prætorſhip two years after his being choſen ædile xl. 124, 5
But there was no election this ſummer, on account of the ferment occaſioned by reaſon of a new law propoſed in favour of Pompey, that he ſhould have an extraordinary commiſſion for quelling the pirates 124, 5
And by another law propoſed by L. Otho, that the Equeſtrian order ſhould have diſtinct ſeats in the theatre 129
And by a third from C. Cornelius the tribune, againſt bribery in elections, and the *diſpenſing* power in the Senate ibid.
Cicero choſen prætor by the ſuffrages of all the *centuries* 130
The meaning of the word *Claſſic* authors 131
How the choice by centuries was performed ibid.
687 Cicero got great reputation by condemning Licinius Macer, a man of prætorian dignity xli. ibid.
A law propoſed by Manilius, for ſlaves ſet free to have a vote among the tribes 133
Another for Pompey, who was in Cilicia, to have the government of Aſia added to his commiſſion 133

* * * * *

[*Cætera deſunt.*]

Miscellaneous Remarks on Roman History.

By Mr. Bowyer.

Citizens of Rome ſeem to have loſt their freedom ſometimes by removing into Latin Colonies: Cic. pro Cæcina, c. 33. *Quemadmodum, ſi civitas adimi non poſſit, in* COLONIAS LATINAS *ſæpe noſtri Cives profecti ſunt. Aut ſua voluntate aut legis multa profecti ſunt, &c.* And ſee Spanh. Orb. Rom. I. c. VIII. p. 64.

There were at firſt two ſorts of Colonies: one of *Roman* citizens; the other called *Latin* Colonies [*a*]. The Latin allies, having had expectations given them by Druſus of being admitted citizens of Rome, took up arms to aſſert that privilege; and at length gained it. Hence aroſe what was called *Jus Italiæ*, which entitled them not only to be citizens of Rome, but exempted their perſons from paying poll-tax, and the ſoil from paying *Centeſima*, the hundredth penny. It contained, moreover, other privileges, *in alienationibus, traditionibus nexi, mancipationibus, annali exceptione, in jure capiendi* [*b*], &c. which privileges were ſometimes granted to particular Colonies out of Italy, to enjoy as fully as if they were part of Italy.

Municipium enjoyed its own civil and religious laws; but had the privileges of Roman citizens; intermarried with the Romans, were claſſed in ſome tribe [Liv. xxxviii. 36]; might inherit both to a Roman and one of their own country. Ad jus *patriæ poteſtatis, hæreditatum, mancipiorum, uſucapionum, teſtamentorum*, & *tutelarum*; had the right of voting for magiſtracies, and of holding them, both at Rome, and in their own Municipia. Milo was a citizen of Lanuvium, a municipium, while he ſtood for the Conſulſhip [*c*]. Cic. pro Milone, c. x.

Other *Municipia* however there were, which had not the right of voting for Roman magiſtracies. See Liv. xxxviii. c. 36.

Colonies differed from the Municipia in that they received the Roman laws [*d*]. Spanheim, Diſſ. IX. p. 580.

[*a*] Noris de Ep. Syromaced. p. 428. Diſſ. IV.
[*b*] Gothofred in Cod. Theod. tit. 13. l. XIV.
[*c*] Murena likewiſe of the ſame place. Cic. pro Mur. c. 40. & Orat. pro Sulla, c. 7. 8
[*d*] Vid. Spanh. de Uſu Num. Diſſ. IX. p. 652. ed. Fol. Cortium ad Bell. Cat. c. XVII. 4.

Municipes

Municipes are diſtinguiſhed from *Socii:* Liv. l. xxvi. 34. "Jam inde a "majoribus traditum morem Romanis colendi ſocios, ex quibus alios in "*civitatem atque æquum* ſocium *jus* accepiſſent, alios in ea fortuna habe- "rent; ut *Socii* eſſe quam *cives* mallent." By thoſe who were received *in civitatem & æquum jus*, are probably meant the *municipes*. The Socii, raiſed out of the cities of Italy, made part of the Roman army; but the *municipes* never did. So the *Socii* and the *citizens* enumerated diſtinctly, though joint forces in the army. Liv. xi. 18. 26. xliv. 21. Polyb. Hiſt. iii. 85. &c. "Cenſeri, ſuffragium ferre, munerum omnium partem capere, "tributum pendere," theſe four were privileges of Municipes.—"Locum "habere in legionibus, uti legibus Romanis, ſacra more Romanorum "habere, Quiritium populique Rom. nomine appellari,—non habebat [*e*]."

Thoſe cities which are called *Liberæ*, were ſuch as were confederated with the Romans in friendſhip, and ſent auxiliaries in caſe of war [*f*], Cic. pro Balbo, c. 17. Dion. l. xl. p. 152. but were not citizens of Rome: ſo that they were different both from *Colonies* and *Municipia*. Germanicus entered into theſe free towns without Lictors. Suet. Calig. c. iii. 56. And the Roman Præſides had no juriſdiction in them. Cic. de Prov. Conſ. c. iii. They paid tribute, unleſs they were ſaid to be *immunes*, as well as *liberæ*. Cic. l. iii. in Verr. c. 6. App. B. C. l. i. p. 668. Hiſt. Bell. Afric. c. 7. Sometimes a part of a city, or ſome families in a city, were admitted to a freedom of Rome, while the other remained free; And in that reſpect ſuch city was ſometimes called *free*, at other times *Socii*, or the like. Thus in Livy xxiii. 5. the cavalry of the Campanians having for their good behaviour been honoured with the freedom of citizens, while the reſt remained in their former ſtate; the whole people are addreſſed by the name of *Socii*. *Morem magis loquendi cum ſociis ſervoſtis, Campani.* And the people of Tarſus in Appian, l. vi. 9. are called both *Liberi* and *Socii*, becauſe part of them were *Liberi*, part of them *Socii*. [Arntzen. p. 197.]

Municipia in coins are ſaid to be AYTONOMOI, but that did not denote ἐλεύθεροι & ἀτελεῖς, liberi & immunes [*g*].

[*e*] Manut. de Civ. Rom. ap. Gr. p. 30.
[*f*] Cic. l. ii. in Verr. c. 37. [*g*] Spanh. de Uſu, Diſſ. IX. p. 676.

Suet. in Aug. c. XL. 57. *Et Liviæ pro quodam tributorio Gallo roganti civitatem negavit, immunitatem obtulit; affirmans se facilius passurum fisco detrahi aliquid, quam civitatis Romanæ vulgari honorem.*

It was a ruled case, that whoever was made free of Rome in his *own* right, could not hold the freedom of *any other city*. Cic. pro Balbo, c. xi. *Duarum civitatum civis esse nostro jure civili nemo potest, non esse hujus civitatis civis qui se alii civitati dicerit.* He commended the prudence of this institution, c. 13. *dissimilitudo enim civitatum varietatem juris habeat necesse est.* And Atticus refused being made citizen of Athens, knowing *amitti civitatem Romanam, alia adscita.* Corn. Nepos, in vit. Attici, c. 3. See to this purpose the whole Oration for Balbus, the latter part of that for Cæcina, &c. 34. Salm. Obs. ad Jus Att. c. 26. Sigon. de Jure Civ. Rom. I. II. Spanh. Orb. Rom. Exerc. I. c. 5.

But though those who were by their own immediate right citizens of Rome, might not be free of that and of another city likewise; yet, if they were free of a Municipium, they by that became free of Rome. Cic. Fam. l. XIII. p. 30. Mutius L. Manlius seems to have been free of the Municipium Catinæ, because he enjoyed the estate his brother had lost there; and yet it is plain he was not free of Rome, by being free of Naples. Ep. Fam. XIII. 30. *Is fuit Catinensis, sed est una cum reliquis Neapolitanis civis Rom. factus, decurioque Neapoli; erat enim adscriptus in id municipium ante civitatem Sociis & Latinis datam.*—By what right did Manlius succeed to his brother's effects? It was a law, that no one free of Rome by his own right could inherit in another city. 2. The new citizens that obtained their freedom by the Julian law, which extended the freedom to all Latium, could not inherit unless they had the express grant of *Cognationis jus.* Now did Manlius inherit by being free of the *Municipium Catinæ*; or shall it be said he was not then free of *Catinæ*; but, having been free of the *Municipium* of Naples before it had the *Jus Italicum*, the latter privilege did not cut off the former; and that he inherited as having been free of Naples while it was a *Municipium?*

Suetonius says of Aug. c. 40. *Civitatem Romanam parcissime dedit.* Surely he was more choice of selling it; and perhaps no instance can be given before his time of the freedom of Rome being sold. So little reason had Grotius on this account to suppose Paul's ancestors bought their freedom of Rome. Act. xxii. 28. Arntzenius, p. 173. And yet Dio, U. C. 769, says

ſays, that Claudius made freedoms cheap, *which* AT FIRST *uſed to be purchaſed at a great price.* This was but three reigns from Auguſtus. And the χιλίαρχος, Acts xxii. 28. ſays, he bought his freedom at a great expence. Joſephus ſpeaks of members who were Roman citizens probably by purchaſe.

Jus Latium, quo coloniæ donabantur civitate Romana, petendi magiſtratus gratia. Aſcon. in Orat. ad Piſon. And yet citizens of Rome ſeem to have loſt their freedom by going into the Roman colonies. Cic. pro Cæc. c. 33. *Quemadmodum, ſi civitas adimi non poſſit, in colonias Latinas ſæpe noſtri civis profecti ſint. Aut ſua voluntate, aut legis multa profecti ſunt,* &c. And Spanh. Orb. Rom. Exerc. I. c. VIII. p. 64.

All who in full right were citizens of Rome were ordinarily obliged to be perſonally entered in the Cenſors books at *Rome* every fifth year. Cic. Att. I. 18. *Germanos negotiatores ſub luſtrum* ROMÆ CENSERI. Cic. Act. I. in Verrem, c. 18. *Cum hæc frequentia totius Italiæ Roma diſceſſerit, quæ convenit uno tempore judiciorum cenſendique cauſa.* Vell. Pat. II. c. 15. Cic. pro Flacco, c. 32. it appears that Decianus, trader in ſome Greek cities, was regiſtered in ſome tribe.—Pighius indeed, Tom. I. p. 166, ſays, *that Cenſors were created in every city in the provinces, to regiſter the Roman cities in the provinces and the army* [*b*]. But Cicero, pro Arch. c. 5. on the contrary, urges it as a reaſon *why* Archias was not regiſtered, becauſe he was *with Lucullus in the army.* Liv. XXIX. 37. ſays, *Luſtrum conditum ſerius, qui per provincias dimiſerunt cenſores, ut civium Romanorum in exercitibus, quantus ubique eſſet, referretur numerus.* If there had been provincial cenſors, who took an account of the genuine Roman citizens, there was no need to have ſent cenſors from Rome. To the ſame purpoſe, Attic. l. I. Ep. XVIII. ſays, *Germanos negotiatores ſub luſtrum* ROMÆ *cenſeri.* Hard as it may ſeem that citizens ſhould be obliged to come to Rome, it is certain Cæſar made a law, in Suet. c. 42. *ne quis civis major annis* XX, *minorque decem, qui ſacramento non teneretur, plus triennio continuo Italiæ abeſſet.*

But what, it will be aſked, was the buſineſs of the Provincial cenſors? for ſuch there were, as appears from Cic. l. ii. in Verrem, c. 53 & 56. *Quinto quoque anno Sicilia tota cenſetur. Erat cenſa prætore Peducæo,* &c. Livy xlii. c. 10. *Socii Latini nominis redire in civitates ſuas debuiſſent, nequis eorum* ROMÆ, *ſed omnes in ſuis civitatibus cenſerentur.* And in Gruter Inſcript.

[*b*] Arntzen. p. 179.

p. CLXXI. n. 8. CLXVII. n. 5. & CDXXXIX. 5. mention is made of CENSITORES PROVINCIÆ & CIVIUM ROM. COLONIÆ. It appears then that the *Provinces* and *Municipia*, who had not the full right of citizens, but were ſo only as to ſome particular privileges, had cenſors of their own to take account of them. As the Gremial ſons of Rome were regiſtered in their own city of Rome, ſo were the Provincial ſons in theirs.

It is probable, however, that if ſome citizens, who already had been regiſtered, happened to be abſent from Rome when another cenſus was held, they might be excuſed from appearing. Gell. Noct. Att. l. v. c. 19. In the ſpeech which Scipio, when cenſor, made to the people: *Abſentes cenſere jubere, ut ad cenſum nemini neceſſe ſit venire.* See Putean. ad Vell. Pat l. ii. c. 15. Manut. de Civ. Rom. p. 27. & 32. Ed. Græv. Sigon. de Jure Civ. Rom. l. i. c. 14. Spanh. Orb. Rom.

Q. Why *Cenſores Provinciarum*, if theſe citizens were to come to Rome to be regiſtered? He confines it to thoſe who were *proprio jure cives*, not *Municipii cives*, p. 180.

" Ne leges & jura urbis Romæ, cum exterarum gentium legibus & " conſuetudinibus permiſcerentur. Hoc vero non procedit in Muni- " cipibus." p. 191.

" Hunc conſenſum equeſter ordo, eſt ſecutus, equeſtris ordinis plebs." Liv. XXVI. 37. i. e. thoſe who were really of the equeſtrian order in the cenſor's roll, and thoſe who were capable of being on the equeſtrian order, but who were not placed on the roll.

At the time of the ſecond Punic war, the conſtitution of the republic of Carthage was impaired and corrupted: for with them " plurimam *po-* " *pulus* ſibi authoritatem vindicaverat, quæ apud Romanos illibata penes " *ſenatum* adhuc erat. Quo factum, ut illic *populo* de rebus omnibus " conſultante; hic, *civium* optimo quoque, Romani viceriut." Polyb. p. 494. Ann. Reg. 1765, p. 302.

Cicero's opinion of L. Opimius very different from Plutarch's. Hooke's Rom. Hiſt. III. p. 35.

Titius condemned to baniſhment for having the picture of Saturninus in his houſe; which act of rigour is juſtified by Cicero, pro Rabir. c. 19.—Ibid. p. 95.

Of

Of the Roman Names.

The Romans had ordinarily three names, *Prænomen*, *Nomen*, and *Cognomen* *. The Prænomen diſtinguiſhed the perſon; the middle name *gens* or deſcent †; the laſt, or *ſurname*, diſtinguiſhed the particular branch of it, what they called *Familia*, as *Marcus Tullius Cicero* was diſtinguiſhed from his brother *Quintus Tullius Cicero*. Thus far is clear. But it is difficult ſometimes to diſtinguiſh theſe names, either by their being abridged, tranſpoſed, or by adding ſome other deſignations to ſpecify either the family or the perſons. Thus *Decimus* and *Numerius* were the Prænomina of ſcarce any other families but the *Junian* and *Fabian*; and yet by writing *D. N.* they have been miſtaken for *Decius*, and *Nonius* or *Gnæus*, the G, according to Valerius, being taken away in the Prænomen, to ſoften the pronunciation. So *Manius*, written M' with a ſtroke to diſtinguiſh it from *Marcus*, has been taken for *Mutius*, which never was a Prænomen.

Sometimes 1ſt and 2d name mentioned, as *Quintus Horatius* [*Flaccus.*]

Sometimes 1ſt and 3d name mentioned, as *Marcus* [*Portius*] *Cato.*

Sometimes 2d and 3d name mentioned, as [*Caius*] *Cornelius Tacitus.*

Sometimes the Nomen was put before the Prænomen, ſometimes the third before the ſecond, the Cognomen before the Nomen; as, *Criſpus Salluſtius*; *Paullus Emilius*; *Gallus Caninius*; *Vetus Antiſtius.* Paul. Manut. Ep. ad Brut. p. 183.

As a help to diſtinguiſh ſuch tranſpoſitions, it muſt be obſerved, 1. That the *Nomen Gentilitium*, or family name, always ended in *ius*. *Poppæus* and *Pedu.eus* need not be conſidered as exceptions to this rule, becauſe it is probable they were originally written and pronounced like *Pompeius*. 2. That there are very few Prænomina which end ſo. Varro ſays, there are not above xxx in all; out of which there are not above VIII with this termination, viz. *Appius*, *Caius*, *Lucius*, *Manius*, *Numerius*, *Publius*, *Servius*, *Tiberius*, *Melius*, which may eaſily be remembered by this memorial line:

Prænom. ſunt Man. Serv. Tiber. Ap. Publ. et Ca. Luc. Met. Num.

So that all the names, which are not included in theſe VIII, and do not end in *ius*, are Cognomina. But, as if they were cautious of bringing in confuſion, they never changed a Cognomen into ſuch a termination, and admitted

* The Prænomen given at the *Dies Luſtrum*; the Nomen at taking up the *Toga Virilis*; the Cognomen adhered to the *Family*.

† Thus, in the Gens Valeria, the *Gens* was divided into various branches, diſtinguiſhed by different Cognomina, as the Maximi, Meſſallæ, Flacci, Lævini, Tellones, Poplicolæ, Politi. In the Gens Cornelia, Coſſi, Malaginenſes, Scipiones, Lentuli, Dolabellæ, Sullæ, Cinnæ, &c.

but few Cognomina that ended ſo, viz. *Pius* and *Cepronius* of the Metelli; *Triarius* of the Valerii; *Quadrigarius* of the Claudii, in Gellius; *Lanarius* of the Calpurnii, in Plutarch. Perizon. Orb. Terr. Deſcr. p. 971. But the greateſt difficulty is to diſtinguiſh the multitude of ſurnames which end in *ius* from the family names of the ſame termination.

We ſhould except likewiſe Prænomina of number, at firſt given to children, taken from the order in which they were born, but uſually given arbitrarily, without regard to order of birth; as *Quintus*, *Sextus*, *Decimus*.

The PRÆNOMEN was the name proper to each individual, and diſtinguiſhed men, as the Nomen did families. The eldeſt had uſually the Prænomen of his father; but many reaſons often prevented that rule from being univerſal. Of the two ſons of *M. Craſſus*, who was killed in the war againſt the Parthians, the eldeſt was called *Publius*, by the Prænomen of his grandfather; the younger, *Marcus L. Otho M. F.* The father of the Emperor named his eldeſt ſon *L. Titianus Otho*, the youngeſt *Marcus Titianus Otho*.

Under the Republic, theſe exceptions are more rare, and ſeldom made unleſs the eldeſt died, or was adopted into another family, by which means loſing his Prænomen, the father endeavoured to perpetuate it again in one of his children born afterwards. Thus *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, the father of the Triumvir, gave his eldeſt ſon *Marcus* to be adopted by *Scipio*, who was called after that *Æmilianus*. The ſecond ſon was *Lucius Paulus Æmilius*. The third, who was the Triumvir, after the adoption of his eldeſt brother, was called by his father's Prænomen *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*.

Some had two Prænomina at once; as *M. Servius* Sulpicius; Cornelius Nepos, Vit. Att. c. 2. § i. *Q. Servius* Sulpicius Galbus; Cic. de Orat. L. SERVIVS [Sulpicius] RVFVS; Num. ap. Fulv. Urſin. COSSVS CN. F. LENTVLVS; Num. ap. Goltz. COSSO CORNELIO LENTVLO; Inſcr. 1. p. 107. ap. Grut. *L. Paulus Æmilius Cenſor*, Coſſ. ſuff. 719. Some bore one Prænomen, and after changed it for another. Druſus, the father of Claudius Cæſar, was firſt *Decimus*, after *Nero*. Suet. in Cl. 1. See Reineſ. Ep. ad Ruf. p. 464, 5. & 585. C. Appius, Jun. Silanus Coſſ. 780. But generally the two Prænomina were not retained at once; but one was dropt when the other was aſſumed, as C. N. Coſſus Cornelius.

Commodus has uſually on coins the Prænomen of MARCVS, ſometimes that of LVCIVS. Geta has either LVCIVS or PVBLIVS indifferently. Æmilian has CAIVS or MARCVS indifferently. Peſcennius Niger has *Caius* for his

Prænomen; but in ſome inſcriptions of the *Fratres Arvales*, publiſhed by Philip à Turre, mention is made of *Publius Peſcennius*, U. C. 183, which ſome ſuppoſe to be the ſame who was afterwards Emperor. Theſe are the only inſtances of the ſame perſon uſing different Prænomina. See in Phil. Tranſ. 1750, p. 495, a letter to Dr. Mead, from M. de Boze, keeper of the French King's Cabinet.

Prænomina are often by miſtake joined with the Nomen; as in Frontin. Strat. IV. 5. *Cælius Prætor urbanus* for *L. Ælius*. Plin. N. H. *Catinius* for *C. Atinius*. In Gellius and Macrobius, *Cælius* and *Cæcilius* for *C. Ailius*. In Florus, *Metellus* for *M. Atenus*. On Denarii, *Tampius* for *T. Ampius*. To prevent this miſtake on Coins, it may be remembered, that where the Cognomen is mentioned, the Prænomen is never omitted; which ſhould have prevented writers from falling into that error of reading ATILIVS CIMBER, inſtead of A. TILIVS CIMBER.

The NOMEN was what was common to the whole family; yet it is often by hiſtorians more peculiarly appropriated to one, who was the moſt famous of it *. Thus *Nero Claudius Druſus*, the ſon-in-law of Auguſtus, and the brother of *Tiberius*, left three children, all *Claudii*; but he that was afterwards Emperor is mentioned ſolely by that name. *Ex Antonia tres omnino [Druſus] reliquit, Germanicum, Livillam*, CLAUDIUM †. So the ſons of Germanicus, who were adopted by Tiberius into the Julian family, are in Inſcriptions ſtyled *Julii* and *Cæſares*; yet, by Suet. c. 7. are diſtinguiſhed by no other names than *Nero*, *Druſus*, and *C. Cæſar*, aſcribing the name of *Cæſar* to the laſt, though common to all three. The three daughters likewiſe of Germanicus are ſtyled on coins by no other names than *Agrippina*, *Druſilla*, *Julia*; and in Tacit. An. VI. 15. And yet *Julia* was the family name common to them all. Tacitus, An. XII. 1. calls the firſt of them *Julia Agrippina Germanico genita*. The ſecond in Grut. 54. p. 1022. is called *Julia Druſilla*. And the third is called *Julia Livilla*.

It has been a diſpute among the learned, how two brother germans ſhould have different family names; as in Cic. in Verr. i. 49. "*Dixit* "*C. Fannius* Eques Rom. frater germanus Q. Titinii judicis tui, tibi ſe pe-"cuniam dediſſe." Manutius imagines that Quintus, brother of C. Fannius, was adopted into the Titinian family. But there is no occaſion or this ingenious ſolution, if we do but ſuppoſe (of which there is undoubted proof)

* A. H. p. 112. † Suet. c. 1.

that *frater germanus* is often no more than a brother by the *mother's* ſide. Varro is expreſs to this purpoſe, as cited by Servius, Æneid. v. 412. The ſame ſcruple ſtuck with If. Caſaubon in Vopiſcus's Life of *Florianus*, c. i. where he has theſe words, *Hic frater Taciti germanus fuit*; and yet c. iv. ſays they had different fathers. Pet. Weſſeling. Obſerv. 1. c. 13.

The Cognomen was the third name, given at firſt to one of the family from ſome accidental circumſtance, and continued on to all the reſt afterwards, as *Marcus Tullius Cicero, Quintus Tullius Cicero.* They affected to aggrandize their own families with the ſurnames of thoſe who had been famous in Hiſtory. The Oppian families called themſelves *Cornicini*; the Valerian, *Publicolæ, Potiti, Voluſi, Maximi*; the Furian, *Camilli*; the Licinian, *Calvi* and *Stolones*; the Cornelian, *Coſſi.* Old Prænomina came afterwards to be Cognomina; *Tullus*, the Prænomen of *Hoſtilius*, being the Cognomen of *L. Volcaſius Tullus*, Coſ. 720. So, on the other hand, ſome of the great families, tired of the common Prænomina, affected to take ſome old Cognomen for their Prænomen *. *Paulus*, though an old Cognomen, was the Prænomen of ſeveral; as, *Paulus Virginius Rufus*, Coſ. 815. *Paulus Æbulius Parthenius* under Galba. Grut. 4. p. 198. So, as we have ſeen, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* gave his ſecond ſon two Prænomina, *Lucius Paulus*, to place the name of that great man in his family, who was coæval with *M. Lepidus Pontif. Max.* *Paula Valeria*, wife of D. Brutus Lucius, having but one ſon, joined both theſe honours together, and ſtyled him either *L. Æmilius Paulus Lepidus*, or *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*; but he having more children, divided theſe honourable names again, calling one *L. Æmilius Paulus*, the other *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus.*

We muſt not conclude therefore that two different families did not take ſometimes the ſame Cognomen. Thus there was *Annius Cimber.* Sueton. Aug. c. 86. and Cic. Phil. xi. 6. and *Titius Cimber*, Phil. ii. 16. which Triſtan would reduce to one family, and falſely read both *Atilius Cimber.* Periz. 333. c. viii.

It ſometimes happened that ſeveral children all bare the Prænomen of their father, ſo that they were only diſtinguiſhed by the Cognomen. *T. Flavius Sabinus* had by his wife Veſpatia two ſons, both called *Titus*; but the eldeſt called *T. Flavius Sabinus*, by all his father's names; the

* Servius was the family name of Galba, and yet was the Prænomen of the Emperor, who was called ſome time Lucius Sulpicius Galba; afterwards Servius Sulpicius Galba. Suet. Vit. c. 4. Nor. Ep. Coſ. ii. 406.

younger

younger *T. Flavius Veſpatianus*, who was afterwards Emperor, after his mother's. Each of theſe had two ſons diſtinguiſhed in the ſame manner; the eldeſt of the former, *T. Flavius Sabinus*, the younger *T. Flavius Clemens*. So the younger ſon of the Emperor T. Flavius Veſpatianus was named *T. Flavius Domitianus*, from the mother Domitilla*. TITI FLAVII FRATRES, inter Ep. D. Pauli.

As the Cognomen was the ſtrict diſtinguiſhing name, it is in inſcriptions expreſſed more at length than any of the reſt. The Gentilitian name, being uniformly preſerved by all the deſcendants of that family, would be well known, though conciſely wrote; but the Cognomen being often laid aſide by ſome of the poſterity, and a new one aſſumed, it could not be known ſo eaſily: thus C. IVN. SILANO. M. LICIN. LVCVLLO. SEX. AVR. NVLLINO. COS. Grut. 182, 3. If two men had two Cognomina, the firſt and oldeſt then, as the more noted, was written ſhort, the other fuller, as M. MAX. M. F. MESSALA, and L. LENT. F. CLAVDIVS. L. H. TVB. L. Hoſtilius Tubulus.

A Cognomen was ſometimes made a Prænomen, and a Prænomen a Cognomen. *Decimus Claudius* NERO *Druſus* was, from taking the Toga Virilis, called NERO *Claudius Druſus*, and Decimus dropped.

So probably when a child, *L. Æmilius* PAULUS *Lepidus*; but when he took the Toga Virilis, and after, is always called PAULUS *Æmilius Lepidus*. So *Coſſus* was a Prænomen in the Cornelian Family, a Cognomen among the Lentuli; AGRIPPA *Menenius Lenatus; Lucius Vintarius Agrippa*: Poſthumus Concinius Aruncus; Lucius Autronius Poſthumus: Tullus Hoſtilius .....; Lucius Volcatius Tullus.

When they did not expreſs the Prænomen, the more elegant writers place one of the Cognomina before the family name: Thus Cicero, Nepos, and Livy, write generally Æmilianus Scipio, Octavianus Cæſar, Marcellus Claudius, Macer Licinius, Billequicus Pompeius, Cæſoninus Piſo, Marcellinus Lentulus, Cæſar Germanicus; but Suetonius and Tacitus follow the other method.

Under the Emperors, the men of dignity laid aſide the pomp of three names, and left it to private perſons. Auguſtus, after he came to be Emperor, is ſcarcely ever ſtyled by any other name, even in the Faſti, than *Emp. Cæſ. Auguſtus*, without *Caius* or *Julius Octavius*. TITUS *Domitianus Cæſar* is ſcarce ever known by his Prænomen. Britannicus, ſon of the Em-

* See Aſcon. in Milon.

peror

peror *Claudius*, was at firſt called *Claudius Tiberius Germanicus*; but being afterwards diſtinguiſhed fully by Britannicus, his Prænomen is no where to be met with, except in Dio, l. LX.

In caſe of adoption, the perſon took the three names of the perſon that adopted him, and often changed his own in *ius* into *anus*, putting it after the three names of the perſon that adopted him. As *Caius Octavius Thurinus*, being adopted by *C. Jul. Cæſar*, was called *Caius Julius Cæſar* OCTAVIANUS. Others retained their own Cognomen, placing it even before the Cognomen of him that adopted him. As *Caius Plinius Cæcilius*, being adopted by *N. Caius Plinius* SECUNDUS, was called *Caius Plinius* CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS, not *C. Plin. Secundus Cæcilianus* *. Others placed their own Cognomen laſt; as *Pub. Cornelius* SCIPIO, adopted by *Q.* CÆCILIUS *Metellus Pius*, was called *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus* SCIPIO. So Lucius *Calpurnius Piſo* adopted by *M. Pupius*, was called *M. Pupius Piſo*; and *M. Jun.* BRUTUS, by *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, was called *Q. Servilius Cæpio* BRUTUS. This name ſo retained after *adoption* is properly the Agnomen, concerning which there has been much diſpute. The adopted perſon might properly be ſaid *agnoſci adoptatori*, and ſo did this name he retained grow as it were to the others he aſſumed under the New Family. "Qui in adoptionem "datur, iis, quibus agnoſcitur, cognatus ſit." Paulus Juriſcon. l. 25.

It is obſervable, however, that the beſt writers mention adopted perſons by their old name which they had before adoption, and by no other. D. Brutus is ſtyled on a coin, after his adoption, *A. Poſthumus Albinus*, yet frequently called only D. Brutus. And M. Brutus, adopted by his mother's brother Servilia, was properly *Q. Cæpio Brutus*; yet Cicero in his xth Philippic before the Senate, concerning the honours which ought to be decreed him, calls him only *M. Brutus*, till, coming at laſt to draw up the form of a decree of the Senate as it ought to paſs, he calls him *Q. Cæpio Brutus*. So Cicero calls Atticus *T. Pomponius*, not *Q. Cæcilius*, which was his true name after his adoption †.

P. CORNELIVS [Scipio Æmilianus] PAVLLI F. AFRICANVS was the natural ſon of L. Æmilius *Paulus*, the adopted ſon of Publius Scipio Æmilianus, therefore has the Prænomen of Publius.

We ſee, whatever variation there was as to the change or order of the latter names in caſe of adoption, in the times of the Republic, yet the

* See Serv. in Græv. Præf. ad Vol. II. Theſ. Ant.

† Periz. Diſſ. I. 97. An. Hiſt. c. iii. p. 130.

Prænomen

Prænomen of the ſon was always diſtinguiſhed by that of the father that adopts him *. So that whenever we ſee in public monuments, of the times of the Republic, a Prænomen different from the father, though their Cognomen end in *anus*, we may be aſſured he was no adopted ſon: as, *Q. Fabius Marci fil. Rullianus*, *L. Calpurnius C. F. C. N. Piſo Cæcinus*. *C. Plautius P. F. P. N. Decianus*. *Sex. Nonius L. F. L. N. Quintilianus* †. Under the Emperors, indeed, the adopted ſon was ſometimes permitted to retain his former Prænomen, as Tiberius after his adoption by Auguſtus is ſtyled on coins, not *Caius*, but *Titus*. And from the times of Pliny the younger, other variations crept in; for he is deſcribed likewiſe as the ſon of his natural father, with the Prænomen of his adopting father; in ſome inſcription, *S. Plinius Lucii fil.* not *Caii fil.* if the inſcriptionis of that age ‡.

When there are four or five names, all after the two firſt were Cognomina; Livy's || authority is expreſs: *L. Cornelius Scipio, qui cum Antiocho bellaverat, cognomine fratri cœquans, Aſiaticus appellatus eſt.*

When a ſlave was made free, he prefixed to his own ſurname the name and Prænomen of his maſter; as *Andronicus*, made free by *M. Livius Salinator*, was called *M. Livius Andronicus*. If another was intereſted in procuring ſuch freedom, in gratitude they prefixed his Prænomen to the family name of their maſter: as *Dionyſius*, made free by *Pomponius Atticus* by the interceſſion of M. Cicero, was called *M. Pomponius Dionyſius* §. Sometimes the Cognomen of their maſter is only mentioned, *C. Curtius Mithres libertus Poſtumi* **. *M. Æmilius Lepidi L. Felix*. *M. Vipſenius Agrippæ L. Troilus*. *Q. Fabius Africani L. Cytitus*.

It was the ſame caſe when a foreigner received his freedom by the intereſt of ſome great citizen. As *Demetrius Megas*, made free by *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, was called *P. Cornelius Megas*.

As ſlaves were denominated from their maſters, ſo were *married women* from their huſbands; the word *uxor* being underſtood among the Romans; but *filius* always expreſſed among the Romans, juſt contrary to the Greeks, who expreſſed γυνὴ, and underſtood υἱός. Lucan l. 2. "Liceat "nemo ſcripſiſſe, CATONIS MARCIA." So Inſcript. Via Appia CAECILIAE Q. CRETICI F. METELLAE CRASSI; i. e. *Cæciliæ, Quinti Cretici filiæ, Metellæ* [*uxori*] *Craſſi*. Not attending to this, has led the great Reineſius into ſome miſtakes. *A. Terentius Terentiæ Domit. L. V. Heraclio Pius*, Grut. 13, p. 966. i. e. *A. Terentius, Terentiæ* [*uxoris*] *Domitii libertus, vivus Heraclio*

* Periz. Diſſ. I. Cognom. p. 90, 91. † Periz. An. Hiſt. p 131. ‡ Periz. Diſſ. I. 91.
|| Q. xxxviii. 58. § Ep. ad Att. l. iv. ep. 6. ** Cic. Fam. xiii. 69.

Pius;

Pius; which Bapt. Ferretius interprets, *A. Terentius, Terentiæ, Domitii libertæ, uxori [ſuo] Heraclius Pius poſuit.* But, 1. If Terentia had been the freed-woman of Domitius, ſhe would have been called *Domitia.* 2. Nothing is ever placed between the ſeveral names of a man, but what is deſcriptive of him: To add therefore *uxori* before the perſon to whom the inſcription is dedicated, before we have gone through the titles of the perſon that dedicates, is againſt reaſon as well as authority. Auguſtus Ep. xii. ad Reineſ. likewiſe miſtakes two or three inſcriptions through a like inadvertence, CALAMUS *Antoniæ Druſi Servus*, i. e. *Antoniæ* [uxoris] Druſi. She was the wife of Nero Claudius Druſus, the brother of Tiberius Cæſar *.

Women among the Romans are deſcribed by their own name, and their huſband's ſubjoined to it, leaving *uxor* to be underſtood; contrary to the Greeks, who expreſſed the word *wife*, and underſtood *daughter*. Ovid. Ep. vii. 193. "Nec conſumpta regis inſcriber Eliſa Sichæi."

So Terentia Ciceronis, Marcia Catonis; et in Inſcript. CALAMVS ANTONIAE DRVSI SERVVS, i. e. Calamus the ſlave of Antonia the wife of Druſus †.

QUARTILLAE ANTONIAE DRVSI L. DORIO TODIARIO MATRI MERITAE DAT. ‡ i. e. Quartilla liberta Antoniæ [uxoris] Druſi. A. TERENTIVS TERENTIAE DOMITI. L. V. HERACLIO PIVS, i. e. A. Terentius Heraclio Pius, Libertus Terentiæ, [uxoris] Domitii vivus poſuit; not, as Ferretius would interpret it, A. Terentius Heraclio Pius Terentiæ, Domitii Libertæ, uxori.

This obſervation helps us to ſupply a remarkable inſcription in Grut. 6. p. 270.

. . . . . .

IMP. M. AVRELI. ANTONINI. AVG.
PII. FELICIS PONTIFICIS COS
IMP. L. SEPTIMI SEVERI AVG. PII FELICIS
PONTIFICIS ET PARTHICI MAXIMI
COS III. NVRVI
FILIAE.

. . . . . .

PONTIFICIS NOBILISSIMI PR. PR.
NECESSARII
AUGG ET COMITIS PER OMNES
EXPEDITIONES EORVM.

As a mark of deteſtation, the perſon's name is ſtruck out of this inſcription to whom it was erected. The firſt line ſhould be,

FVLVIAE PLAVTINAE, Imp, &c. Conjugi [L. FVLVII PLAVTIANI].

* See Plin. Ep. ix. 55. † Ap. Reineſ. Ep. xli. ‡ Diſſ. I. p. 20, &c.

DETACHED

Detached Notes on Kennet's Antiquities of Rome.

The *Claſſici*, or thoſe who were ranked in the *Claſſes*. Only the firſt Claſſes, or Claſſici, as Gell. l. VII. c. 13. See Symmonds, p. 9.

Conſuls elected according to *the rate of their* ſubſtance. Q. if true? Ibid.

Patriciorum Auſpicia the ſame with *Centuriata Comitia*. Gell. XIII. 19. Q. How ſo? From the words of A. Gellius.

Two Legions compoſed a Conſular army; and as there were two Conſuls, it was uſual to raiſe *four* Legions yearly. Age to ſerve, from XVII to XLV.

Six Tribunes to each Legion; ſo that there were XXIV Military Tribunes. XIV out of them knights; the reſt from the body of the people. The firſt were required to have ſerved at leaſt five years; the reſt ten. During the campaign, they commanded the Legion by turns, two at a time for two months together.

Under Romulus a Legion was 3000 foot and 300 horſe. Under the Conſuls 4200 foot and 300 horſe, which was the number in the time of Polybius.

In the Legion,

Velites	1200	4200.
Haſtati	1200	
Principes	1200	
Triarii	600	

Haſtati, Principes	180	180	Made two Centuries, which made one Maniple.
Triarii	60		

Three Maniples, viz. one of the Haſtati, one of the Principes, one of Triarii, made a Cohort.

Ten Cohorts made a Legion, beſides the 1200 Velites, who were not divided into Centuries or Companies.

At the firſt inſtitution by Romulus, the *Century* had 100 men; afterwards it conſiſted only of 30 Haſtati.

30 Principes.

30 Triarii.

As each Maniple was divided into two centuries, a commander was appointed over each *Century*, called *Centurio*. The Centurion of *the firſt*

Maniple of the Triarii was moſt conſiderable, called PRIMIPILUS, or PRIMIPILI CENTURIO, or PRIMIPILUS PRIOR.

The Centurion of the ſecond Century of the ſame Maniple was PRIMIPILUS POSTERIOR.

The Centurion of *the ſecond Maniple* of the Triarii was SECUNDI PILI Centurio; the Triarii being likewiſe called PILANI.

IMPERATOR uſed in three ſenſes: 1. As the General or Commander of a war. 2. Given by the acclamations of the ſoldiers to a general after he had obtained a victory: Στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. 3. As a title of Empire, Βασιλεὺς. Dio, l. XLIV. p. 335.

The *firſt* inſtance of the ſecond application of the word occurs in the account which Livy gives us of Scipio Africanus *, who, upon defeating Aſdrubal, being offered by the Spaniards the title of King, *Sibi maximum nomen* IMPERATORIS *eſſe dixit, quo ſe milites ſui appellaſſent.* In this ſenſe Auguſtus had the title given him XXI times, as Tacitus, Annal. I. and Dio, as it ſhould be read, l. iii. 494. It was confirmed by the Senate, if not given by it; Cic. Phil. XIV. It was given by the Senate ſometimes, as on a coin of Flaccus under Julius Cæſar, C. VAL. FLACC. IMPERAT. [EX. S. C.] and ſee Cic. Philip. XIV. c. 5. Not, regularly, more than once in a whole war: but Claudius, on his expedition to Britain, was ſaluted IMP. *ſeveral times*, as Dio obſerves, [l. LX. p. 679.] and accordingly on his coins has IMP. XXVII. This title occurs no more in coins or inſcriptions after the times of the Antonines and Geta, till Conſtantinus Max. In the *third* ſenſe it was firſt given to Julius Cæſar after his return to Rome from his expedition againſt Pompey's ſon, and when he had put an end to the laſt Spaniſh war. Sueton. in J. Cæſ. c. XII. Dio, l. XLIII. 255. LII. p. 808. And it occurs on two coins ſtruck after his death with the Julian Conſtellation, and inſcribed CAESAR IMP. or IMPER. He had before in his life-time had coins ſtruck in the other ſenſe of the word, IMP. QVINT. IMP. SEX. Theſe muſt therefore be inſcribed to him as Emperor. It was again given to Auguſtus upon his return to Rome after the battle of Actium, [Dio, l. XLIII. p. 234, 5.] and ſo continued to the ſucceeding Emperors. Auguſtus in the ſame inſcriptions: IMP. CAESAR DIVI FIL. AVG. PONTIFEX MAXIMVS IMP. XII. COS. XI. TRIB. POT. XIV. &c. Grut. Inſcr. XXXII. 1. vol. 2.

* Liv. XXVII. 19.

After

After this title, they for ever had the Faſces carried before them ſurrounded with laurels, and their letters to the Senate crowned with laurel. See Cæſ. B. C. iii. 71. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. xv. ult.

About the middle of the third century it was the humour of the Romans to turn all the names of their braſs coins into ſilver; and in the beginning of the next, they advanced the names of their ſilver coins into gold. The accounts of the Byzantine revenue were kept in *Solidi*, or gold only. The only *denarius* or *argenteus* was not firſt called *milliarenſis*, becauſe it was the 1000th part of gold pound. The ſixth part of a ſcruple of gold was called the *Siliqua* and κεράτιον, which was near to the value of the half denarius, there being not above half a grain difference. The milliarenſis was likewiſe called δικεράτιον. And the half denarius δίχρυσος. W. Clarke on Coins, c. iii.

Numa ordered "Deos fruge colere et mola ſalſa ſupplicare." See Plut. in Num. Dion. Halic. et Euſeb. Cæſ. Not till 162 years after his time that they erected ſtatues.

Sacrifices to the Bona Dea were made yearly in the night at the houſe of the Conſul or Prætor [Cic. de Aruſp. reſp. 17. Dio, l. 37.] by their Wives and the Veſtal Virgins, to which no male creature was ever admitted, and where every thing maſculine was ſo ſcrupulouſly excluded, that even pictures of that ſort were covered during the ceremony. They were celebrated at Cicero's houſe when he was *Conſul*, during Catiline's conſpiracy; and at C. Cæſar's, the *Prætor*, U. C. 691, when the famous P. Clodius was detected there diſguiſed in women's apparel. Both times were about the month of December *. Though they were not always in that month, ſometimes in May, as ſome ancient Calendars and other Authors tell us.

Ludi Romani inſtituted under Tarquinius Superbus, U. C. 258. [Dion. Halic. l. VII.] from Sept. 4 to 19.

Feriæ Latinæ were feaſts inſtituted by Tarquinius Superbus to Jupiter Latiaris, upon his conqueſt of Hetruria, at firſt for two days, but afterwards on other occaſions encreaſed to four. They were kept on Mount Alba, to which place 47 cities of Latium, Hetruria, the Volſci and Hernici, ſent their deputies, with ſome offering or other, towards the ſacrifice; which if any of them had forgot to bring, the whole ceremony was to be-

* See Cic. ad Att. I. 12.

gin again. Liv. xxxii. A bull was ſacrificed to Jupiter, of which every one took a part *. The Conſuls uſed to fix the time for this feaſt, which in the ancient Commonwealth, when they commanded the army abroad during their office, uſed to be before they ſet out. But in other times, when they did not go to the army till the next year, they fixed the time when they would. In an ancient Calendar it is Apr. 27; and in a letter of Cicero ad Att. I. 8. it is mentioned as kept about the end of December. Mongault in loc. Livy l. xxv. mentions them ad ant. d. v. Kal. Maii. Whence Mongault enquires if they were ſtated Feriæ, for why ſhould the Conſul defer them ſo long after he was in his office. P. Manutius ad Cic. Ep. ad Q. C. p. 46. In Cæſ. Com. B. c. iii. 2. juſt after the election of Conſuls in Jan.

February, the month for hearing embaſſies by the Gabinian law. Ep. ad Q. Fr. II. 12. vid. Att. I. 14.

Taurobolium, a ſacrifice ſacred to Cybele, the mother of the Gods, for the ſafety of the Emperor, or cities, or private perſons, wherein a bull and a ram were killed, the former called *Taurobolium* to Cybele, the latter to Atys *Kriobolium*. The animal being laid upon a board with holes in it, and the throat cut, one of the prieſts, who was to make the expiation, was placed in a pit underneath to receive the dropping blood all over him: a cuſtom which is by ſome ſuppoſed to be introduced in oppoſition to the unbloody ſacrifice of the Chriſtians; for which reaſon Julian the apoſtate is ſaid to have gone through the ceremony. It is certain it was but of late inſtitution, the firſt mention of it being in an inſcription at Lyons, in the 22d of Antoninus Pius, An. Chr. 190. as the laſt is in another in the 15th of Valentinian II. An. Chr. 390. and is very particularly deſcribed by Prudentius Hymn. in S. Romanum. We have no mention of it in any Heathen writers, but in inſcriptions. The whole ceremony laſted ſome days; for in another inſcription of this ſort at Lyons, in the reign of Commodus, it is ſaid to be begun XII Kal. Maii, and ended VIII Kal. Maii. And the concluding part of it was ſometimes, if not always, performed at midnight. *Cujus meſonyctium factum eſt* V *Id. Dec.* ſays the inſcription before mentioned. See M. De Boze's account of the former inſcription in Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. 12°, Vol. IV. The ſacrifice ſeems to have been always performed at Rome, where Cybele had her

* Dionyſ. IV. p. 250. Plut. in Camill. Macrob. Sat. I. 16.

temple

temple and prieſts, though the altars in memory were erected at the place where the perſon pleaſed who paid for the ſacrifice. Hence in the Inſcript. Lugd. *a Vaticano tranſtulit aram et bucranium.*

On the 1ſt of January the Emperor, with the prieſt, offered up vows for the ſafety of the empire; and on the 3d, the people for the ſafety of the Emperor. See Tacit. Annal. IV. 17. XVI. 22. et Lipſii Excurſ. Dio, l. II. p. 457. Amm. Marcell. XXIII. 1. A cuſtom which remained long after the empire became Chriſtian, as appears from what is ſaid of Magnentius. Jul. Orat. & Conc. in Trullo, can. 62 *.

A certain age for holding the ſeveral offices was early preſcribed, as appears from Livy, XXV. 2. where the Tribunes object to Scipio Africanus being Ædile, becauſe he was not of ſufficient age for it. But this caſe being too vague, or obſerved too remiſsly, it was renewed with greater force by L. Villius in his tribuneſhip, 574. But as that law is no where expreſsly found, we muſt collect from obſervation the purport of it. However uncertain we may be of the age which capacitated for the inferior offices, the age of the higheſt is expreſsly mentioned by Cicero to be 43. Philip. V. 17.

GLADIATORS, from Scipio Maffei.

Perſeus King of Macedon firſt who appointed Gladiators in Greece, whom he brought from Rome, p. 5.

U. C.

490 The Bruti made three couples of Gladiators fight publicly in memory of their fathers p. 11

502 The firſt public ſhew of wild beaſts at Rome, which was of elephants, taken by Metellus in Sicily, p. 12

568 Other beaſts brought in by M. Fulvius, p. 13

Statilius Taurus under Auguſtus built the firſt theatre of ſtone, near the Campus Martius, though but a ſmall one, p. 24

And that but part only of ſtone, for it was ſoon neglected, and in Nero's time was burnt down, p. 26

Veſpaſian began the Coloſſeum, and Titus finiſhed it, p. 30, &c.

325 A. D. Conſtantine the Great publiſhed a decree againſt Gladiators.

* Spanheim, Jul. p. 278.

Honorius

Honorius publiſhed another, occaſioned by a monk's being torn in pieces for diſſuading them from it, p. 67
However, Annicius Maximus exhibited them, ibid.
But in the vith century they were quite aboliſhed, p. 71
Ludi Circenſes celebrated by Tottilas, p. 115
Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15. of theatrical diverſions.

Jus Latium granted to certain colonies, allowing the freedom of Rome to all that had borne an annual magiſtracy in them. Midd. Cic. II. 213.

Livy, l. x. Dec. 1. ad fin. "Exacto jam anno novi tribuni plebis ma-"giſtratum inierant; iis ipſis, quia VITIO creati erant, alii ſuffecti."—There was no neceſſity at the election of Plebeian magiſtrates to take the auſpices; but if unlucky auſpices did happen when they were choſen, as thunder or lightning, the choice was null. Gruch. de Com. l. ii. c. 4. p. 782. That *ordinarily* the Comitia tributa were held without taking the auſpices, appears from Dionyſ. l. ix. "Hoc erat diſcriminis inter Tributa "Comitia & Curiata," &c. And Liv. l. x. "Neque enim Senatus auctoritas "ad magiſtratum vocat." And l. vi. Dec. 1. "Penes quos igitur ſunt "auſpicia more majorum," &c.

The Legions, till the time of Conſtantine, did not go into garriſon in the winter, but encamped in the inner part of the country, where they were placed. Hence many places in Gaul and other provinces bear the name of *Cæſaris Caſtra* to this day, that is, the camp of the Cæſar who then reigned, not of Julius Cæſar.

Till Domitian's time ſeveral legions uſed to encamp together; but he forbad that method, becauſe Luc. Antonius, Præſes Germaniæ, took from thence an opportunity of ſpiriting up the troops to revolt. Suet. Dom. c. VII.

Armies quartered in different Provinces kept up ſometimes an aſſociation of images by the badge of the double hand *. And the Emperors in acknowledgement of the aſſiſtance they had from ſuch conjunction, often preſerved that emblem upon their medals.

No ſtanding army was kept up, till the time of Auguſtus, who was adviſed to this new maxim in politics by Mæcenas †. The Prætorian cohorts were the Emperor's body guards, had double pay ‡, and were at firſt

* Tac. Hiſt. D. II. dextras Concordiæ inſignia Syriaci exercitus.
† Dio. l. 52. ‡ Two Denarii per diem. Tac. An. I.

quartered

quartered in Rome, a hundred together; but were afterwards quartered without the walls, where Sejanus built for them a garriſon; and in after-times another at Alba.

In the provinces for ſome time larger armies were kept up. But from the time of Tiberius there were not above 1200 men in Gaul, not more than equal to the number of their cities. Joſeph. Bell. Jud. II. c. xvi. 4.

There were uſually two Præfecti Prætorio, ſometimes three; after Commodus, who firſt introduced that number, they were the Emperor's prime miniſters, and had need of much reſtraint. In three centuries, from Conſtantine to Auguſtus, we find ten Emperors aſſaſſinated by them. And in the ſame period above a hundred Governors of Provinces were proclaimed Emperors by the troops they commanded. If many failed of ſucceſs, others did not; ſo that out of 50 princes that filled the throne, from Auguſtus to Cenſtantine, 20 are reckoned to have been ſucceſsful uſurpers.

Romani olim artes *βαναύσης* ignorabant.—Civi Romano turpe erat aliquam earum artium exercere.—Concionalis Hirudo ærarii. Caſaub. ad Att. I. 16. p. 114. Miſera ac jejuna plebecula.

Villa mihi valde placuit, propter ea quod ſummam dignitatem PAVIMENTATA PORTICVS habebat. Cic. ad Fr. iii. 1.

KENNET'S ANTIQUITIES, 5th Edit. 1713.

P. 46. l. 3. The next theatre in Rome was Balbus's, dedicated DCXLI, as Dio, l. LIV. p. 539. A third, dedicated by Auguſtus to Marcellus DCXLIII. twelve years after his death. Plin. N. H. VIII. c. 17.

There were three *Circus's*. One called Circus *Maximus*, inhabited by people of low character. Cic. pro Milone, c. 24. et Sueton. Another, Circus *Apollinaris*. A third, called Circus *Vaticanus*.

P. 57. The Strigil, uſed to rub the fleſh of thoſe that bathed, and to ſcrape off the ſweat, was a curved iron inſtrument fixed in a handle, and grooved all along like our marrow ſpoons. One was found at Reculver in Kent, and ſome time in the poſſeſſion of the ingenious Dr. Batteley, archdeacon of Canterbury, who has given us a draught of it. It was often oiled to prevent its contracting ruſt, which the ſalts of the human body would naturally occaſion; whence Juvenal Sat. iii. 263. *et ſonat unctis Strigilibus.*

gilibus. Which Pratæus ignorantly ſuppoſes to be done to prevent its hurting the fleſh, and makes it pointed with teeth, as if it were a curry-comb.

P. 67. Two of the ſame family [*gentis*] could not be augurs at the ſame time. Dio, l. 39. ut notat Ald. Man. l. 1. c. 9.

The Greeks in taking omens turned their faces to the *North*, as appears from Hom. Iliad, μ. 238.

τῶν ὅτι μᾶλλόπομ', ἐὸ ἀλεγίζω,
Εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξί' ἴωσι τῶρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠελιόν τε,
Εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀρίζερα τοίγε, τοὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα.

But the Romans turned towards the *Eaſt*. Livy, relating the inauguration of Numa Pompilius, ſays, *Augur deos precatus regionem ab oriente ad occaſum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, lævam ad Septentrionem eſſe dixit*. And Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom. l. ii. §. 5. not only obſerves the ſame, but gives a reaſon why the Romans reckoned the *left* the lucky quarter, which ſerves to account why the Greeks reckoned the *right* ſo; viz. That part of the world was eſteemed the moſt honourable which preſents to us the greateſt number of objects. The Romans turning to the Eaſt, the northern parts of the world were on the left, on which ſide the pole of the earth (he obſerves) was elevated; and of the five circles which encompaſs the ſphere, that called the Arctic circle always appears above the horizon, while, in the Southern parts, the antarctic circle is inviſible to us. The Greeks turning to the North, had the Eaſt on their right, the moſt noble quarter of all; from whence, he obſerves, both the ſun and moon riſe, as well as the planets and fixed ſtars; and the revolution of the heavens begins its circular motion.

P. 71. *Pontifices:* Four more were ordered to be added out of the Commons, at the ſame time as the *Augurs* received the addition of Five.] Liv. l. x. c. 9. If FIVE were added, U. C. 454. how came the firſt EIGHT to be called *Majores*, when Sylla added VII? It ſhould have been NINE and SEVEN. But the miſtake was copied from Roſtnus.

P. 72. It is obſervable, that when there were two Emperors colleagues, the firſt was only Pontif. Max. as M. Aurelius is ſtyled ſo on coins, not L. Verus. But in after-times this title was given promiſcuouſly to both, as to Pupienus and Balbinus. Span. XII. p. 422.

P. 73. All three were choſe out of the Nobility] As were likewiſe the Salii, and the Rex Sacrorum; the reſt were one moiety Patrician, and the other

other Plebeian *. They were choſen for life by a part only of the Tribes, called for that purpoſe by lot, and upon the nomination of one or two of the prieſtly college †, and were inaugurated into their office by one of the Augurs ‡.

P. 76. *Feciales*] Or (as Sigonius on Liv. i. 24. ſays, the word ſhould be written) *Fetiales*, being called in Greek Φ]ιάλιοι, Φ]ιαλεῖς, Φ]ιαλεῖς, Varro.

Numa, or *Ancus Martius*, firſt inſtituted the order at *Rome*, which were formed into a college [ſee Liv. xxxi. 8. Tac. Annal. iii. 64.]; but of what number is uncertain, though from a paſſage of Varro in Nonius Marcellus, voc. FECIALES, they are ſuppoſed to have been twenty.

Ibid. *or contracted a new one.*] On the other hand, if any of their allies complained of receiving injuries from the Romans, in violation of treaties ſubſiſting between them, the Feciales enquired into the foundation of the allegation, and delivered up to the complainants the offending party, who loſt by this means the privileges of a Roman citizen ſo totally, that he could not be admitted to them again: He had not the privilege that was called *Poſtliminium*. "Quem pater ſuus aut populus vendidiſſet, "aut pater Patrates dedidiſſet, ei nullum eſſe Poſtliminium." Cic. de Orat. i. 40. But here it muſt be obſerved, that if the parties aggrieved would not *receive* the perſon delivered to them, then he forfeited none of his Roman privileges. Which clears up a ſeeming inconſiſtency between the paſſage above recited from Cic. De Oratore, and another in Orat. pro Cæcina, c. 34. "Quem pater Patratus dedidit, aut ſuus pater populuſve "vendidit, amittit civitatem. Ut religione civitas ſolvatur, civis Roma-"nus traditur; qui cum eſt acceptus, eſt eorum quibus eſt deditus: SI "NON ACCIPIUNT, ut Mancinum Numantini, retinet integram cauſam et "jus civitatis." Cicero ſpeaks of Mancinus in both places; but in the former Craſſus cites that caſe only to ſhew that the province of an orator extends to cauſes of the greateſt importance to civil liberty; and therefore ſets forth the objection which Rutilius the Tribune made againſt Mancinus's taking his place in the Senate, viz. becauſe he had been delivered by the Pater Patratus to the Numantines. It was not to his purpoſe then to add any more than the law: but in the latter paſſage he obſerves, that law could have no effect on Mancinus, becauſe he was not *admitted* by the Numantines. Jenſius, Fere. Litera, p. 70, 71.

* Cic. pro Dom. 14. † Cic. Phil. II. 2. Agror. II. 7. ‡ Phil. ii. 43.

P. 77. The Feciales always wore the toga [Liv. xxi. 18.]; never a linen robe [Servius on Æneid. xii. 120.]; and when they denounced war, had a woollen cap [Liv. i. 24.]. The laſt mention of them that is found is under Tiberius, Tacitus Annal. iii. 64. and in an inſcription of that age in Aldus Manutius De Orthographia.

P. 88. Autumn began 24 Sept. [Plin. N. H. xviii. 31. coll. l. ii. 47. Galen. de Sanit. tuenda. l. iv.] But as Heſychius, either from 15 or 22 of Auguſt [voc. Φθινόπωρον] to the ſame days in December. As others, from Aug. 11, or Aug. 8. Plin. N. H. xviii. 28. Others, July 24, as Vet. Cal. in Grut. p cxxxvi. Vid. Maſſon, vit. Plin. Jun. p. 30.

P. 89. The prieſts, who had the care of inſerting the Intercalary day, miſtook it, and inſtead of adding it at the *end* of the fourth year, ſet it at the *beginning* of it. So that the third, the ſixth, the ninth, the twelfth, were leap years, inſtead of the fourth, the eighth, the twelfth, the ſixteenth; by which means they got a day too much in twelve years. This error went on for thirty-ſix years, till U. C. 746, in which time they had intercalated twelve days inſtead of nine, and their year began *three* days too late. To remedy this, Auguſtus, U. C. 746, ordered xii years to paſs without intercalation; and afterwards, that the intercalary day ſhould be added at the beginning of every fourth year, and the memory of it to be preſerved on a tablet of braſs.

P. 90. *Nundinæ*] It has been a matter of great uncertainty among the learned, whether theſe were kept on the return of every eighth day, or every ninth day; ſince, according to common ſpeech, the name is ſuitable to either period. Rutilius's authority in Macrobius is cited for the latter opinion; Varro's [Præf. ad l. ii. de re ruſt.] and Dion. Halic. [Antiq. Rom. vii. p. 342. ed. Par.] for the latter. Whichſoever was the period, it was the buſineſs of the prieſts by intercalations, or transferring days to prevent any of the *Nundinæ* from falling on Jan. 1, or the nones of any of the months. The Nundinæ were ordinarily like our *Sunday* in ſome reſpects; as being ſtated *Feriæ*, on which courts were not open, nor Comitia held, and ſeveral works were forbid to be done on them, till the law of Q. Hortenſius (who was dictator U. C. Var. 467) made them *dies faſti*, that the country people who came to market might have their law-ſuits decided likewiſe. Macrob. i. c. 16. So that they had, like us, their weekly, their yearly, and occaſional holydays.

P. 90.

P. 90. *To come to town again upon the uſual court-days.*] As they were laid open to the *law* *, and made *faſti*, the other reſtraint was occaſionally broke through. Thus Pompey, Cicero obſerves, was produced by the Tribune to ſpeak to the people *die nundinarum*. Ad Att. I. 14. ubi vid. Caſ. However, whatever became of their ſtated *faſti*, the Conſul could appoint occaſional holydays, to prevent, if he thought proper, any Comitia from being held, as Marcellinus Lentulus did. Cic. Ep. ad Q. F. ii. See Manut. p. 52.

Ibid. *Days when the people are ſhut up to vote.*] Or, as the proſe writers term it, *quibus cum populo agi liceret*. *Apud populum agere*, or *ad populum*, i. e. to make a ſpeech to the people, was allowable any day; but *cum populo*, only on a comitial day.

And it is to be obſerved, that every day that was not noted in the Calendar for a *comitial* day, though the public aſſemblies, or *comitia*, were not held, it was lawful to keep court. So that all *comitiales* were *dies faſti*, but not *vice verſa*.

By a law made by Cn. Pupius Tribune, the Senate could not be called to meet on any of the *comitia* days, becauſe they could not well attend both aſſemblies at once. Yet this on ſome occaſions was broken through. Fr. Voſſ. in Cæſ. B. C. i. 5.

Faſti { *Comitiales*, on which they might *lege agere*, and *cum populo agere*; but could not hold a Senate. See Cic. Ep. Fam. l. VIII. ep. VIII. Cæl. to Cicero & Ep. ii. ad Q.
Non-comitiales, on which they might *lege agere*, and *ſenatum habere*, but could not *cum populo agere*. See Q. F. ii. 13.

P. 91. At the end of Chap. XI. add, For which reaſon they never ſaid *ſecundo kalendar.* but *pridie*, becauſe *ſecundo* coming from *ſequendo*, it was abſurd as to ſay *following before*. To find the day of our month anſwering to that of the Calends, add two to the number of days in the month preceding that which denominates the Calends. Thus the 4th of the Calends of June is preſently ſeen to be the 29th of May, by adding two to the 31 days of May, which maks 33; from whence four deducted, it brings us to 29. Much to the ſame purpoſe Scaligerana, voc. *Calends*.

P. 97. He that made a ſlave free was looked on ever after as his natural patron; who yet choſe another, as other citizens did. So that *Patronus* is oppoſed to *Libertus*, as well as to *Cliens*. "Libertum ego habeo clientem "tuum." Cic. ad Att. I. 12. See Caſaubon.

* The Hortenſian Law. Seld. de Jur. Nat. & Gent. l. iii. c. 15. & Macrob. Sat. c. 16.

P. 98. *One of* 800,000 *ſeſterces was capable of being choſen a Senator.*] And yet it ſeems probable that men of diſtinguiſhed abilities were *ſometimes* put on the Senatorian roll, though they had not a Senatorial eſtate. *A cenſu* MAXIME *Senatum judices legit.* Liv. lib. xxxvi. 51. Auguſtus altered the Senatorian eſtate to 400,000 H. S. in conſideration that many good families had been impoveriſhed by the civil wars. Afterwards he raiſed it to a million of ſeſterces [of our money 8333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*]; and again to one million two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, [ten thouſand pounds of our money.] Suet. in Aug. c. 41. Dio, l. 54. p. 532. & 540. Et vid. p. 557. & Periz. de Lege Voconia, Diſſ. ii. p. 175.

Ibid. A ſurvey was taken by the Cenſors of the citizens in general, with a view to the ranging them into ſix claſſes, as will be obſerved hereafter. U. C. 584, when C. Cl. Pulcher and Tiberius Semp. Gracchus were Cenſors, the loweſt of thoſe who were entered on the Cenſor's roll, were to be worth more than 30,000 ſeſterces in land in the country, excluſive of money in bankers hands, or put out to intereſt: *Eos cenſendi jus factum eſt, qui prædium prædiave ruſtica haberent pluris* xxx *millium H. S.* Liv. xlv. 15. Cujac. Obſervat. Periz. De Lege Voconia, Diſſ. ii. p. 169.

P. 99. *Nobilis* was oppoſed to *homo novus*, not to *Plebeians*.

P. 102. l. 6. We find 415 Senators mentioned at once in the affair of Clodius. Cic. ad Att. I. 14. and 410 in Cic. Orat. poſt reditum. In the times of Sylla, Appian mentions the houſe dividing 360 againſt 22. In all 400. App. B. C. ii. p. 446.

Ibid. An inſtance of the Tribunes of the people convening the Senate we have in P. Putilius Lupus, concerning the diſtribution of the Campanian lands, Ep. ad Q. Fr. ii. 1. Before the time of their admiſſion into the houſe, they had their benches placed at the door, where they ſat and examined the reſolutions of the fathers. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 2. 7. But we may conclude that a magiſtrate, who could controul by his ſingle negative whatever paſſed within doors, would not be content without. When they were admitted to be Senators, we cannot preciſely determine; but it ſeems probable, from Dionyſius Halic. that in U. C. 263, two years after their inſtitution, they made part of that body. So ſays Dr. Middleton. But he gives no ſufficient anſwer to the expreſs teſtimony of Varro in A. Gellius xiv. 8. who ſays, that they were not made Senators before the law of Aſinius, A. U. 623. The great conteſts between the Tribunes and the Senate, U. C. 262, concerning the privileges of the people, are a proof rather

rather that they were not then Senators, than that they were. The Doctor's notion is ſtill more fully overthrown from this conſideration, that the ſame men were in many inſtances re-choſen to the Tribunate for many years together; which would have been a violation of the law, which decreed that no Senator ſhould be elected a Tribune. See Hooke's Rom. Sen. p. 219. 251.

Tullius Hoſtilius built a court for the Senate to meet in, *Curia Hoſtilia*, whence that court is underſtood when it is ſaid in general terms *Senatus in curiam vocatur*. Cic. ep. ad Q. F. ii. v. Man. p. 39. Afterwards the Curia Julia was the place where they uſually met, which was conſecrated by Auguſtus, who ſet up the image of Victory in it, which was ſtanding in Dio's time, and continued many years after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity.

P. 103. l. 11. The Senate was not to ſit on thoſe *Comitial* days in which aſſemblies with the people were actually held; but were not excluded from meeting on *Comitial* days, if there were no aſſemblies held. There were no leſs than 200 comitial days in the Roman Kalendar; and it is not likely they ſhould be precluded from ſo great a part of the year: Nay, it appears from Cicero againſt Antony the Senate was held XIII. Kal. Oct. IV. et VIII. Kal. Dec. XIII. Kal. Jan. et I in latil. XII Kal. Nov. Lett. to Lentulus XVI. Kal. Feb. Cæl. Lett. to Cicero, XI Kal. Sext. in Cæſ. VII. Id. Jan. &c.

Ibid. l. 16. *Divine ſervice*] Auguſtus, in his reformation of the Senate, ordered, that every Senator ſhould, before he took his ſeat, offer wine and frankincenſe at the altar of that God in whoſe temple they were met. Suet. in Aug. 35.

Ibid. l. 18. Any one of the Senate, inſtead of giving his opinion of a matter which was not judicially laid before the houſe, i. e. *relatum a Conſule*, might offer ſomewhat elſe to be moved from the chair, which Cicero * calls *mentionem facere in Senatu*, and Tacitus † *promere ſententiam*. See Græv in loc. Cic. et Fam. x. 16.

Ibid. l. 20. The Conſul had the liberty of aſking whoſe opinion he would firſt. And the order he begun on the firſt of January was generally obſerved the remaining part of the year, till the conſuls were *elected*; and

* Ad Att. I. 13. † Hiſt. IV. 4.

them

then that honour was ſhewn them till they entered on their office; the *firſt* that was declared Conſul, though a Plebeian and the other a Patrician, being aſked firſt. At leaſt it is certain, that the *firſt* declared Conſul aſked the opinion of others when in office, and therefore probably had the precedence before they entered into it. Thus M. Cicero was aſked before C. Antony in the affair of Catiline; M. Pupius Piſo before M. Valerius Meſſalla, though Cicero and Piſo were Plebeians, and the others Patricians. Vid. Cic. ad Att. I. 13. & Caſaub. & Manut. in loc. Vid. & Cic. Philip. v. 13.

P. 103. l. 28. There were three methods by which the Senators declared their ſenſe of what came before them. The *firſt* was by their *aſſent* or approbation, which they ſignified as they ſat in their places. The *ſecond* was, by delivering their opinions with their reaſons, which they did *ſtanding* up in their places. The *third* was, by *dividing* without giving their reaſons; that is, by going to this or that ſide of the houſe, which was called *pedibus in ſententiam ire*; and thoſe that did ſo were called for that time *pedarii Senatores*. The two firſt of thoſe methods are pointed out by Cicero, who ſays in his letter to Metellus *, "That he never ſpeeched it "againſt his couſin in the Senate; and that whenever any thing came be"fore them relating to him, *he gave in his* SEAT *his aſſent to thoſe who took* "*the moſt favourable ſide.*" All three methods are expreſſed in one ſentence by Livy †, where he ſays, that "Livius Salinator, being brought "into the Senate by the Cenſors after a long abſence, he would for ſome "time give his vote only by *aye* or *no*; or by *dividing* with the one ſide "or the other, till the cauſe of his kinſman, M. Fabius, obliged him to "*riſe up* and *ſpeak.*"

Ibid. l. ult. Hence Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 9. *non ſunt perſecuti ſententias*, they did not take the opinion of the houſe ſeparately.

* "Nulla eſt a me unquam *ſententia dicta* in fratrem tuum: quotieſcunque aliquid eſt "actum *ſedens* iis aſſenſi, qui mihi leniſſime ſentire viſi ſunt." Ep. Fam. v. 2.

† "Sed tum quoque aut verbo aſſentiebatur, aut pedibus in ſententiam ibat, donec "cognati cum hominis cauſa, M. Livii Macati, quum fama ejus ageretur, ſtantem coegit "in Senatu ſententiam dicere." Liv. lib. XXVII. c. 24. Livius Salinator had been Conſul many years before; which is abundant proof that *pedarius* did not denote a Senator of inferior rank, who had not gone through the curule offices, as Gellius and modern writers have aſſerted. This explanation is owing to Mr. Spelman, in his Diſſertation on the Roman Senate, re-printed in his Tranſlation of Dion. Halic.

P. 104.

P. 104. l. 2. " Neque hoc tantum pollicitus eſt, ſed etiam per ſe Senatus " diſceſſionem facere cœpit." Cæſ. B. G. VIII. 52.—Not only propoſed it, but began to divide the Senate upon it. A queſtion was propoſed in theſe terms, *Qui hac cenſetis, illac tranſite: qui alia omnia, in hanc partem*; not *qui non cenſetis*, that they might not have any ill ominous words: *Senatus frequens in alia omnia tranſit*, the houſe divided againſt the queſtion. Cic. Fam. i. 2. " De tribus legatis frequentes ierunt *in alia omnia*."

Ibid. l. 11. " Intercedit M. Antonius, Q. Craſſus tribuni plebis." Cæſ. B. C. i. 2. " *Quod ne fieret, Conſules amicique Pompeii interceſſerunt.*" Cæſ. B. G. VIII. 52.

Ibid. l. 38. The decrees of the Senate had the force of laws for the ſpace of a year, and did not become perpetual till they were ratified by the conſent of the people. See Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. iv. et ix. Spirit of Laws, l. ii. c. 2. p. 18.

P. 105. In reference to the perſons who were entitled to hold offices, it is to be obſerved, that Romulus admitted none to them but Patricians. Sixteen years after the expulſion of Tarquin, the people got a repreſentative from their own body in the Tribune *. U. C. 341, the Quæſtorſhip was laid open to them; U. C. 385, the maſterſhip of the horſe; U. C. 388, the Conſulate; and 389 the Curule Ædileſhip. The laſt officers (as Livy, l. VIII. ſays) were now created alternately, one year out of the people, next year out of the nobility; but were afterwards choſen promiſcuouſly: and U. C. 389, the Dictator himſelf: in fine, the Cenſors, U. C. 404; and the Prætor, 417: ſo that only the *Interrex* and *Flamen Dialis* remained among the Patricians with the ſhadow of magiſtracy, rather than the power of it. P. Merula de Legg. Rom. c. ii. p. 49 Græv. Præf. ad Rom. Antiq. p. m. XIV.

P. 108. l. 18. The law required three years interval between the Prætorſhip and the Conſulate. Hooke, vol. III. p. 39. 4to.

Ibid. l. 20. From U. C. 501, the Conſuls entered on their office Idib. Martii, or March 15. From U. C. 601, they were choſen, or *deſignati*, at the end of July, and entered on their office Jan. 1, and held it to the end of the year. Julius Cæſar himſelf was choſen during the troubles in December or January. B. Civ. iii. 1.

* U. C. 310, Varr. C. Canuleius obtained a law for permitting inter-marriages between Patricians and Plebeians; and another that there ſhould be *Tribunes* inveſted with conſular power, choſen from among the latter. This held till about U. C. Varr. 388; they were then laid aſide, and Conſuls choſen again, but one of them to be Plebeian.

P. 108. l. 22. Though the more uſual way was for the Emperors, with conſent of the Senate, to nominate the ſeveral Conſuls for the year about the beginning of it. For, from the time of Claudius, the Conſuls were uſually nominated for two months only; the two firſt, *ordinarii*, to hold themſelves from 1 Jan. to March; two next, *ſuffecti*, from March to May; and ſo on. There were therefore ſix *Collegia Conſulum*, or *Nundinæ*, in the year; that word being ſtill retained from the Conſuls under the Republic appearing in the Comitia for three Nundinæ, before they could be elected. Hence, Vopiſcus in Tacito c. IX. "Fratri ſuo Floriano Conſulatum petiit "(Tacitus) et non impetravit, idcirco quod Senatus omnia nundina ſuffecto-"rum Conſulum clauſerat." See Salmaſ. in loc. Commodus named 25 Coſſ. in a year. Severus Alexander reſtored the former uſe of XII. But it varied much, according to the will of the prince, who uſually got himſelf to be *Conſul ordinarius* the January after he was choſen Emperor, and ſo likewiſe he was made Cæſar. The Emperors for the generality took the Conſulſhip the *January* after they came to the empire; as did the Cæſars after their nomination to that honour.

So likewiſe, on account of any triumph, expedition, Ludi Sæculares, Quinquennales, &c. to add to the ſolemnity of them, the Emperor Cæſar uſually took the Conſulſhip; inſomuch that Themiſtius, in his oration to Theodoſius, at the Decennial ſolemnity, tells him, that no private perſon, before, on thoſe ſolemnities, was permitted to go out Conſul; μηδενὶ πρόθεν ὑπάρξαν προπολ]εύεσθαι ἰδιώτης κύκλῳ Βασιλικῷ *, et quod nemini antea con-"ceſſum fuit, in imperatorio Luſtro primas in republicæ PRIVATVS tenet."

Thoſe that entered on the Conſulate the beginning of the year, ſtand on the Faſti for the whole year; but from the time of Claudius eſpecially they uſually ſerved it not above two months, often not ſo long. See Suet. in Calig. c. XVII. And under Commodus XXV Conſuls were nominated in a year. Lamprid. in Commodo, c. VI.

On the firſt of January, when the Conſuls entered on their office, they made their proceſſion through the city. Even this circumſtance is mentioned on two coins, one of Conſtant. Max. inſcribed, FEL. PROCES. CONSUL. AVG. The other of Maxentius, with FELIX. PROCESS. COS. VI. AVGN. Exergue A. Q. (Spanh. Diſſ. XII. p. 457. Ed. fol.) which are the only coins which have been yet diſcovered with this legend. Hardouin adds another.

* Orat. XVI. p. 205.

The

The ſame numeral mark of the Conſulſhip was continued on the coins of the Emperors for ſeveral years together, till they entered on a new Conſulſhip. Thus Hadrian, from U. C. 872 to 891, is ſtyled Coſ. III.

P. 108. l. 24. Under the Emperors there were three ſorts of Conſuls: 1. The *ordinarii*, who entered on their office Cal. Jan. and denominated the year. 2. Thoſe who were put in the room of the *ordinarii*, often ſeveral in a year, ſtyled *ſuffecti*. Both theſe, when nominated to the office, till their entrance on it, were called *deſignati*. 3. *Honorarii*, ſometimes called *Conſulares codicillares*, and *exconſules*, to whom all the honours of Conſuls were decreed by the Emperor, as the habit, the *ſella curulis*, &c.

The number of Conſulſhips is marked on coins, among which the *ſuffecti* are ſometimes reckoned, ſometimes not ſo. Thus *Claudius*, 1° Calig. was Coſ. Suff. afterwards, when *Coſ. ordinarius*, he is ſtyled Coſ. II. The title of *Honorarius Conſul* did not add to the number of Conſulſhips on coins till the time of Severus, when Plautianus, having been made ſo by Severus, was, when *Coſ. ordinarius*, ſtyled Coſ. II. which example Dio ſays, l. xlvi. was afterwards followed. Pagi, Diſſert. Hypat. Under the Conſtantine times, the numeral mark was not added to Coſſ.

P. 109. *Dictator.*] The perſon who was to be poſſeſſed of this honour was to be either conſul, or one who had been ſo. Liv. ii. 18. For which reaſon Livy concludes Titus Lartius was the firſt Dictator, he having paſſed the Conſulſhip, rather than Valerius, who had not. When all offices were laid open to the Plebeians, this was in common to them likewiſe; and C. Martius Rutilius was the firſt of that order who was Dictator, Liv. vii. 17.

P. 110. Manutius [De Legg. c. v.] imagines, that by the law made in the comitia by centuries, under the Conſuls L. Valerius and M. Horatius, A. U. C. Var. 305. Liv. III. 55. and by another, paſſed by the Tribune Druſius afterwards in the ſame year, viz. *that no magiſtrate ſhould be created againſt whom there could be no appeal*; that by this law, I ſay, an appeal would lie from the deciſion of the Dictator, as well as of the other magiſtrates. But this is a miſtake. The Dictator was not included in the ordinary ſenſe of the word *magiſtrate*, to which the law referred, but was an office *extraordinary*, not appointed in any *comitia*, but generally by the *Senate* *. The people had been oppreſſed for four years paſt, by Conſular Decemvirs, againſt whom there was no appeal. At length the above

* See Liv. iv. 21. vii. 28. xxiii. 22.

Conſuls and Tribunes obtained a law to reſtrain the Conſuls within their ancient privileges, by which heretofore they were not exempted from appeals. It was not the *Dictator's* power they complained of, but the *Conſuls*; and againſt them the law was levelled. Accordingly, all ſubſequent tranſactions of the Roman Hiſtory ſhew that the Dictatorſhip was always kept up to its full extent of power. See particularly Liv. IV. 13. VIII. 30. Joann. Jenſius de Dictatoribus P. Rom. 1717. cap. IX.

P. 112. The Prætors were uſually elected in July, though they did not enter on their office till Jan. 1; in which intermediate time they might be accuſed of bribery, or any other crime, and ſet aſide if proved guilty: but could not be accuſed whilſt in their office. Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 9.

The creation of Cenſors for the firſt time was only *two years* after the promulgation of Canuleius's two memorable laws for permitting intermarriages between the Patricians and Plebeians, and leaving the people at full liberty to chuſe the Conſuls out of either of the two orders. Chapman, Rom. Senate, p. 80.

P. 113. Cenſors who had not been conſuls. Liv. XXVII. c. 6. 13. M. Rutilius the firſt Plebeian Cenſor, as well as firſt Plebeian Dictator. Liv. VII. c. 22. X. ult.

According to the inſtitution of Servius Tullius, every citizen was to be enrolled in the Cenſors' books, with an account of his wealth and ſubſtance. Whoever avoided this ſcrutiny was liable to be deprived of his city-freedom and goods, and ſcourged. Dion. Hal. l. IV. Cic. Cæcin. c. 34. Thoſe who were abroad in the provinces were ſometimes called home for this purpoſe. Vell. ii. c. 15. At other times, the Cenſors were ſent into the provinces, to take an account of their number in the Roman armies. Liv. XXXIX. c. 37. But at length, as the number of citizens greatly increaſed, and they were exempt from paying tribute by the increaſe of wealth, which the conqueſt of Perſeus king of Macedonia by L. Paullus, brought to the Roman ſtate; and laſtly, as Marius admitted them into his legions without any diſcrimination of circumſtances, *capite cenſi*, the Cenſors office grew into neglect, and was laid aſide ſometimes for ſeveral years * [Cic. in Verrem, Aſcon. in Divinat.]; which prepared the way for the dropping it entirely under the Emperors, or for their exerciſing the duty at pleaſure.

* Periz. Diſſ. II. De Leg. Voc. p. 185, 6.

Though

Though all other magiſtrates were accountable for their adminiſtration, yet the Cenſors were not. One Cenſor could not be troubled by another Cenſor; each made his remark without taking the opinion of his colleague. L'Eſprit des Loix, l. v. c. 8.

P. 115. The Quæſtors entered on their office Dec. 5.—*Quæſturam intelligimus; nam omnes cæteri magiſtratus Kal. Jan. procedebant, ſoli vero Quæſtores Nonis Decembris.* MS. not. in Cic. 1. in Verr. c. x. citat. in Spanh. Diſſ. xii. p. 458.

The Conſuls (under the Emperor) had two city Quæſtors (Dio, xlviii. p. 383.). Pliny Jun. and Caleſtrius were ſuch to Domitian in his XIII^th^ Conſulſhip. Plin. Ep. VII. 16. The Quæſtors continued the whole year in office, when the Conſulſhip was made only for two months. Plin. Ep. VIII. 23. This ſeems to have been a diſtinct office from that of *Quæſtor Principis*, called in after-times by Ulpian *Candidatus Principis*; for we never find more than one at a time bore that office *. We muſt take care to obſerve, that *Candidati imperatorum*, under the Cæſars, were different from thoſe who were called ſo under the Conſtantinopolitan Emperors. The former ſuch as the Emperor recommended as *Candidates* for a magiſtracy. See Tac. Ann. 1. 15. Suet. Aug. 56. &c.

P. 116. From U. C. 300, the Tribunes had the power of calling the Senate and diſmiſſing it, which was before in the Conſuls. Dion. Halic. Ant. l. x. p. 657. App. Bell. Civ. i. 145. But were not members of the Senate till the Aſinian law [Gell. XIV. c. ult.], which is thought to have been made by *Aſinius Labeo*, U. C. 633.

They had the power of calling any Senator out from the Senate, and obliging him to declare his opinion before the people of any thing that had happened in the ſtate. Thus the Tribune took out Pompey to declare his ſentiments about the method of trying Clodius. Cic. ad Att. I. 14.

Within leſs than two years after their inſtitution, they obtained the honour of being admitted into the Senate †; but many years after that, they were not ſuffered to *deliver their votes as members of the houſe* ‡, though they were authorized by virtue of their office to obſtruct the paſſing any decree by their *interceſſion*, and pronouncing a ſingle word, *Veto*. Chapman, Rom. Sen. c. ii. p. 96.

The *Tribunitian* power was given for ever to Julius Cæſar by the Senate, ſays Dio, l. liii. p. 519. but being neglected by him, was aſſumed

* See Maſſon, Vit. Plin. U. C. Jun. 840. DCCCXL.

† Dion. Halic. VII. c. 49. ‡ Ib. x. 31,

afterwards by Auguſtus, and made part of the imperial title. Vid. Tac. Annal. iii. 56. et Lipſ. Auguſtus's empire properly began from the battle of Actium, U. C. 723; according to which he reigned XLIV years. But the Tribunician Power was aſſigned him perpetual 27 Jun. U. C. 731. from whence on his coins is mentioned only XXXVII *. Titus's coins mention his Trib. Pot. x. though he was Emperor alone only II. &c. Some Emperors coins have only TRIB. POT. without the number enpreſſed, particularly Hadrian's, in ſome of which *Trib. Pot.* is wholly omitted, and only the title of *Auguſtus*, or P. P. added; and after Valerius and Gallienus, this title ſeldom occurs on coins, though mentioned in inſcriptions. Spanh. Diſſ. XII. de pr. num. ed. fol. Panvinius firſt diſcovered from coins and inſcriptions, that the Emperors did not commence a new year of Trib. Pot. from Jan. 1; but from the return of that day on which they commenced their reign. See Noris, Cen. Piſan. p. 260. It was given likewiſe to the partners in the empire, who were in a degree inferior to Auguſti. Thus by Auguſtus to Agrippa [Vell. Pat. l. LIV. Tac. Annal. iii. 56.]; to Tiberius, even for XVI years before he came to be ſole Emperor, which number appears on his coins while he was Cæſar. *Tribunitiam poteſtatem perpetuo recepit, in qua* SEMEL *atque* ITERUM *per ſingula luſtra collegam ſibi adoptavit.* Sueton. in Ann. c. XXVII. His coins number on afterwards to Trib. Pot. XXXVIII.

Some that were afterwards Emperors were Tribunes before, as Hadrian and Severus. Vid. Spanheim. They were elected about July 17, and were created the 10th of December †; but the Conſuls and other officers were created on the firſt of January; by which means the Tribunes were in office ſome days under different Conſuls. Paul. Man. Ep. ad Att. I. 1. vid. et II. 12, 13. et Ep. ad Brutum. 1. At the Comitia Tributa from U. C. CCLXXXIII. but before that time at the Comitia Curiata.

P. 120. The office of *Interrex* was firſt inſtituted on the death of Romulus, when the Senate, conſiſting of 200 in number, were divided into *decuriæ*, or ten diviſions. Then drawing lots (one out of each diviſion), the firſt ten on whom the lot fell were inveſted with the abſolute command of the city. However, they did not all reign together, but ſucceſſively; each reigning five days. The firſt, after his power was expired,

* Dio l. 54. 5 Cal. Julii. Trib. Pot. 1. U. C. 751. i. e. Jul. 27.

† Tribunes began their office Idibus Decemb [Dec. 13.] ſi fides Dionyſio Halicarn. Ant. Periz. anim. c. x. p. 460. Ante diem IV idus Decembres [Dec. 10.] Liv. xxxix. 52. —Nonis Decembris [Dec. 5.] Cicer. Prooem. Verr. c. 10.

delivered over the government to the ſecond; and ſo on, to the laſt. After the ten firſt kings had reigned their appointed time of fifty days, ten others received the government from them; and from thoſe in like manner others. Thus Dionyſ. Halic. Ant. ii. c. 57. And Livy to the ſame purpoſe: *Decem imperitabant, unus cum inſignibus imperii et lictoribus erat: quinque dierum ſpatio finiebatur imperium, ac per omnes in orbem ibant*; the ſenſe of which words Plutarch miſtook, imagining that *quinque dierum ſpatio finiebatur imperium* meant *imperium decem*, that the government of the whole ten expired in five days, and conſequently that of each in twelve hours: whereas Livy means *imperium uniuscujuſque*, the government of each of the ten, terminated in five days.

It being a ruled point, that an inferior officer could not hold aſſemblies for the election of a ſuperior, in the abſence or death of the Conſuls (the ſupreme magiſtrates), neither Conſul nor Prætor could be choſen without the *Interrex*. In ſuch caſe, the right of taking the auſpices for ſuch election fell into the hands, not of the *Senate* in general, but of the *Patrician* Senators only, who choſe an *Interrex* out of their own body, to preſide in the election of new Conſuls; which Conſuls could preſide in the election of Prætors; and to provide for the ſupply of all the inferior magiſtracies*.

P. 121. The care of the public fund for the maintenance of the army, which was heretofore entruſted to the *City Quæſtors*, Auguſtus aſſigned to three perſons, to be choſen by lot, who had paſſed the office of *Prætors*, called each *Præfectus Ærarii Saturni*. Claudius, U. C. 799, reſtored this office again to the *Quæſtors*. Theſe remained ſome part of Nero's reign; but he brought in again *Prefecti ærarii* [Tac. Annal. xiii. 28. 6.]; which title continued through the reign of Domitian, Trajan, and the Antonines. Pliny the younger, in particular, enjoyed this office for two years, till he was nominated to the Conſulſhip, U. C. 653. Plin. Ep. x. 20 et Pag. c. 91. This ſeems to be the ſame office which was called *Præfectus Ærarii militaris*; ſince Pliny, who mentions the other title himſelf, is deſcribed by this title in inſcriptions in Gruter, 1028. 5; and a paſſage in Tacitus leads us to think it the ſame. Annal. v. 8. *Illum indices arguebant clauſtra ærarii, cui præfectus erat, et militarem pecuniam rebus novis obtuliſſe* †.

Vigintiviri; out of whom were appointed, 1. the *Triumviri capitales*, for puniſhing petty rogues, a ſort of Juſtices of the Peace. 2. *Trefviri*

* Cic. Ep. ad Att. ix. 9.

† See Reineſ. Ep. l. p. 467. ad Rupertum, et Maſſon, vit Plin. p. 85.

Monetales,

Monetales, Maſters of the Mint. 3. *Quatuorviri*, who looked after the public ways of the city. 4. The *Decemviri*, who preſided in cauſes that belonged to the Judicia Centumviralia *. Theſe offices were aſſigned to young men of rank and worth, and as an earneſt of being admitted in time into the Senate. The age required for them was to be turned of twenty. This appears from Tacitus †, who obſerves, that Nero deſired that the ſons of Germanicus might be excuſed going through the office of the XXviri, and be admitted to the Quæſtorſhip v years ſooner than the time required by law, which was at the end of xxiv years. And ſomewhat of the like indulgence Claudius got for his ſons-in-law. This is farther confirmed from an inſcription in Gruter, cccexxxiii. 4. ‡ where one of the Quatuorviri is mentioned as dying at 21, the other at 20 years of age.

Q. IVL. CLARA C. V. IIII.VIR. VIARVM CVRANDARVM ANN. XXI.

Q. IVL. NEPOTIANO V. C. IIII.VIRO VIARVM. CVRANDARVM ANN. XX.

P. 122. *Centumviri*, &c.] They were in reality a hundred and five, there being xxxv tribes. But they were called *Centumviri*, that being a round number. And they retained the ſame name when they were increaſed to CLXXX, as we ſee in Plin. l. vi. ep. 33.—Selden, de Synedr. l. ii. p. 1271. ed. fol.

P. 124. The provinces, according to the ancient inſtitution, even before the ſecond Punic war, were governed by the Conſuls, who, on entering their office, caſt lots to determine which ſhould be aſſigned to each; but ſometimes they took them according to the diſpoſal of the Senate, or of the people; ſometimes by mutual agreement with each other. If they were aſſigned to them by the Senate, or the people, they were ſaid to be given *extra ordinem*, or *extra ſortem*. Liv. x. 24. On the expiration of their year, the next Conſuls ſucceeded. But wars and other exigences of ſtate requiring a prolongation of their power, application was made to the people for an extraordinary commiſſion. The firſt inſtance of this was, A. U. 427, when Q. Publitius Philo § the Conſul, having near the concluſion of the year cut off the communication of the enemy, between *Palæpolis* and *Naples*, the people, at the motion of their Tribunes, decreed that he ſhould effect that as *Proconſul*, which he was prevented from completing in his Conſulſhip. From whence we may learn, that this nominatiou of *Proconſul* was at the *Comitia Tributa*, where the Tribunes might preſide, not at the *Comitia Centuriata*, where they could not preſide; it being a ruled

* Dio, l. liv. p. 540. † Annal. III. 29.
‡ Dio, l. lvii. Maff. v. 2. Ovid. p. 57, 8. § Liv. VIII. 23.

caſe,

caſe, that the leſſer magiſtrates could never hold thoſe *Comitia* where the greater were choſen. More inſtances of theſe *Proconſuls* being nominated by the people may be ſeen in Livy xxix. 13. xxx. 27.

In the latter times of the Commonwealth the Conſuls uſually ſpent the year of their office at Rome, and at the end of it went to their provinces, by virtue of the Senate's decree, without application to the people; and by the Cornelian law, A. U. 673, continued there till others were ſent to ſucceed them *: and after the arrival of ſuch ſucceſſors, they were to quit their province within 30 days. Trebonius procured a law, that Julius Cæſar ſhould hold his province of Gaul for a ſecond five years, which was not done to overthrow the Cornelian law, but to prevent the Senate's vacating his power before that time was expired by ſending another †.

It often happened that the Conſuls whoſe office expired were not ſent the year immediately following, but were put by for two, three, or four years. Thoſe who were ſent in their ſtead were called *Privati*. *Provinciæ privatis decernuntur. Scipioni obvenit Syria, L. Domitio Gallia*, ſays Cæſar, B. Civ. i. 6. vid. Voſſ. ibid. This was U. C. 704. The former, Q. Metellus Pius Scipio, had been Cof. DCCII; the latter, L. Domitius Ænobarbus, in the year DCC: *Privatus* being a term given to any one who had been in office, and was out of it. So *Privato Milone*, Cic. pro Milone, c. 15. after Milo had laid down his Tribuneſhip.

P. 126. The *Proconſulares*, or governors of the people's provinces, were obliged to conſult the Senate in dubious affairs, accountable to them and to the people; but the Proprætors were accountable only to the Emperor. Henley's Life of Pliny, p. xiv.

In this diviſion there were Ten *Prætorian* and two *Conſular* Provinces allotted to the people's ſhare. The reſt the Emperor kept under his own government.

Deputies were ſent into each, ſometimes with greater power, ſometimes with leſs. But the Governors of the *people's* provinces were generally endowed with Proconſular power, and are therefore called *Proconſuls* ‡; which title was never applied to the Imperial Deputies, who are diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Conſulares* ſimply, or *Legati Conſulares*; or *Proprætores, Legati Prætorii, Legati Imperatoris proprætores*; according as they

* Cic. Ep. Fam. i 9 iii. 6.
† Gruch. de Com. l. ii. c. 2.
‡ Dio, l. LIII. p. 504.

were

were commiſſioned with *Conſular* or *Prætorial* power. And this though they had not gone through the office of Prætor or Conſul. Thus under the Commonwealth Quintus Cicero is ſaid, by Suetonius in Aug. *Proconſulatum Aſiæ adminiſtrare*, though at that time he had not been Conſul. And in Cicero's Fam. Ep. two are inſcribed, *Q. Metello Proconſuli*, who, having been only Prætor, had the Province of the Ciſalpine Gaul. Germanicus under Tiberius, *permiſſæ Germanico provinciæ, quæ mari dividuntur, majuſque imperium quoquo adiſſet, quam his qui ſorte aut permiſſu Principis obtinerent* *, and Corbulo under Nero. The office of Dux and Comes, in the latter times of the empire, ſeem to have ariſen out of theſe two ſorts of Proconſuls †. Tacitus ſays of Petronius, *Proconſulatum Bithyniæ, mox Conſuli.* Annal. xiv. 18. Vell. Pat. l. ii. diſtinguiſhes between the Governors of the people's Provinces and the Imperial, ſtyling the former *Proconſules*, the latter *Legati. Ut omnes qui proconſules legatique in tranſmarinas provincias profecti.* The people's Provinces were governed by new Deputies yearly, and were ſuch as were leaſt expoſed to danger. Therefore, as the circumſtances of them altered, the Emperors would occaſionally take them into their own hands, and allow the people to nominate to ſome of the Imperial in return. *Antoninus Phil. provincias ex proconſularibus conſulares, aut ex conſularibus conſulares, aut prætorias pro belli neceſſitate fecit.* Jul. Cap. c. 22. Where, by *conſulares & prætoriæ*, he means Imperial Provinces; by *proconſulares*, the People's. See Salmaſ. Hiſt. Aug. Script. vol. I. p. 200. 374. II. 346. &c. Bithynia and Pontus were the people's Provinces under Claudius, Nero, and Veſpaſian, as appears from coins. See Spanh. de uſu et præſt. numiſm. And yet under Trajan they were Imperial, whence Pliny the younger is ſtyled in inſcriptions, LEGATVS PROPRAETOR PROVINCIAE PONTI CONSVLARI POTESTATE IN EAM PROVINCIAM AB IMP. CAESARE NERVA TRAIANO AVG. GERMANICO MISSVS. And from Pliny's Ep. x. 29. 41. 56, 57. 77. 118. it appears it was once a Proconſular Province, but in his time Imperial. See Maſſon, vit. Plin. Jun. U. C. 856.

What the *Conſular power* was, with which theſe Legates were ſent into the Provinces, it is hard to ſay. Grævius [in Suet. Domitian. c. 1.]. It denoted the ſame plenary power which the Emperors aſſumed when they took the title of *proconſul*; not confined to any one province, but to be

* Annal. ii. 43. † Ibid. c. 25.

exerciſed

exercised in every province into which they should be sent. Thus Domitian, *Honorem prætoræ cum consulari potestate susceptit.* Suet. Dom. c. 1. who was afterwards sent into Germany, not as a Consular legate, but as Cæsar with the ancient Consular power.

This extraordinary Proconsular power was first given to M. Antony, the father of the Triumvir, *infinitum imperium*, as Cicero calls it [in Verrem ii. c. 3. Lactant. Inst. i. c. 2.] which is spoken with some exaggeration, Asconius explaining it by *potestatem infinitam totius oræ maritimæ.* Pompey had the same power afterwards by the Gabinian law. Vell. Pat. ii. c. 31. *Imperium* AEQUUM *in omnibus Provinciis cum Procoss. usque ad quinquagesimum milliarium ad mare.* The power of those who were created Proconsuls without a Province was, as the occasion required, extensive; but not, like the Imperial Proconsuls, without limitation. For it is to be observed, that to abridge the Provincial Proconsul's power *, the title of *Proconsul* was now annexed to the Imperial, and given (as well as Imperator) to those Cæsars who were colleagues in the Empire, so that the Governors of the popular Provinces acted only under them. This, Dio tells us, was made perpetual to Augustus, from whence it was continued by the Senate to his successors †. Thus to Nero [see Tac. An. xi. c. 41.] when he was only Cæsar, and took the Toga Virilis. And Trajan, Hadrian, and Ælius Cæsar had that title, as appears from inscriptions in Gruter ‡. As the power related to the Provinces, so it was then given to those that were absent from the city. Thus Tacitus observes, that the Proconsular power being given to Germanicus, who was abroad, *it was not asked for Drusus because he was at home* ||. And in another place he says it was decreed, that "NERO PROCONSULAREM IMPERIVM EXTRA VRBEM ha-"beret §," which may be the reason probably (which Casaubon and Scaliger could not account for) why so few coins and inscriptions ascribe this title to the more early Emperors, before the time of Severus and Caracalla.

P. 127. Proprætors were laid aside about the reign of Diocletian or Constantine, and *Vicarii* sent in their stead. Thus in the Notitia, Vicarius Britanniarum.

P. 129. When Romulus had enlarged his city with the union of the Sabines, he imitated the Grecian constitution, with some variation in the

* Dio, LVIII. p. 518, 519.
† Dio, l. LIII. p. 519.
‡ CCXLV. 9. CCXCVIII. 1. CCLII. 2.
|| Annal. i. c. 14.
§ Annal. XII. c. 41.

 division

diviſion of the citizens. He diſtinguiſhed them into three parts, which he called *Tribes*, from the Greek τριτ∫ὺς, which the Æolians called τριττὺς; which name was ever after continued when they were multiplied into xxxv tribes. Each tribe he ſubdivided into x *Curiæ*, the three tribes therefore into xxx Curiæ, ſo called from the Greek κυρίαι, authorities, becauſe the principal concerns of the ſtate were tranſacted in the aſſemblies of theſe *Curiæ* *, called *Comitia Curiata*, as the election of Kings, or other great officers; the making and abrogating of laws, and the adjudging capital cauſes, till Servius Tullius inſtituted the *Comitia Centuriata*.

P. 130. The great aſſembly of the people (where Wills were to be made) met but *twice* a year. L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxvii. c. 1. p. 226.

Ibid. The third claſs of the *Comitia Centuriata* conſiſted of twenty centuries; the fourth of twenty-two; the fifth of thirty; and the laſt had but one century, who were filled up with the poorer ſort, only reckoned by number, *capite cenſi*, not abſolutely *cenſi*, or entered in the Cenſor's roll, as men of any conſequence. The policy of this inſtitution was, to lay the burden of the taxes upon the rich, by exempting the ſixth claſs from paying any thing. And ſecondly, by their manner of voting, by throwing power into their hands likewiſe. For the firſt claſs, conſiſting of 98 centuries, in which the majority of each century was conſidered as the vote of the century; and they ſeldom diſagreeing in their votes, the firſt claſs generally decided the election. But hence, ſays Mr. Hooke, a common miſtake has ariſen among all writers, that they thought in theſe aſſemblies the Senate and the Patricians had all the power, becauſe Livy ſays, l. i. c. 43. *ut neque excluſus quiſquam ſuffragio videretur, et vis omnis penes* PRIMARIOS *civitatis eſſet*, as if theſe *primarii* were *Senators* only. They were undoubtedly the whole body of the *dites*, who compoſed the firſt claſs, or the 98 centuries. Now let the number of Senators be at this time 200 or 300, we cannot ſuppoſe they were ſo ſplit into Companies or Centuries, as to make many votes in the *Comitia Centuriata*. 2. This ſcheme of Servius was inſtituted to conſtitute, not an Ariſtocratical, but a Democratical government; and therefore to take the power out of the hands of the Senate, who had oppoſed his being choſen king. 3. If the Patricians were more powerful in them than the Plebeians, neither Dionyſius nor Livy would

* Græv. Præf. ad Vol. I. Theſ. Rom.

have

have laboured to aſſign a reaſon why the people choſe no Patricians to be Military Tribunes. 4. In fact, the great points carried by the Commons againſt the Nobles, were in the Comitia Centuriata; as, The law for electing Tribunes in the Comitia Tributa, U. C. 282. TheLex Horatia, which gave the Plebiſcita made in the Comitia Tributa the force of laws binding the whole Roman people, U. C. 304. And it was doubtleſs in the Comitia Centuriata, ... (in his abſence) and Menenius (after trial) were condemned, and Servilius (after trial) acquitted, U. C. 263. 278. 279. Hooke's Rom. Hiſtory vol. I. p. 244. Rom. Senate 127. 185. Dion. Halicarnaſſenſis is of other ſentiments; but his authority with Mr. Hooke is no value.

All that were free of the city, and had the privilege of voting given them, had a right of voting here, whereſoever they lived. The Senators might vote in either the Comitia Centuriata or Tributa, if they pleaſed; but were not obliged to vote, nor were they ſummoned. Varro, l. iii. c. 4. mentions a Senator voting in Comitia Tributa where an Ædile was choſen. See Gruch. de Com. p. 707.

P. 131. l. 32. *add*, For the ſame reaſon *exercitus imperare* was uſed peculiarly to ſummon the people to the *Comitia Centuriata*, and *remittere exercitus* to diſſolve them; ſo Varro, L. L. V. Lælius Felix ap. Gell. xv. 27. Liv. xxxix. 15. and had quite a different ſignification from *imperare milites*. Livy uſes *exercitus* in the ſame ſenſe, l. i. *Concilia populi exercitus vocati, ſumma rerum, ubi aves non admiſiſſent dirimerentur*. And l. xxxix. 15. *Vox illo in arce poſito comitiorum cauſa exercitus eductus eſt*. J. F. Gronov. Obſ. i. 1. & Petr. Weſſeling. Probabil. c. xxxix. p. 361. Theſe Comitia held for three Nundinæ, or xxvii days, to which we may add the three days preparatory to them, which were employed in perſuading the people to conſent to the law that was to be moved, if the Comitia were called to paſs a law; or the candidates made intereſt to be choſen, if the Comitia were called for the election of officers. Macrob. Saturn. i. c. 16. See alſo Gronovius in the place already cited, and the note already printed on Kennet, p. 108.

Livy 1. 43, ſays, that the four *tribes*, which Servius inſtituted, had no relation to his diviſion of the people into centuries, into which each of the five claſſes were divided. Every man gave his vote in his *curia*, or in his own *tribe*, or elſe in his own *claſs* or *century*. If the people were ſummoned in *curiæ*, it ſignified nothing in what *tribe* or *century* they were regiſtered;

if by *tribes*, no matter in what *curia* or *century*, &c. ſo the prerogative *tribe*, or prerogative *century*, or prerogative *curiæ*, did not affect each other. But the *tribes* afterwards encreaſing to xxxv, and the number of citizens in each being greatly multiplied, there were many of all the v claſſes in each tribe *. When the Comitia met according to centuries, out of the xxxv tribes one was decided by lot to be the tribe from whence the century was to be taken which ſhould vote firſt, called the prerogative tribe; next, the prerogative century in that tribe was determined the ſame way. On which account the name of the tribe was given to the century, and of the century ſometimes to the tribe, as *Galeria juniorum quæ ſorte prærogativa erat, Q. Fulvium & Q. Fabium conſules dixerat* †; that is, the *century* of the younger part which was in the *Galerian tribe* ‡.

By the younger, one would think, from Gell. x. 28, ſhould be meant from XVII to XLVI years.

2. Philip. de Dolabellæ comitiis. *Prima claſſis vocatur, renunciatur*, i. e. the *centuries* of the firſt *claſs*. The centuries of each claſs gave their votes, which were declared before the whole claſs was gone through. Thus Livy, *Ut quæque intro vocata erat centuria, conſulem dicit*. V. Gruch. i. 4. p. 715. In the Comitia by centuries no diſtinction of *orders* but that of *equites* and *pedites*, and the Senators voted at them if they pleaſed. Varro, De re Ruſt. iii. 4. *Comitiis Ædilitatis cum ſole caldo, ego atque Appius Senator tribulis ſuffragium tuliſſemus*. The centuries of the *foot* (not of the *equites*) were diſtinguiſhed again into *younger* and *older*, the former from XVII years of age to XLVII; the older paſt that age. See Gell. ut ſupra. Conſideration was had likewiſe to eſtate. So that, firſt, voted the prerogative Century choſen by lot; 2. the Centuries of Knights; 3. the Centuries, the firſt, the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth claſs in order; and in all the claſſes the ſeniors before the juniors. Gruch. i. 4. p. 708.

P. 133. The ſame letters could not be uſed in Courts of *Judicature*, and in *confirmation* of laws. In the former A, for *abſolvo*, or C for *condemno*, or N. L. for *non liquet*. In confirmation of laws, A. for *Antiquæ*, and U. R. for *ubi rogas*. In all theſe caſes, at firſt, the vote was given *viva voce*. But the method of balloting in elections of *officers* was brought in by *A. Gabinius*, Trib. Plebis, U. C. 614; in *Courts of Judicature* by L. Caſſius,

* See Græv. Præf. to Vol. I.

† Liv. XXVII. 6.

‡ Gruch. i. 4. p. 708. See Gron. Obſ. iv. 1.

Trib.

Trib. Pleb. A. U. 616; and A. U. 621, by C. Papirius Cerbo, for the enacting of laws Taylor, Elements of Civil Law, p. 192.

Ibid. Of the thirty-five tribes, thirty-one belonged to the country, and four only to the city *, which latter took in the contemptible part of the citizens, who, having no lands to cultivate, were, if we may ſo ſay, citizens by halves. Thoſe who were members of theſe city tribes were very near the ſame with thoſe who, in the diviſion by centuries, were of the ſixth claſs, who were only *capite cenſi*. The greateſt part of them did not even go to war, for in the enliſting of ſoldiers the diviſion of centuries was obſerved; where it was ſcarce poſſible for the ſuffrages to be in the hands of the populace. See Cauſes of the Grandeur and Declenſion of the Romans, p. 113. ed. 2.

But Marius, in order to obtain a commiſſion for carrying on the war againſt Mithridates, in prejudice of Sylla's pretenſions, had, by the concurrence of Sulpicius the Tribune, incorporated VIII new tribes of the people of Italy into the XXXV ancient tribes, which rendered the Italians maſters of the ſuffrages. But this law either did not paſs, or was abrogated the ſame year, U. C. 665 †.

P. 134. The Comitia Tributa were ordinarily called by the Tribunes, in which the Patricians might be preſent and vote, if they pleaſed; but could not be compelled, nor were they ſummoned. Taylor, in Plebiſc.

The leſſer magiſtrates, viz. Tribunes, Ædiles, Quæſtors, were choſen at the aſſembly of the *Tribes*; as the greater magiſtrates, viz. Conſuls, Cenſors, Prætors, were choſen at the aſſembly of *centuries*. Caſaub. Ep. ad Attic I. 3. Paul. Manut. ad Cic. Fam. vii. 30.

Ibid. In thoſe aſſemblies where the greater magiſtrates were choſen, the leſſer could not preſide; the *Tribunes* for inſtance could not preſide in the Comitia of *Centuries*. Livy ſays, VIII. 23. *actum cum tribunis eſt, ad populum ferrent, ut cum Publilius Philo conſulatu abiiſſet, proconſul rem gereret, quoad debellatum cum Græcis eſſet*; by which we may be aſſured, that the Proconſul in this caſe was not choſen at the *Comitia Centuriata*, but at the *Comitia Tributa*, becauſe the Tribune preſided. Gruch. de Com. Pitiſc. Lex. *Proconſ.*

P. 135. Beſides the Centumviri, others were ſelected by the Prætors to

* Plin. Nat. Hiſt. xvii. 3.

† Ibid. c. ix. p. 98.

try private cauſes. Ovid was ſuch, as he tells us himſelf, Triſt. l. ii. 95.

Res quoque privatas ſtatui ſine crimine Judex
Deque mea foſſa eſt pars quoque victa fide.

He ſpeaks here of deciding by himſelf, becauſe in *private* cauſes one judge was generally ſufficient. *Privata quoque judicia ſæpe unum judicem habere multis & diverſis formulis ſolent.* Quint. l. iii. c. 10.

P. 138. The Plautian law (ſays Mr. Hooke) deprived the Roman *Knights of the ſole* right of Judicature. It ordained that each tribe ſhould, out of their own body, annually elect fifteen perſons to act as judges; an honour now made common to all the three orders in the ſtate. Rom. Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 115 4to. from Vell. Pat. l. xi. c. 20. Cic. pro Arch. c. iv.

In public judgments, any one might accuſe; in private, the parties aggrieved. Public were tried in the Forum; private, in the Baſilicæ, by the Centumviri.

Senators only were judges till U. C. 630, when, by the *Sempronian* law [Sempronius Gracchus], this power was transferred wholly to the Equeſtrian order. U. C. 647. the *Servilian* law [Q. Servilius Cæpio] divided the power between the Senators and Knights, with a proviſo, that in each cauſe there ſhould be a ſmaller number of Senators than of Knights. U. C. 662, the *Livian* law [M. Livius Druſus] obtained that there ſhould be an equal number of both orders out of 300 of each. U. C. 664, by the *Plautian* law [M. Plautius Silvanus], ſome of the Plebeians were to be joined with the other two orders. U. C. 673, by the *Cornelian* law [S. Cornelius Sulla] the power was reſtored to the Senate only. U. C. 683, by the *Aurelian* law [L. Aurelius Coſta], Senators, the Equeſtrian order, and *Tribuni ærarii*, had the judicial power in common. Julius Cæſar, when Dictator, reſtrained it again to the two former orders. U. C. 698, Pompey appointed that 75 ſhould be judges, choſen out of the *Centuries of the firſt claſs*, conſiſting of the ſame orders that the Aurelian law appointed *. U. C. 809, Julius Cæſar and M. Antony ordained that one of the decuriæ of judges ſhould be taken out of the Centurions, Anteſignani, Alaudi, and Manipulares. So that the judges were Decuries of Senators, Knights, and Centurions.

P. 142. Claudius in particular (ſays Tacit. Annal. l. xi.) having appropriated to himſelf the judgment of law-ſuits and the functions of ma-

* Pitiſc. in Eq. p. 726, 7. L'Eſprit des Loix, l. viii. c. 12.

giſtrates,

giſtrates, gave occaſion to all manner of rapine. Nero, on his coming to the empire, declared he would avoid that error. Tacit. Annal. l. 13. Under Juſtinian, Procopius ſays, *The judges' tribunal was deſerted, while the prince's palace reſounded with the clamours of the ſeveral litigating parties.*

P. 149. The Prætors not only made laws annually, which were often contradictory one to another, but varied even from the laws themſelves had made, and ſubjected the people to great inconvenience. Cic. in Verrem, 1. 42. Some for their ſingular equity were confirmed or revived by the ſucceſſor, thence called *Edicta tranſlatitia*, and were carried into the provinces to ſerve for laws there alſo. Afterwards, when C. Piſo and Manlius Glabrio were Conſuls, U. C. Var. 686, C. Cornelius Trib. Pl. propoſed a law, that "Prætores ab edictis perpetuis jus dicerent," that they ſhould not vary their laws during their magiſtracy. The "jus prætorium," made up of thoſe edicts, gained a conſiſtency, and was commented on by S. Sulpicius and A. Oſilius. Aſconius, Arg. Orat. pro C. Cornelio. Periz. Diſſ. ii. p. 193. So that Cicero obſerves in his life-time, De Legg. i. 6. *Plerique a Prætoris edicto, ut ſuperiores a* XII *tabulis juris diſciplinam haurirent.* Comments were written upon this Code by various Lawyers: firſt, by Sulpicius Rufus, who died before Cicero; next, by A. Oſilius, as is obſerved by Pomponius De Orig. Juris, § 42. So truly might Cicero ſay, De Legg. ii. 23. *Diſcebamus pueri* XII *tab. ut carmen neceſſarium, quas jam nemo diſcit.* See Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, p. 215.

P. 152. Horace, Epod. IV. 15. pleaſantly ſneers Menas (who, from a freed-man of Pompey's, being grown immenſely rich, was preferred to the Equeſtrian rank by Auguſtus, and made a Tribune), that now he could ſit among the foremoſt of them, *contemto Othone*, poſſeſſed of wealth ſo far above the narrow limits his law preſcribed of 400 *Seſtertia*, that he had no occaſion to be ſuſpected of wanting a qualification. Not, as interpreters before Dr. Bentley underſtood the place, as if he acted *contrary* to the law of Roſcius, in ſitting among the Equites, when he was by birth no higher than a ſlave.

The Lex Porcia, though it did not repeal, yet in effect ſilenced all the penal laws of the XII Tables, and of the Decemvirs. L'Eſp. des Loix, VI. c. 15.

P. 154. *The Augurs*] "*Servare de cælo* Augurum atque *omnium plane magiſ-*
"*tratuum* fuit. *Intercedere* vero duntaxat ad tribunos plebis—pertinuit. Lo-
"quor de interceſſione ad populum, cum lex ferretur." J. Man. de Legg.

P. 170.

P. 170. l. 10. *read*, That no woman ſhould inherit (beſides her dowry) by will or heirſhip above xxv thouſand denarii, or 100,000 ſeſterces. ὑπὲρ δύο ἥμισυ μυριάδας οὐσίας κληρονομεῖν, as Dio ſays, l. lvi. Quæ [lex] *ſanxit in poſterum, qui poſt A. Poſtumium, Q. Fulvium Cenſores cenſus eſſent, ne hæredem virginem neve mulierem faceret.* Cic. 1. in Verr c. 42. That is, that no one who was entered on the Cenſor's roll [and which was as much as to ſay, that *no citizen in general*, for every citizen was at that time entered on the roll] ſhould leave a woman his heir, or above 100,000 H. S. For the interpretation of this law we are indebted to Perizonius, Diſſ. II. p. 143. 166. 180. &c which, though written in a maſterly manner, has been overlooked by ſeveral who have treated of this law ſince, and run into the former errors about it, viz. by Thomas Hearne, in the Appendix to his Livy; by the author of L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxxvii. c. 1.; and others.

By a law of the XII. the inſolvent debtor became the ſlave of his creditor, and ſerved in chains, if he was arreſted; but without chains, if he voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf. Liv. l. vi.

Ibid. l. 14. *add*, Being ſo ſmall a ſum, it was often eluded by leaving to ſome friend a larger ſum in truſt for a wife or daughter.

U. C. 427, Pætilius obtained a law that the Roman citizens ſhould not have their bodies given up to their creditors *. This law, however, ſeems to have gone into diſuſe, as the Manlian party complain in Salluſt. [Bell. Cat. "Neque cuiquam noſtrum licuit, more majorum lege uti, neque "amiſſo patrimonio liberum corpus habere."] Afterwards Julius Cæſar obtained another law, *That thoſe that ſurrendered their goods ſhould not be caſt into priſon*; meaning a public priſon †. From whence we may conclude, that before, thoſe that gave up all could only ſuffer the private impriſonment, that of being ſervants to their creditors. Both theſe laws extended only to Roman citizens. In Greece and Aſia (except at Athens) the old law prevailed, of paying by bodily labour what they could not pay by the purſe. After the privilege of citizenſhip was laid open to all by Antoninus, the Pætilian law was extended of *courſe* to all, viz. that debtors ſhould not be the property of the creditors at their own houſe, and by particular *Reſcripts* the privilege of the Julian law, viz. that, upon ſurrendering their goods, they ſhould not be impriſoned at all. Infamy, the

* Liv. viii. Salm. de mod. uſ. p. 808.

† Salm. p. 851. tit. *De ceſſione bonorum.* This was the firſt law concerning bankruptcy among the Romans, which might, if ſooner made, have prevented many ſeditions.

conſe-

conſequence of loſs of goods, the puniſhment of the inſolvent. This the Juſtinian Novel. cxxxv. leſſened; ordaining, that if the debtor ſwore he had not wherewith to pay *, he ſhould be deprived of his goods, but enjoy his liberty.

P. 171. *The Gabinian law* provided "That the Provincials ſhould not "pay their taxes *verſura facta*, by borrowing money at Rome, and ſo con- "tracting a new debt for them, and that a bond in ſuch caſe ſhould not "ſtand good." This was deſigned to keep the Provincials tight to their payments, and to preclude them from running in debt by borrowing at intereſt; by which means the city of Rome would receive back little more than the money its own citizens had lent.

P. 181. l. 22. Of the penalties incurred by the *lex marita*, the chief was, That unmarried perſons, or that had not children, though married, ſhould be incapable of receiving any legacy or inheritance by will, except in virtue of the will of ſtrangers †; and ſuch as were married, and yet had not brought into the world three children, ſhould inherit above a fourth part of an eſtate, provided they were *ingenuæ*; and if they were only the daughters of freewomen, *libertinæ*, they were to have been four times mothers, to enjoy the above ſhare. See Quintil. viii. U. C. p. 5. tit. 16. et Leg. un. Cod. de infirm. pœnis cœlib. conſtat. And that no woman ſhould inherit above half, to the prejudice of the nearer relations. Quintil. ix. 2. and Sozom. See Periz. de lege Vocon. p. 210. Hence Plutarch has a ſevere reflection on the covetous humour of the age: *That ſeveral of the* Romans *did not marry for the ſake of raiſing heirs to their own fortunes; but that they themſelves might, upon this account, be capable of inheriting the eſtates of other men.* This law was made for encouraging matrimony, and the treaſury was enriched by a penalty on thoſe that did not enter into that ſtate. But men paſt 60, and women paſt 50, were exempted from the forfeiture. And afterwards, it being obſerved that many evaded the law by marrying after that age, Tiberius [Suet. in Claud. c. 23.] enacted, that a man paſt 60 years who married a woman capable of having children, or a woman paſt 50 who married a man capable of getting them, ſhould pay the ſame forfeiture as ſingle. This was repealed by Claudius in part, ſo far as relates to the man's marrying paſt 60 a woman under 50; and this was repealed again under Claudius by Senatuſconſultum Calvitianum. But under Juſti-

* Five ſhillings, as obſerved by L'Eſprit des Loix, l. v. c. 15.

† See L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxvii. c. 7.

nian matrimony to all ages was indulged without any penalty. Periz. Diſſ. ii. p. 159. 162, 163.

P. 185. The legions were levied out of citizens only, and thoſe not the moſt contemptible part, the members of the ſixth claſs among the Centuries, but out of the five firſt. So that to be capable of being a ſoldier, was a deſirable mark of honour among them, and has fixed the nominal diſtinction of *Gentlemen* to all of the profeſſion ever ſince. Marius, in his war againſt Jugurtha, broke through the ancient rule, and admitted all without diſtinction: *Milites ſcribere non modo majorum neque ex claſſibus, ſed uti cujuſque libido erat capite cenſos pleroſque.* Salluſt. de bello Jugurth. c. 86.

P. 190. The Haſtati, Principes, and Triarii, were conſidered as diſtinct bodies; the Velites not ſo, but were intermixed equally with the other three. All together made up 30 Manipuli or Companies; every Manipulus conſiſting of two centuries or *Ordines*: ſo that there were 60 Centuries in a Legion. Hence we meet with *primus, ſecundus*, &c. *manipulus Haſtatorum, Principum, Triariorum*; but never *primus, ſecundus*, &c. *manipulus Velitum.* V. Schel. c. xv.

P. 191. A Legion conſiſted of ten cohorts, as our Regiments conſiſt of ten companies; to ſpeak in a round number, 5000 men, 500 to a cohort; our regiments of about 500 men, 50 to a regiment. Liv. Annal. c. 36. and Polyb. l. iii. U. C. DXXXVII. ſay, that at the battle of Cannæ they encreaſed the legion from 4000 foot and 200 horſe, to 5000 foot and 300 horſe. But in later times of Marius, Cæſar, and Auguſtus, it was ſunk again to 4000 foot and 200 horſe. Julius Cæſar againſt Pompey had 110 cohorts, amounting to XLV thouſand men. Bell. Civ. III. c. 73. ed. Clarke, Plut. in Cæſare.

Hyginus, who has given an account of the Roman legion in his time and before, tells us it conſiſted of 5280 men; to which add one cohort of Vexillarii, being 500, and it amounted to 5780; the firſt cohort containing 96 men, the other nine 480 each; and 80 men to a century. Schel. p. m. 14, &c.

It is further to be obſerved, that from the time of C. Marius, who made a great innovation in the Roman army, the *Velites* were laid quite aſide; and though the diſtinction of *Haſtati, Principes*, and *Triarii*, was nominally kept up, for the ſake of honour, yet they bore all the ſame armour, and fought with the Pilum *. The diviſion likewiſe of the army into *Mani-*

* Feſtus, v. Parmulis.

puli

puli was neglected, though the legion conſiſted of ten cohorts as before. Schel. ad Hyg. p. m. 15. et c. xv.

P. 191. l. 26. Legions kept up in the provinces: Beſides two legions of marines upon the coaſt of Italy, three city cohorts and nine Prætorian cohorts, within the city, each cohort containing about a thouſand men; the XII cohorts therefore about two legions more. Upon the whole, about XXX legions, which, at 5000 to a legion, amounted to 150,000 men: beſides as many forces of the allies. So Tacitus deſcribing the forces in Tiberius's reign; and the number was much the ſame in Sept. Severus's, XXX legions being mentioned in the column now ſtanding in the area of the Capitol at Rome, erected in his time. Dio, under Severus Alexander, mentions XXVIII. And one Favorinus under Hadrian * replies to his friends, who would have had him conteſt a grammatical nicety with the Emperor: *What! ſhall not I yield to a man who has* THIRTY *legions at his command?*

They were denominated *numerally*, I. II. III. &c. from the order in which they were raiſed, with reſpect to other legions then ſubſiſting on the roll. If ſix legions, for inſtance, were already in being, and ſix more were raiſed, three by one Conſul, and three by another, theſe latter were denominated VII. VIII. IX. &c. to XII. Thus Julius Cæſar, U. C. 704 or 705, raiſed ſome new legions, called for ſome time after *Legiones Tironum* [Bell. Civ. l. 1. c. 25. Bell. Alex. c. 42.] the number of which did not at moſt exceed three; and yet one of them was called XXVII [Bell. Civ. iii. c. 2.] which could not be either in regard to his new levies, which did not then exceed three legions; or the number of all his legions, which were not above XV; but in regard to ſome other legions, which were then ſubſiſting or had ſubſiſted with other Generals, and the remains of them ſtill kept on the roll.

In ſucceeding reigns from Galba, we meet with two or three legions denoted by ſome *numeral* name in the ſame period of time, but diſtinguiſhed by ſome additional epithet, as *Legio* VII. *Claudiana*, and *Legio* VII. *Galbiana*; *Legio* I. *Adjutrix*, and *Legio* I. *Italica*, in Tacitus and in Inſcriptions, &c. And, becauſe after different legions received thus the ſame numerical title, the numerical names of the legions did not run ſo high as under Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus; under the former of whom we meet with the XXVIIth [Hiſt. Bell. Alex. c. IX.], and under the latter XL [Fabretti, Inſcr. p. 619.]

* Spartian vit. Hadriani.

ſome have been led into a miſtake, that therefore the forces kept up under the latter Emperors were not ſo many as in the former times. But if there were duplicates of legions bearing the ſame numerical titles, no wonder thoſe titles did not run on ſo high. Still a difficulty remains, to account for Dio's meaning, who, lib. LV. mentions nineteen legions ſubſiſting to his time out of Auguſtus's twenty-five; among which were, The *III. Gallica*, *III. Cyrenaica*, and *III. Auguſta*;—The *VI. Victrix* and *VI. Ferrea*;—The *XIII. Gemina* and *XIV. Gemina*, &c. This is not to be underſtood as if ſo many *thirds*, or *ſixths*, or *thirteenths*, were formed by Auguſtus; but that the remains of thoſe legions were divided by ſucceeding Emperors, and by new troops incorporated into them kept up to his time; and though ſingly denominated at firſt, each diviſion retained its original numeral character afterwards, as a mark of honour. It is certain in Tacitus's time thoſe legions of Dio are never mentioned as duplicates. See Dr. Chapman's Letter, at the end; and Tunſtall's Obſervations on the Epiſtles between Cicero and Brutus.

P. 193. We cannot have a tolerable notion of the *Centurions*, without remembering, that there were three different corps in a legion, viz. *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*; and that each of theſe corps was divided into ten *Maniples*, with two Centurions to each Maniple, ſo that there were ſixty Centurions in the legion: the ten Centurions of the loweſt rank were the officers of the *Haſtati*, called *decimus Haſtatus*, *nonus Haſtatus*, *octavus Haſtatus*, &c. up to *primus Haſtatus*, So *decimus Princeps*, *nonus Princeps*: And *decimus pilus*, *nonus pilus*, to *primipilus* or *primopilus*, or *centurio primi pili*, &c. but never ſtyled *primus triariorum*. The Centuries are called likewiſe *ordines*: whence *quis ordines duxit*, Cic. Phil. i. who were the Centurions.

The *Triarii*, or *Pilani*, being eſteemed the moſt honourable, had their *Centurions* elected firſt; next to them the *Principes*, and afterwards the *Haſtati*; whence they were called *primipilus & ſecundus Pilus*, but never *primipilus Triarii*; *primus & ſecundus Princeps*, *primus & ſecundus Haſtatus*; and ſo on. Or the ſame thing was expreſſed by *primipili centurio*, Cæſ. Bell. Gall. iii. 5. or *primum pilum duxit*, as Cæſ. de B. Gall. VI. 3. i. e. *primum ordinem pilanorum*: *primus pilus* denotes the *order* or *rank*; *primipilus*, the leader of it. See Cæſ. B. C. iii. 53. *Octavum principem duxit*. Cic. ad Brut. Ep. 8. (ap. Mid. Ep. 7.) i. e. octavum ordinem principum, *he commanded the VIIIth century of the Principes*.

P. 193.

P. 193. l. 28. *add*, Bell. Cic. iii. 53. *Quem* [Scævam] *ut erat de ſe meritus ab octavis ordinibus ad Primipilum ſe tranſducere pronunciavit*, i. e. raiſed him from being Centurion of the Eighth rank of the Principes, for the Triarii it is thought were laid aſide by Marius, Mid. Ep. ad Brut. VII. p. 49. to be firſt Centurion of the legion: where *ab octavis ordinibus* does not ſignify a common ſoldier of the VIIIth rank, but a centurion of it. Capt. Bladen therefore has ill tranſlated it, *promoted him from the* VIIIth *rank*, p. 299. So Bell. Gall. VI. 8. *Labienus noctu tribunis militum primiſque ordinibus coactis.* Labienus called a council by night of the Tribunes, and the firſt *centurions* of the three orders. So Bell. Gall. v. c. 28. *Ad conſilium rem deferunt, L. Arunculeius compluresque tribum militum et primorum ordinum centuriones—nihil temere agendum exiſtimabant*, i. e. A council is called—L. Arunculeius, ſeveral of the Tribunes, and the firſt centurions of the three orders, were of opinion that nothing ought to be done raſhly. Lipſ. p. 74. 79. De Milit. Rom.

Ibid. l. 30. Thus again, Cæſar, Bell. Civ. III. 64. Hoc caſu aquila conſervatur, omnibus primæ cohortis centurionibus interfectis, præter principem priorem—*all being killed, except the firſt centurion, or captain, of the Principes.*

P. 200. In the time of Joſephus, the foot had two ſwords, the longer of which hung on their left ſide, the ſhorter on the right, about a foot in length. Joſ. l. iii. c. 4. Bell. Jud. The long one was called a Spaniſh ſword, the form of it borrowed from the Spaniards, pointed ſomewhat, and two edged. Polyb. ubi ſupra. Notwithſtanding this expreſs teſtimony of Polybius, we diſcover in coins of his age the ſword hanging on the *left* ſide; but in Trajan's and in Antonine's pillar, the ſwords are generally on the *right* ſide, except that the General and Tribunes have them on the left. Lipſius de Mil. Rom. lib. iii. Dial. 3.

P. 209. The ſigns of battle were, 1. Taking up the ſtandard, *vexillum*, which was placed by the General when there was no engagement. 2. Sounding the charge with the trumpet, to call all ſtragglers to duty. 3. The giving out the *teſſera*, or tally, that they might diſtinguiſh their friends in the heat of battle. Cæſar mentions all theſe, Bell. Gall. ii. 20.

The Eagle was different from *vexillum*, and only ſet before the General when he harangued the ſoldiers before the fight. D. Voſſ. in Cæſ. loc.

P. 217. *in a march*] which was uſually XX miles in a day, ſometimes

xxiv, and performed in five hours. Veget. i. c. 10. Thus Cæſ. B. Gell. v. "Eo die millia paſſuum xx progreditur."

P. 217. For many years the Roman citizens carried on their wars without pay. Their campaigns were ſhort, and near home; and having fought for their country ſix months, they returned to their domeſtic affairs for the reſt of the year. U. C. Varr. 347, the foot firſt received pay *, at the ſiege of Veii; the horſe three years afterwards. Liv. v. 7. Flor. i. 14. The value of it, for the foot, was at firſt probably a thouſand aſſes in the year, or two aſſes and the ninth of an as per day. The proof of this is uncertain. It is concluded ſo, only becauſe three thouſand aſſes are mentioned as the proper ſupport of a horſeman, his horſe and ſervant, Liv. i. 43; and a foot ſoldier had alway a third of what the other had, Liv. v. Others, not without probability, collect that the pay was originally, or at leaſt under the firſt Punic war, three aſſes. Silver was then coined, and the as, from xii ounces, was ſunk to two. To make the army leſs ſenſible of the fall of braſs, they paid three aſſes of two ounces inſtead of the two of a pound each; i. e. in the year, inſtead of 1000 aſſes, they paid 1100, or 110 denarii.

But when, U. C. 537, they were reduced to an ounce, and xvi were equal to a denarius, five aſſes were a ſoldier's pay; for, as Pliny ſays, on that alteration, *in militari ſtipendio denarius pro* x *aſſibus datus*, i. e. though the denarius was in common traffick made equal to xvi aſſes, yet in the payment of ſoldiers it was ſtill to be conſidered as ten; ſo that for three days pay, a ſoldier would receive a denarius in ſilver, and v aſſes in braſs. Accordingly Polybius, who lived under the ſecond Punic war, tells us, vi. 37. that a foot ſoldier had two *oboli* a day, a centurion as much again, and a horſeman three times as much. Now ſix oboli making a drachm at this time of xvi aſſes, three oboli were nearly equal to five aſſes. So that as they had at firſt three aſſes per day, they had afterwards of theſe diminiſhed aſſes five †. This pay continued till Julius Cæſar doubled it. Hence Percennius complains in Tacitus Annal. i. 17. of the hardſhips of war, *denis in diem aſſibus animam & corpus æſtimari*, that they ran the hazard of their life for ten aſſes per day. Domitian increaſed the pay a fourth more. *Addidit et quartum ſtipendium militi, aureos ternos*, ſays

* Liv. iv. 59. v. 4.

† Suet. Cæſ. xxvi. 9. "Legionibus ſtipendium in perpetuum duplicavit." Suetonius.

Suetonius *. And Zonaras †, that *the ſeventy-five drachms they uſed to receive* [at each time of payment] *be made up a hundred.* Theſe two paſſages confirm to us the foregoing account of the daily pay, and ſhew us how it made even ſums at the ſeveral times of payment in the year. Suetonius calls one general payment a *ſtipendium*; of which, before Domitian's time, there were three in a year, i. e. one every four months. Now ten aſſes per day, at XVI to a denarius, make, in a month of 30 days, XVIII denarii and XII aſſes: in four months, juſt LXXV denarii, which are likewiſe juſt three *aurei*, the very ſum which Zonaras ſays was the pay till Domitian; who, it ſeems, divided the year into four payments, LXXV denarii being paid by him every three months; ſo that now there were four payments in the year, *quartum ſtipendium*, ſeventy-five denarii each; or XII aurei in the year, as before there were only nine ‡.

P. 218. *a new ſtipend, &c.*] This Author would follow Lipſius in Electis, l. i. c. 2. who makes rightly 10 *aſſes* per day under Auguſtus: 10+30=300 *aſſes* per month, is ſo far right. But Lipſius ran away with a notion of a denarius being worth XII *aſſes*. Divide 300 by 12, it produces 25 denarii per *month*.

P. 223. The governors of provinces uſed to exact from the people over whom they preſided a contribution to ſupport the dignity of their triumph when they returned to Rome, which was called *aurum coronarium*. All were glad to receive the money, though they had no title to a triumph. To prevent this impoſition, Julius Cæſar in his firſt Conſulſhip obtained a law, entitled *Lex Julia de repetundis*, that no one claim this tribute till after the Senate had decreed him a triumph. To evade this law, L. Piſo, it ſeems, exacted the tribute under another name, as Cicero taxes him; in L. Piſo, c. 37.

P. 227. Varro is expreſs, as cited by Feſtus, that thoſe were called *Opima Spolia*, which were taken from the General of the enemy, though by a common ſoldier: *opima ſpolia etiam eſſe, ſi manipularis miles detraxerit, dum modo duci hoſtium.* And the ſame author cites the law of Numa to that purpoſe, which ſpecifies three different degrees of *opima ſpolia*, appointing the firſt to be conſecrated to Jupiter Feretrius; the ſecond to Mars; the third to Janus Quirinus; and proportionable rewards of different value to be given to the ſeveral victors. Virgil therefore, and

* In Dom. vii. 9. † Zon. ii. p. 196. ‡ Gron. de Pec. Vet. p. 121.

others,

others, in the paſſage here cited from Æneid VI. fall into a great miſtake, in imagining that the different ſpoils, taken at different times by Romulus, Coſſus, and Marcellus, were dedicated, in purſuance of that law, to Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus; whereas both Coſſus and Marcellus, as well as Romulus, dedicated theirs to Jupiter.

And Coſſus, probably, is an inſtance of one who was not in the place of a General at that time, and yet had the honour of taking *opima ſpolia:* for Livy tells us, all hiſtorians before him had ſaid Coſſus was no more than Tribunus Militum when he took them. And he preſumed to contradict the current of hiſtory, only upon Auguſtus's ſaying, that in repairing an old ſtatue dedicated to his honour, whereon this fact was recorded, he was ſtyled *Coſ.* which he might well be upon a ſtatue erected after he was arrived at that dignity, when they would be ſure to mention his moſt honourable title, though he had not borne that office when they took the ſpoils. See Periz. Anim. Hiſt. c. VII.

P. 239. The ſails among the ancients ſeem to have been ſo fixed to the yards, that they let down the ſails to gather in the wind, and drew them them up when they ſhortened ſail. *Vela cadunt* Virgil expreſſes to be *under full ſail.* So *deducunt Vela* in Lucan; and Ovid, *Effugit hibernas demiſſa antenna procellas. Vela ſubducere* is much the ſame with *antennas demittere* in Hirtius, Bell. Afric. 45. not to *hoiſt ſail,* but to *ſhorten ſail,* and *let down the yards.* Seneca, *Quoties ventus increbuit majorque eſt quam expedit,* ANTENNA DEMITTITUR. Which Petronius calls *Vela tempeſtati ſubducere.* Vid. Pric. ad Act. XXVII. 17.

P. 259. By the coins of Nero and Commodus, it appears the Equites ſtruck medals in honour of the *Princeps Juventutis.* The title is mentioned before the time of the Emperors. Cic. Ep. Fam. l. iii. ep. 11. *Brutum principem jampridem juventutis, celeriter, ut ſpero, civitatis.* He that was firſt on the roll of the Equites was Princeps Juventutis. Reineſ. Ep. XXXI. p. 176.

P. 298. *Ludi Capitolini* were called *Prætors ſhews—Ludis ejus* [i. e. prætoris] *præſedit*; Plin. Ep. VIII. 11. and continued under the Emperors to be celebrated from *Nonis Julii* to IV Idus. See Cic. Ep. ad Att. XVI. 1. coll. cum Ep. 4. et Philip. i. Dion. L. XLVIII. ad an. U. C. 714. Vet. Kal. ap. Lambecium. Maſſon, Vit. Plin. Jun. 846.

Ludi

Ludi Veneri genetrici were feaſts in honour of a temple erected to *Venus* by Julius Cæſar, which were deſigned to have been celebrated while he was alive. But having been omitted, Auguſtus inſtituted them on his own birth day, Sept. 23, and continued them ſeven days. At this celebration, not long after the death of Julius Cæſar, a comet was ſeen, A. D. 44 A. U. 710, as mentioned by Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 25. and Suet. vit. Julii, c. 88, which has ſince been diſcovered to revert in a period of 575 years, and was ſeen in the year 1680. See Halley, in Gent. Mag. for Jan. 1756.

P. 301. Zozimus makes the firſt inſtitution of the *Ludi Sæculares*, U. C. 352. Hiſt. l. ii. p. 71. ed. Ox.

P. 308. *Toga puerilis*, or *Prætexta*; *Toga virilis*, or *pura*, or *libera*.

P. 310. The *Bulla aurea*, in Macrobius's time, who lived under Honorius, was probably out of uſe, and he took his account from what the Chriſtians ſubſtituted in the ſhape of a heart inſtead of it. See Aringhus Rom. Subterran. Vol. II. l. 6. 694. Ficoroni della Bolla d'oro, p. 14. But the ancient Bulla aurea was round, as is obſerved againſt Macrobius by Spon [Miſcell. Erud. Antiq. p. 299.] and Cauſeus [Muſ. Rom. p. 103.]

It is further obſerved, that the Bulla was worn by the ſons of Roman Knights from the very beginning, as appears from Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. xxxiii. 1. and in after-times by any of the *Ingenui* that would go to the expence of it. "P. Junii, hominis de plebe Romana filius.—Neque te tam "commovebat, quod ille cum toga prætexta quam quod ſine Bulla venc-"rat.—Quod ornamentum pater dederat, indicium atque inſigne fortunæ, "hoc a prædone iſto ereptum eſſe graviter et acerbe homines ferebant." Cic. in Verr. l. i. 58. Vid. Germana Antiq. Monum. a Con. Midd. Tab. III. p. 37.

And as to the Bulla aurea being worn by Generals in Triumphs, it is ſaid not only without authority, but againſt it. Macrobius is only accounting for the riſe of it, and among other cauſes aſſigns it to Tarquinius Priſcus adorning his ſon with it at his triumph for having killed an enemy at ſixteen, which reaſon he himſelf rejects, and he is the only one that mentions the ſtory. Plutarch, on the other hand [Vit. Rom. p. 33.] tells us, that from Romulus down to his time it was cuſtomary in triumphs to lead an old man to the capitol dreſſed in the habit of a boy with the Prætexta and Bulla by way of ridicule, to which Juvenal alludes, Sat. xiii. 33.—*Die Senior Bulla digniſſime*: and among the triumphal ornaments ſent to *Muſſi-*

niſſa, which are enumerated by Livy xxx. 15. no mention is made of the Bulla; but only, Corona aurea, patera, ſella curulis, Scipio eburneus, Toga picta, and Tunica palmata. Laſtly, no figure has been yet ſeen on any of the triumphal arches of a General with the Bulla on, though many ſtatues of boys with this ornament.

From the roundneſs and the protuberancy of the Bulla, the ornaments of belts, the heads of nails, and laſtly, ſeals were called by this name, whence the Pope's Bull, Golden Bull, &c. retain the name to this day.

P. 311. Authors are divided about the time when they changed the puerile for the manly gown. It ſeems under the old Republic not to have been done till the end of the XVIIth year; but from Cicero's time it was admitted at XVI. Ovid took it up when he entered on his XVIth year, as did Marius Cicero, the ſon of the Orator. Others under Auguſtus aſſumed it in their XVth year, as Auguſtus himſelf, and his grandſons Caius and Lucius. See Lipſ. in Tacit. Annal. l. XII. c. 41. Maſſon, Vit. Ovid. p. 29. 32. Dio, l. LII. in the ſpeech of Mæcenas. Dodwell, Præl. v. ad Spartiani Hadrian.

At the ſame time they put on the *Toga Virilis*, they took the *Latus clavus*. Suet. Aug. c. 94. Veſp. c. 2. Ovid. Triſt. IV. 10. Mr. Dodwell is miſtaken in ſuppoſing that liberty was indulged to the ſons of Senators. See Maſſon, vit. Plin. Jun. p. 18.

P. 317. l. 11. *read*, And by particular favour the Emperors ſeem to have allowed occaſionally the ſame privilege [of wearing the *Laticlave*] to ſome ſplendid families of the Knights.

Ibid. Whether the *Tunica recta* was the ſame with *Laticlavia* is uncertain. It is at leaſt pretty clear, that it was put on at the ſame time with the *Laticlavia*, the latter perhaps over the former. See Maſſon, Vit. Ovid. p. 40.

P. 318. *our purple*] *noſtra dixit de tunica Senatoria*, i. e. Latoclavo. S. Manut. in loc. This Senatorian purple of ours being changed for a Plebeian and dark ſort. And ſo Grævius.

P. 366. Till the ſecond Punic war the *Romans* ſate at table. Scipio Africanus brought in the cuſtom of the men lying down. The women ſtill ſate, till about A D. 320. Under the Emperors, they complied with the faſhion of lying down likewiſe. Mem. Lit. vol. II. p. 429.

Ibid. *Philippi*,] "Sed cum ſecundis Saturnalibus ad PHILIPPUM veſperi

" veniſſet villa ita completa militibus, ut vix Triclinium, ubi cœnaturus " ipſe Cæſar eſſet, vacaret, quippe hominum cccc."

P. 369. It is remarkable, that every one brought his napkin. Whence Martial l. xii. Epig. 29.

P. 373. From this time the Romans coined pieces of an ounce, called from the original weight, Dupondium; ſeſquaſſes, or three quarters of an ounce; aſſes, or half ounce; ſemiſſes, or quarter ounce; trientes, or third part of an as; quadrantes, or fourth part of an as. Hence *ſemis et triens* to expreſs dextans, in Cicero pro Publ. Sextio, 25. becauſe they had no one piece called Sextans. See Gronov. de pec. vet. c. iv.

P. 375. Troy pound heavier than the Roman pound in the proportion of 560 grains to 1256. Gent. Mag. for Feb. 1773, p. 61. Univ. Hiſt. xv. p. 28.

Ibid. The Roman pound may be conſidered as bearing a near proportion to our Engliſh nummulary pound in weight; which, at a round ſum, we may compute at 5*s*. the ounce, or 60*s*. to the pound, ſomething ſhort of the Roman. But by adding 4*s*. for every Roman pound, the Engliſh pound will be made exactly equal to it. Thus five Roman pounds would be xv nominal Engliſh pounds; and by adding four times 5*s*. or 20*s*. it amounts to xvi pounds, which is the truth, according to the very accurate and uſeful Tables inſerted by Mr. Clarke in his book on Roman and Saxon Coins.

The reaſon why Seſtertum ſtands for a thouſand ſeſtertii is ſuppoſed by Budæus and Gronovius to be, becauſe *pondus* is underſtood; ſo that it is in reality an adjective agreeing with it. As the ſeſterce (the fourth part of the denarius) denoted firſt two pounds and an half of braſs; ſo ſeſtertium pondus [argenti] expreſſed two pounds and an half of ſilver, 250 denarii, or 1000 ſeſtertii, and may be conſidered in groſs equal to about two pounds weight and an half of our ſilver, which amounts to 6*l*. 10*s*. there being 62*s*. of our money to a pound weight Troy *.

According to Fannius, a mina was a hundred drachms; and a Roman pound was 96 ſuch drachms. Divide the number of *grains* in a Roman pound by 96, which was the number of *drachms* in a Roman pound, the

* This ſubject has been already very amply diſcuſſed in a Diſſertation printed in this volume, p. 262.

quotient is 54 grains to each drachm. But 100 drachmæ went to the mina: multiply therefore 54 grains by 100, you have the number of *grains* in the mina, viz. 5400, juſt the ſame with the Tower pound.

To make the Attick drachm current in exchange with the other Græcian drachms, add two Attick oboli (i. e. two ſixths or a third part of a drachm) it comes only to two grains over, if it was ſilver. For a ſixth part of 42 grains is 7 grains for the Obolus; two of which are 14 grains. And 14 grains added to 42=56 grains, in exchange for 54.

PREFACE

PREFACE to KUSTER,

De vero Usu Verborum Mediorum, &c. 1773*.

GUL. BOWYER Lectori S.

AN Kusterus reflexivam Verborum Mediorum significationem primus deprehenderit, ignoro: eam certe pluribus, quam quisquam alius, argumentis in isto libello stabilivit Alii in verbis quibusdam eam notarunt; an vero cæteris sit communis altum agunt silentium. Eustathius ad Ιλ. ν'. 168. διαφορὰν δὲ ΟΙΣΩΝ καὶ ΟΙΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ φασὶν οἱ παλαιοὶ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ΟΙΣΩΝ ἀπ' ἄλλε εἰς ἄλλον κινεῖ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τε χρησίμε· τὸ δὲ ΟΙΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ, ἐνὶ προσώπῳ ἐμπεριγράφει αὐτήν· οἷον, ἄπεισί τις δόρυ ΟΙΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ, ἑαυτῷ· ΟΙΣΩΝ δὲ, ἑτέρῳ τινί, i. e. *Inter* οἴσων *et* οἰσόμενον *differentiam esse tradunt Veteres; nempe* οἴσων *ab alio in alium transfert effectum commodi alicujus:* οἰσόμενον *vero intra unam personam eum cohibet: ut, Abit aliquis hastam relaturus sibi,* οἰσόμενος· *Alteri vero,* οἴσων.

Alii istum sensum *Passivæ* voci, pari vel etiam potiori jure, vendicant. Duportus in Theoph. Char. p. 194. et 335. "Δανίζειν, *mutuo Dare*; δανίζεσθαι, *mutuo Accipere*: ita enim differunt vox *Activa* et *Passiva* in hujusmodi verbis commercii: in voce Passiva vel etiam Media transitus fit non in Rem, sed Personam. ita χρῆσαι est, *utendum Dare*; χρήσασθαι *utendum Accipere*. † φέρειν *Ferre, Afferre*; φέρεσθαι, *Referre, Reportare* (*sibi* addere debuisset.)

* See the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 211.

† Sophocl. in Antigone ver. 474. (al. 469.)

Ὅστις γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖσιν ὡς ἐγὼ κακοῖς
Ζῇ, πῶς ὁδ' ἐχὶ καλῶν κέρδος φέρει;
Nam qui in magnis, ut ego, malis
Vivit, quomodo non huic mors pro lucro est?

i. e. quomodo non moriendo lucrum *Accipit?*

debuiſſet.) ſic αἴρειν, αἴρεσθαι· κομίζειν, κομίζεσθαι. ſic μισθῶσαι, *Locare*; μισθῶτασθαι, *Conducere*. ita differunt ἐγλυᾶν, ἐγλυᾶσθαι· ϛῆσαι et ϛήσασθαι, et ſimilia. ſic τιθέναι et τίθεσθαι, θεῖναι et θέσθαι· ὑποτιθέναι et ὑποτίθεσθαι, ſic θεῖναι ὑποθήκην ſive ἐνέχυρον dicitur Debitor, qui rem ſuam oppignerat; at θέσθαι dicitur Creditor cui res opoſita eſt, et oppigneratur. Pollux, ὑποθήκην θεὶς, ὁ δανειζόμενος. ὑποθήκην λάμενος, ὁ δανείζων χρέα." Pag. 194. "ἐρανίζειν, *ſtipem Conferre, pecuniam collatitiam Dare*; ἐρανίζεσθαι, *ſtipem Petere, Colligere*, vel *Accipere* *. P. 335. πράττειν, *Agere*; πράττεσθαι, *Exigere*; *ex pacto Repetere, Paciſci, Stipulari*. P. 353. αἰτεῖν, *Rogare ſtipem*, aut *eleemoſynam*; αἰτεῖσθαι, *Rogare Mutuum*, aut *Commodato*."

Quendam etiam in Actis Eruditis Lipsiens. Feb. 1712, citat Clarkius ad Ιλ. ά. 20. qui ex diſcrimine inter λύω et λύομαι veram lectionem loco reddiderit; unde autem ortum id diſcriminis, quibus fundamentis nixum ſe primum oſtendiſſe gloriatur Kusterus †; et quantulaſcunque partes ſuſtinet, mirum eſt Clarkium ei tribuiſſe nullas, præſertim cum hæc obſervatio de primigeniæ Vocis Mediæ uſu inter notas ad Homerum utramque faciat paginam: quod ut clarius liqueat, neve deſit primævi Scriptoris auctoritas ad adſtruendum primævum Vocis Mediæ uſum, loca à Clarkio notata ad calcem hujus Diſſertationis adjeci; alia quamplurima ex ipſo Homero lectoris diligentia facile ſuppeditabit. Ιλ. Ε. 316. Τὴν δ' ἐλελιζόμενος ϖ̃ξερυγὸς λάβεν ὠμφιαχυῖαν, *Hanc autem* implicans *ala prehendit valde clamitantem*, quid, an conſtructio eſt, *implicans hanc?* perit vis media participii, an *implicans ſeſe?* quis hoc ſubintellexerit? Verte, *Hanc autem ſubito* Se *contorquens prehendit*, &c. ut monet vir Ἑλληνικώτατος R. Dawes, Miſc. Crit. p. 177, 8.

Φράζω, *dico*; φράζομαι, Med. *dico Mecum, Delibero, Conſulto*, hinc. Ιλ. ά. 554. Ἀλλὰ μαλ' εὔκηλος τὰ φράζεαι, ὅσσ' ἐθέλησθα, *Sed valde quietus ea conſultas quæcunque vis*: ſic Ιλ. ί. 676, et paſſim. Quare vero non itidem Ιλ. ξ. 483. Φράσεσθ' ὡς ὑμῖν Πρόμαχος δεδμήμενος εὖδει Ἔλϝει ἐμῷ, *Videte, ut* &c. proprius ad nativum vocis uſum, *Reputate vobiſcum*, ut Ιλ. ό. 163, &c.

Ex male intellecta differentia inter ἔπω et ἕπομαι (quam vide apud Kust. § i. 13) male Barnesius Homerum corrigit Ιλ. δ. 202. οἳ οἱ ἕπονθο Τρῶες,

* De qua voce vide etiam Salmaſium de Uſuris, p. 679. in omiſſis. Obſ. ad jus Aticum p. 13. 58. Lexica mirè hîc turbant omnia.

† Quare λύσασθαι in Medio, Captivum redimere, *nondum* ab ullo Grammaticorum video eſſe expoſitum. Kust. de Verbis Mediis, § 2. 11. cujus libri editio prima prodiit 1714, altera 1717; Clarkius vero edidit primam partem Homeri 1729.

pro

pro quo ille οἷ οἱ ἔπον Τρίκκης, quaſi ἕπω ſignificaret *Sequor* etiam in Activa voce. Vid. CLARKIUM in loc. et ad λ'. 482. ex R. BENTLEIO.

Il. ν'. 745. Δείδω μὴ τὸ χθιζὸν ἀποσήσωνται Ἀχαιοὶ Χρεῖος—*Timeo ne heſternum* rependant *Achivi debitum:* ut vis Media ſervetur, debuiſſet verti, *Cum uſura appenſum* RECIPIANT: nam ἀποσῆσαι Act. *Rependere*; ἀποσήσασθαι Med. *Recipere appenſum*, ut notat KUSTERUS § ii. 13. et Salmaſ. de Uſuris, p. 580.

Lexica hîc omnia confuſè docent; ἀναιρέω, *tollo*; ἀναιρεῖσθαι, *expungere ſyngrapham*; unde vero, niſi quod ſyngrapham ab eo, apud quem depoſita eſſet, cum diluenda ſit, *Recipimus*. Salm. de Modo Uſurar. p. 470.

Verbo ὑποτίθημι, ὑποτίθεμαι, *Supponor*; mox ὑποτίθεμαι, *Pignero:* recte, modo voces recte diſtinguantur. Paſſive ſane *Supponor, pignori obligor*; at in Med. *pignori Accipio*, ut θέσθαι, &c.

Καρπίζω et καρπίζομαι utrumque redditur, *fructum Decerpo:* at καρπίζειν eſt *Irrigare*, καρπίζεσθαι Med. *Percipere fructum*. Mox ſub eodem verbo inquiunt Lexica, καρπίζομαι, *in libertatem adſeror*. quod eſt diverſæ plane familiæ, pro καρφίζομαι à κάρφος, *virgula*. Salm. de Modo Uſur. p. 880, 881.

Χρωννύω et ἐπεχρωννύω, idem quod χράω, *mutuum Dare*; Paſſive, *mutuum Dari*; Med. *mutuum Accipere:* de quo ne verbum quidem Lexica, ſed vidè apud eundem Salm. de modo Uſurar. c. viii. p. 306. autore Theophr. Charact. c. x. et lege Rhodia.

Ἐνεχυριάζω, interpretantur Lexica, *Pignoror*, debuit verti, *pignori Do*, quod facit Debitor; ἐνεχυριάζομαι, *Pigneror, pignus Accipio*, quod facit Creditor, Exod. xxii. 26. Ἐνεχυράζω ſane *Pigneror*, ſive *pignus Accipio*, Job, xxiv. 3. 9. at ἐνεχυράζομαι, *pignoribus captis Coerceor*, ut apud Ariſtoph. in Neb. ver. 240. Ἄλομαι, φέρομαι, τὰ χρήμαθ' ἑνεχυράζομαι, *Bona mea pignoribus capta diripiuntur*, ad verbum, *Diripior* quoad bona mea pignoribus capta [vertit SANXAY in Ariſt. Lex. Angl. *I have my goods ſeiz'd for non-payment*]. Male in Tranſitivo ſenſu accipitur, dum redditur, *bona mea Oppignero*. Salmaſ. de Mod. Uſur. c. xiii. p. 549. et de Fœn. Trapezitico, p. 712.

Ἀποδίδωμι, Act. *Solvo, Reddo*; at in Med. *Tribuo in meum commodum, Vendo*. Ariſtoph. Veſp. 169. ἀποδόσθαι βέλομαι τὸν ὄνον, *Vendere velim aſinum*. (*To ſell*, SANXAY in Lex.) at idem Ran. 1266. ἀπόδος [λήκυθον] ὁπόσου τέχνῃ, *Vende lecythum omni modo*; ubi legendum contendit ἀπόδου vir doctus, Miſcell. Critic. p. 243. Media ſignificatione id poſtulante.

Ὀφελον

Ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται, Gal. v. 12. diu torſit interpretes. Ludit apoſtolus σαρκαστικῶς in verbo quod tantas incitarat turbas inter eos qui fidem Chriſtianam amplecterentur. " Quandoquidem, inquit, in pellicula ab-" ſciſſa ita gloriantur, *utinam illis abſcindatur* inſuper totum ſeminale mem-" brum, quo magis triumphent," interprete Grotio, poſt Chryſoſtomum et Hieronymum. At, longe verecundius, nec minus falſe, ſi ἀποκόψονται ſenſu reflexivo accipiatur. " Vellem eos qui circumciſionis neceſſitatem " tuentur *ſe ipſos abſciſſuras* a veſtrûm conſortio," ut monet JORTINUS, Vit. Eraſmi, vol. ii. p. 217.

Fatendum eſt verba quædam Activa nonnunquam pro Mediis eſſe uſurpata, cum *Sibi* vel *Pro ſe* aliquid ſit: quanquam rarius Media pro Activis, h. e. cum ſit pro Altero, ut monet KUSTERUS § i. 32. 52. 53. hinc ὑπερημέριαν πράξαι, pro πράξασθαι, *moræ pretium exigere*, apud Theoph. Char. c. x. Sic etiam Div. Lucas iii. 13. xix. 23. Iſocrat. ad Nicocl. p. 61. ed. Battie, 1749. ἐλπὶς τὲς τοιετες πράξειν τι παρὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, *ſperandum eſt tales à diis aliquid boni accepturos*. Neſcio igitur an vere vir doctiſſimus, Miſc. Crit. p. 205. neget ἀνύω, in voce Activa, uſurpari pro *Conſequor*. Heſiod. certè in Oper. p. 395. καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσσῃς, *et nihil obtineas*, ut reddi potius debet, et Lucian. (inferioris ævi, fateor) in Aſin. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὀλίγα φροντίσας ἅτε καὶ ἀνύσει τι ἐξ ἐμοῦ, *nihil curans ſive etiam* Obtineret *aliquid ex me, ſive*, &c. In Novo Teſtamento, ut id obiter notem, Activa vox in utroque ſignificatu, Luc. xviii. 12. ἀποδεκατεύω πάντα ὅσα κτῶμαι, *decimas* Do *omnium quæ poſſideo*; et pariter Matth. xxiii. 33. et Heb. vii. 5. ἐντολὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Λευὶ ἀποδεκατεῦν τὸν λαὸν, *decimas* Exigere *à populo*. Ἐπιβάλλειν negat Salmaſius de fœnere Trapezitico uſquam Græcè dici pro *Incipere*, ſed ἐπιβαλλεσθαι. ſic tamen Diod. Sicul. 452. B. ed. Rhodoman. ἐπίβαλλον οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ προφέρεσθαι τῷ Διονυσίῳ τὰ ποιήματα: COEPERUNT *Rhapſodi Dionyſi poëmata proferre*. qui ſenſus non male quadrat ad MARC. xiv. 72. καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιε. Certe ſenſus, quem verſio noſtras ſequitur, jamdudum deſideravit exemplum Is. Caſaubonus, nam, ut ait ille, ἐπιβάλλειν τὸν νοῦν, vel διάνοιαν, alia longe res eſt. Vid. C. Frid. Munthe, Obſ. Phil. in N. T. libros, p. 124.

Quamquam vero tot viri docti, etiam aliud agentes, KUSTERO adſtipulentur, longè tamen in diverſa abit *Johannes Clericus* *. Dum leviter percurro exempla ab illo adducta, nonnulla à vero ſenſu in alienas partes torta

* Remarques ſur la Diſſertation de Monſ. Kuſter ſur les Verbes Moyens, dans la Bibliotheque ancienne et moderne, Tom. V. Par. II. p. 237. quam diſſertationem Latinè etiam edidit Chriſt. Wolle, Lipſiæ, 1733.

video;

video; nonnulla ejuſmodi eſſe, ut, licet KUSTERUM levis forſan erroris arguant, minime tamen fundamentum ejus de vocis Mediæ uſu labefactent.

Ad § i. 28. objicit, licet ἄγειν γυναῖκα non dicatur, tamen λαμβάνειν γυναῖκα occurrere apud Menandrum, p. 232. pro λαμβάεσθαι. Ad i. 30. παροσπορίζομεν, NOBIS *ſuppeditamus*, Menand. p. 245. pro παροσποριζόμεθα. Ad i. 32, 33. ſi πόλεμον ποιεῖν, nuſquam occurrat, pro ποιεῖσθαι, at ναυμαχίαν ποιεῖν apud Thucydidem, l. ii. 89. p. 137. ubi tamen legitur, ἢ οἴεσθαι ΣΦΙΣΙ ἢ ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΝ τὸ αὐτό. Ad i. 49. ἢ τὰ ψηφίσματα ἂν παράσχῃς, *ſi decreta adhibueris ad defenſionem cauſæ tuæ*, Æſchines de falſa legat. p. 404. Ad i. 14. φυλάσσω, *caveo*, pro φυλάττομαι, apud Eurip. Iphigen. in Aulide, ver. 144. 538. Eſto, hæc Activa (quod KUSTERUM forſan latuit) pronomine reciproco ἑαυτῷ, ἐμοὶ, &c. ſubintellecto, reciproco ſenſu ſumantur: at non vi ſua, non adeo peculiari modo ut in alium nunquam transferant effectum, quod verbis Mediis eſſe proprium contenditur.

Ad i. 29. poſtquam fruſtra Thucydidem citaſſet l. ii. 87. Platonem adlegat: ἀλλὰ γαλήνην τούτων παρατκευάζουσα ψυχή. "SIBI IPSI, inquit *J. Clericus*, "philoſophi animus eam procurat ἐπιθυμίαν." At verba Platonis ſonant, "Imo vero horum (dolorum voluptatumque) tranquillitati ſtudens animus." Ubinam, quæſo, vis Reflexiva participii?

Ad i. 25. fidenter aſſerit Thucyd. ii. c. 2. θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα verti debuiſſe, *Armis poſitis*, non *Armis induti*, ut KUSTERUS. Judicet Lector, in conſilium adhibito doctiſſimo HUDSONO, qui hæc in notis habet: "Male vertitur, "*Armis in foro* poſitis, cum hoſtilem urbem invaſerunt. Potius, *Cum* Ar- "mati *in foro conſtitiſſent*. ſic Thucyd. viii. p. 520. καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐκ- "κλησίασαν, *armis inſtructi concionem habuerunt*. τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα nonnulli "ſumi poſſe putant pro *Arma* ἀποτίθεσθαι. Mihi nondum occurrit locus, "in quo ita proprie ſumi credam, niſi, qui armati conſiſtant nec tamen re "ipſa pugnant, proprie arma dicuntur abjicere." Quid ad hæc *Clericus?* ne unum quidem verbum, licet has paginas citet, ad hanc ipſam editionem provocet. Eundem ſenſum vindicat Dionyſio Halicarnaſſenſi EDWARDUS SPELMANNUS in eleganti ſua verſione Antiqq. l. iii. c. 18. Nuperus vero vir doctiſſimus W. SMITH, Decanus Ceſtrienſis, in Verſione Anglica Xenophontis de rebus Græcis, l. ii. ſub anno ante Chriſtum 403, p. 70, contendit ὅπλα θέσθαι notare *to ground their arms*. Quidni tandem ſit *arma in uſum ſuum reponere*, ut Kuſterus interpretatur § i. 50. & quod dici queat, *to reſt their arms:* quin et ipſe Homerus, iis verbis quibus Agamemnon Græcos fugam ornantes ad arma capeſſenda hortatur, quibus et ipſa Adoleſcentulos ad hæc ſtudia excolenda excitem:

Εὖ μέν τις δόρυ θηξάσθω, εὖ δ' ἀσπίδα θέσθω,
Bene quiſque haſtam SUAM *acuat, bene ſcutum* SIBI *aptet.* Ιλ. Ε. 332.

INDEX VERBORUM HOMERICORUM,

In quibus CLARKIUS primigeniam vocis Mediæ Significationem indicavit.

Ἀγείρω, συναγειράμενοι, congregantes Seipſos. Ιλ. ω'. 802.
Αἴρω, ἤραμαι κύδος, reporto Mihi gloriam. Ιλ. χ'. 393.
Ἀλείφω, ungo Alterum; ἀλείψαλο, unxit Se. Ιλ. ξ'. 14.
Δέω, ἐδήσαλο, ligavit Sibi ipſe. Ιλ. ω'. 340.
Διακονέμενος idem quod διάκονος miniſter; διακονῶν, qui jam tum miniſtrat. Ιλ. γ'. 141.
Εἴδω, εἰσάμενος, cum Se aſſimilaſſet. Ιλ. Ε'. 22. γ'. 389. ν'. 45. 216. γ. 141. ϖ'. 716. ρ'. 73. 555. Φ'. 213.
Ἑλίσσω, ἑλιξάμενος, Se ſubito impetu convertens. Ιλ. ρ'. 283.
Ἕω, ἑσσάμενοι, χροὶ χαλκὸν, cum Noſmet ipſi armaverimus, Ιλ. τ'. 233.
Ζώω, ζωσαμένω, cum Se ipſi accinxiſſent. Ιλ. ψ'. 685. 710.
Θωράω, Θωρήξομαι, Me ipſe armabo. Ιλ. τ'. 23.
Καλύπλω, καλυψαμένη, cum Se ipſam cooperuiſſet. Ιλ. γ'. 141. ξ'. 184. Οδ. έ. 491. Θ'. 199.
Κινύμενα, Se ipſa moventia. Ιλ. ν'. 798.
Κόπλομαι, cædam Me ipſe, i. e. Plangam. Ιλ. ν'. 141. χ'. 33.
Κορέω, κορεσσάμενος, quum Se ipſe ſaturaverit. Ιλ. τ'. 167. χ'. 427.
Λαθεῖν, Alterum latere; λαθέσθαι, latere Seipſum, i. e. Obliviſci. Ιλ. ί. 533.
Λέω. Ιλ. Φ'. 563. Ψ'. 41.
Λύω, ſolvo, Reddo captivos Accepto pretio, Ιλ. ά. 20. 29. ώ. 137. 555. 561. λύομαι, Redimo captivos Dato pretio. Ιλ. ά. 13. 372. ώ. 118. 237.
Νίπλω, νίψε, lavit poculum: νίψαῖο δ' αὐτὸς χεῖρας, lavit manus Suas. Ιλ. ϖ'. 229. 230. ώ. 305.
Οἴω, fero Alteri; οἴομαι, affero Sibi. Ιλ. ν'. 168.
Ὀπάζω, ὀπάσσαῖο Νέσϖορος υἷας, Neſtoris filios Sibi ipſe comites aſcivit. Οδ. τ'. 238.
Πειράω, ϖειρώμενος σθένεος, Suorum Sibi virium periculum faciens. Οδ. ό. 359.

Πλέω,

Πλέω, ἐμπλήσαϛο θυμὸν μένεος, Sibi ipſe implevit animum ira. Il. χ'. 312.
Πλήσσω, πεπλήγεϛο μηρὼ, Sua Sibi percuſſit femora. ό. 113. 397. ω'. 125.
Σείω, σείσαϛο, commovit Se. Il. Θ'. 199. σευάμενον, ruens. Il. χ'. 22.
Στηρίζω, οὐδὲ ποδέσσιν Εἶχε στηρίξασθαι, nec potuit pedibus Se ipſe ſtabilire. φ'. 241.
Τέρπω, τεϛαρπώμεθα, Nos ipſi ſatiaverimus. ψ', 10. 98. ώ. 639.
Τρέπω. μεϛατρέπομαι, converto Me, convertor retro. Il. ά. 199. γ'. 141. 422.
Διὸς ἐτράπεϛο φρὴν, Jupiter animum Suum mutavit. κ'. 45.
Ετράπετ' ἔγχος, averſa eſt haſta, ſeu, avertit Se, i. e. aberravit. λ'. 233. ν'. 605.
Φθείρω, διέφθορας, Te ipſe perdidiſti. ό. 128.
Φημὶ, φάσθαι ἴσον ἐμοὶ, æqualem Se mihi dicere. ό. 167.

Several of Mr. BOWYER's Notes are interſperſed throughout the laſt edition of KUSTER, 1773. One of theſe, being a correction of our Engliſh Homer, is here ſelected as a ſpecimen :

P. 10. Κείρειν, vel κεῖραι, tondere alterum : quod tonſores facere ſolent. At κείρεσθαι, vel in Aor. 1. κείρασθαι, *tondere ſe :* & κείρασθαι κόμην, *tondere ſibi comam.*] Hoc monitu Kuſteri ſi profeciſſet poëta noſtras, parcius ei obſcuram diligentiam objeciſſet. Lapſus eſt certe vir ſummus ad Homeri Il. Ψ. ver. 45.

Πρίν γ' ἐνὶ Πάτροκλον θέμεναι πυρὶ, σῆμά τε χεῦσαι
Κείρασθαί τε κόμην.
Till on the pyre I place thee ; till I rear
The graſſy mound, and clip THY ſacred hair.

Imo vero Κείρασθαί τε κόμην, *totonderoque comam* MEAM. Sic enim vox media, ſic ritus lugendi mortuos poſtulat, ut mox patet, et ut ipſe Popius notat, ver. 135.

Θριξὶ δὲ πάντα νέκυν καλαείνυον, ἃς ἐπέβαλλον
Κειρόμενοι.
O'er all the corſe THEIR ſcatter'd locks they throw.

Et ver. 140.

Στὰς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείραϛο χαίτην.
But great Achilles ſtands apart in prayer,
And from his head divides the yellow hair.

Vid. & Potteri Archæol. Gr. iv. 5.

PREFACE to LEEDES.

De Ancipitum Græcarum Vocalium in prioribus Syllabis Mensura, &c. 1773.

GUL. BOWYER Lectori S.

GRÆCIA primitus quinque tantum habuit vocales, donec Simonidi placuit E & O utramque in duas formas diſpeſcere. Cumque E nominaretur EI, et O, OY, videntur triplici poteſtate fuiſſe indutæ; E ſcil. ſonabat ĕ brevem, ē longam, & diphthongum ει *: O pariter ŏ brevem, ō longam, & dipthongum ου. Nolens inſtaurator ille ut tam variis commodis inſervirent eadem elementa, binos vicarios introduxit; H pro E longa; et Ω pro O longa. Adeo ut quantitatem harum vocalium ipſa forma commonſtraret; cæterarum trium, uſus quotidianus edoceret. A longum ab A brevi ſono diſtinxiſſe veteres vel inde patet, quod voces ab iis deductæ etiamnum ſuperſtites diverſis ſonis pro quantitate ſyllabarum efferuntur: Πατηρ & Ματηρ (nam ſic ab Æoliis ſcripta fuit) nunc pariter fere

* Victorinus De Orthographia, p. 96. E *et* O *ternas habebant apud eos poteſtates.* Contra iſtius loci auctoritatem diſputat vir longe acutiſſimus Richardus Dawes, Miſcell. Crit. p. 128. &c. Concedit quidem O & nomen & ſonum habuiſſe diphthongi OY, atque etiam vocali E nomen aliquando fuiſſe EI, p. 134. negat vero utrique eam fuiſſe poteſtatem. At Literis ab ipſa poteſtate nomina ſua impoſita crederem. Quid vero Plutarchus, in libello De EI inſcripto foribus templi Delphis? Nonne EI nunc ut ſyllabam ad examen revocat, cujus vis ſit SI, aut ES; nunc ut γράμμα, quinquenarii notans poteſtatem? Dubius ſane hic incedo, & ſuſpenſo pede, ubi autores utrinque ducunt. Quicquid demum ſtatuatur, verisimile eſt EI exilius fuiſſe elatum, & minus ab η vel ι ſono diſcrepâſſe quam apud nos obtinet. AI, OI & EI mutarunt Romani in AE, OE, & E, poſteriori vocali diphthongorum vires ſuas præcipue exerente. Ut Αἰνείας, Οἰνεύς, Μυσία, *Maja*, *Myſia*. Si audiamus Salmaſium De uſuris, p. 88. *Certum eſt ante mille annos Græciam non noviſſe ullam differentiam pronunciationis inter* υ, ει, & οι. Vide etiam R. Wettenium de Græcæ linguæ pronunciatione, p. 171, &c. Periz. Anim. Hiſt. c. x.

pronun-

pronunciamus; at non ſic olim a quibus noſtrates accepere FATHER & MAUTHER vel MOTHER, Φρᾶτηρ, BROTHER; Ηλαυτὸς, PLAUTUS; Ηᾶν, Ηᾶνῳ, FAUNUS, &c. Φήμη, *Fāma*, *Fāme*; at Αιμὸς *Fă-mes*, *Făm-ine*. Quod, igitur illi ore & auribus dignoſcebant, nos legendis poetis indagare cogimur; idque ut ſine temporis aut etiam deſidiæ jactura aſſequamur, hujus libelli dos eſt.

Vocalem brevem poſitione, quam vocant, ante duas conſonantes fieri longam, omnes norunt; ejus quippe ſonus conflictu quaſi conſonantium tardatur, ut *in-gens*. Sin vero ſequentes conſonantes ad proximam ſyllabam promoveri poſſunt, fit communis: dici enim poteſt vel *pāt-rem*, vel *pă-trem*; *ſmarāg-dos*, vel *ſmară-gdus*. Sed unde Græcis liceret eſſe tam diſertis, ut vocales longas & diphthongos ante vocalem corriperent, nupere admodum nobis notitia eſt, quam debemus doctiſſimo viro ſupra laudato *. Duabus vocalibus, ubi Æoles ſuum Digamma F collocabant, Iones aſpirationem quandam interſerebant; an forma *Vau*, vel voce ſolum expreſſam incertum eſt: ſonabat ut noſtras W, & duplicis conſonantis vicem geſſit, quæ vel cum antecedenti vel ſequenti ſyllaba pro arbitrio enunciari ſoleret. In Verbis igitur in νω ut μηνύω, γηρύω, δακρύω, αἰνύω, ἀρύω, λύω; et ιω ut τίω; υ & ι natura eſſe *breves* ſtatuit vir doctus, ſed ſcribendo vel legendo λυτεω, τιτεω, fieri *longas*: Cum Clarkius et alii autumarent haſce vocales eſſe natura quidem *longas*, ſed poſitas ante vocalem neſcio quibus machinis fieri *breves*.

Quid vero ſtatuendum eſt de vocalibus longis & diphthongis, quas mox citat autor noſter, inuſitato more breviatas? Duæ, inquam, vocales per Συναίρεσιν contrahantur, Diphthongi reſolvantur; quidvis potius experiri libet quam ut ad Grammaticorum *poſitionem* (quæ nil plus valet quam Philoſophorum *fuga vacui*) delabamur. Δηΐω igitur & δηΐουν ſonabant veteres δη-γω, δη γουν, vel δη-ιω, δη-ιουν. Γαιήοχον, γαι-γηοχον vel γαι-ωηοχον: ut in *Parietibus*, &c. Επεαὴ, επι-εσ vel επι γε: Ἱρεῦον, ἱρε-ιον, Ηὶός, ῳο-εις, quod & in melioribus codd. legitur ῳός, ſic enim Dores et Æoles ſcripſerunt, et ipſe Theocr. εἰδ. X. 38. Unde Latinum *Poëta*; prima pariter brevi †. Pro Τιὸς et Τιὲ dixerunt τοῦος, τοῦε. Unde noſtras son ‡, vox pariter mo-

* Miſcellanea Critica, p. 139, 140. &c.

† Vide Chiſhull ad Inter. Sig. p. 40.

‡ Mer. Caſaub. neſcio quo Muſa ſuggerente deſcivit *ſon*, a Gr. ὑός," inquit Skinner in Etymologico.—Pari vero ratione qua ab ἥλιος, ἠέλιος, *ſol*, SUN; ab ἕξ, ſus, a sow; ab ἅλς, *ſal*, SALT; ἕξ, ſex, SIX; ἕβδομος, ſeptimus, SEVEN; ὕπνος, *ſomnus*, SLEEP; ἐ. c. *ſui*, *ſibi*, SELF, & ſexcenta alia apud Voſſ. in Etymologico ſub lit. H. & Camdenii Heliconiſmum, p. m. 108.

noſy llaba-

noſyllaba. In iſtis vero, ut in quamplurimis aliis, irrepſiſſe videtur ι loco Digamma Æolicæ vel aſpirationis Ionicæ. Sic Il. ω. 616. Ἀχελώιον ἐῤῥώσαντο pro Ἀχελωιον ϝερρωσαντο. & β. 765. Ὄτριχας, οἰέτεας, ſcribendum οϝειετεας, eadem plane analogia compoſitum, qua præcedens ὄτριχας, ut docet vir ſæpe laudatus, R. Dawes, ubi ſupra, p. 176, 8. Apud Theocr. εἰδ. xxix. dicas forſan ὥς κε eſſe ſpondæum ante duplicem conſonantem, et ζώῃς contracte dici ζῇς, ut a λάω, λῶ, λᾷς. An vero potius legendum ζώῃς vel ζῴης, ut ζῇ pro ζῴῃ apud Herodotum paſſim.

Qua ratione vocalis brevis ante vocalem producatur, jam vidimus; quæratur forſan unde toties in Indice ſubſequenti fiat anceps ante conſonantem. Notandum eſt, igitur, ante ſemivocales liquidas λ, μ, ν, ρ, pariter ac ante vocales, aſpiratio illa Vau vel F facile ſeſe ingerebat. Hinc α-ϝρα, vel αϝρα, prima correpta vel producta. Si ſcribas modo, ut enunciatum eſt, ΑϜ-ρες Α-ϝρες βϝροτολοιγε, Martialis ille jocus in poëtarum principem illepidus plane & inficetus eſt. Sic Od. α. 5, 6. νόϛον ἑταίρων—Ἀλλ' ἐδ' ὡς ἑτάρας —penultimam productam et correptam vides in eadem dictione. Scilicet ante ρ præponebant Digamma, quæ utrivis ſyllabæ, præcedenti vel ſuccedenti, jungi potuit, prout quantitas poſtulabat. Recentiores addidere ῥ.— Il. β. 773. παρὰ ῥηγμῖνι Θαλάσσης producitur ultima in παρὰ ob digamma interpoſitum loco aſpirati ϝρηγμῖνι. Hinc refingendum Heſiodi locus, Oper. 696.

Μητε τριηκοϝ-ϛιεων μαλα πολλ' απολειπων.

Ubi Grævius: "In Mſ. II. pro varia lectione notatum erat, τριηκοϝα, quam lectionem Tzetzes probat invitis Muſis." Nullus dubitem quin Tzetzen potius fefellerit vera ſequentis ϝετεων poteſtas. Nempe ultima vocis τριηκοϝα ope ſubjecti non ſecus producitur atque ſupra factum vidimus in Η ανδρῑ ϝικελη. Contra vero τριηκοντων Muſis invitis in cod. Mſſ. editiſque repræſentari confirmare auſim. Neque enim Muſis Græcis magis adridere crediderim τριηκοϝων quam *trigintorum* Latini. Dawes, p. 178, 179.—Ὕλη reſolvunt Critici in ΥΛΓΗ, unda SYLVA, Clark. ad Il. γ. 151. & Dawes, Miſc. Crit. p. 158. Pace tantorum virorum, vix ad amuſſim recte. Scriptum vel dictum à Græcis ΨΥ-ΨΑΗ; ab Æolibus, duabus literis tranſpoſitis, ΓΥΛΓΗ, unde, priore aſpiratione in S mutata, ut in Præf. p. 78. not 9. Lat. SYLVA, plane ut ab ὄλχος, Æolice πόλχος, VOLGUS, FOLK, Salmaſ. de Lingua Helleniſtca, p. 66. & ΠΟΛΧΟΣ ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ, *Gnoſiorum populus*, in nummo Ducis Devoniæ apud Chiſhull, Antiq. Aſiat. p. 127. & ut à ΓΑΥΓΩ, *fulvo, folvo*. Ex aſpiratione iſta ante λ primam in ἴϜλαος,

&

& ἴωλυος, &c. aliquando productam cernimus. In voce ἀγοραάσθε, litera γ vim forſan habeat ejuſdem *Vau*, quod neſcio annon in voce FORUM ſervetur, ut à γαλῆ, FELIS, & fere ut apud nos *Nux Gallica* fit *Wallica*. Unde tot illæ voces apud Heſych. γάδειν, γάδεσθαι, γάδεσαι, &c. & σιγαλόεντα apud Homerum [vid. Indicem in voce] non ſunt forſan ex errore ſcribarum, ſed ex diverſarum gentium ſcriptura ortæ. Hinc, ut notat Salmaſius de Helleniſtica, p. 376, Bœoti ἰὼν pro ἐγὼν dicebant, non, ut putabat Tryphon Grammaticus apud Apollodorum, ſubtractione τῦ γ, & mutatione τῦ ε in ι, ſed detractione τῦ ε, ut κεῖνος pro ἐκεῖνος. Deinde γαμμα in ἰῶτα mutarunt; & ſic ξὼν fecere pro ἐγών. Ideo et aſpirarunt, quia γ plerumque vice denſi ſpiritus fungitur *. Alias elementum iſtud in *y* reſolvitur, ut *ncgo*, *nay*; & vi ejuſdem antecedentem *ſyllabam brevem produci, haud aliter quam ſi per geminatam* i *ſcriberetur*, notat Chriſt. Waſe in Senario, c. xv. p. 207. In Mſ. Bodleiano Symboli vetuſti legitur *piſteugo* pro πιςεύω, & *igito* pro ἤτω. In ſpecimine Franco-Gallici codicis, qui olim fuit Dionyſiani prope Pariſios monaſterii, quod exhibet D. J. Mabillon, l. v. de re diplom. p. 366. ἐκπορευόμενον ſcribitur *ekporeugomenon*. In Cod. Alex. quod Millius adnotare neglexit, 1 Tim. i. 19. legitur ἐναυγάγησαν pro ἐναυάγησαν. Vid. Præf. Wetſtenii ad N. T. p. 31. aȝen Sax. *own*; ȝeap *year*: ȝeara *yore*, et in ſexcentis aliis.

Annon aliæ quædam ejuſdem organi literæ eandem aliquoties ſibi vindicent poteſtatem, & hinc primam in ἀπονέεσθαι producatur, cum π & vau ſono ſint adeo affines: Annon in ἀθάναλος, θ duplicis conſonantis officio fungatur, & φ in πιφαύσκω, diſcutiendum malo relinquere quam fidenter contendere. Sic in κιχάνω primam aliquando productam ob aſpiratam χ ſequens notat Barneſius ad Eurip. Alceſt. ver. 487. Clarkius ad Il. ά. 398. ait primam in ἀθάναλος, ἀκάμαλ@-, ἀπονέεσθαι, ἀγοράαστε, ἀποδίδωμαι, Ηριαμίδης, &c. pro longa uſurpari, "quod adeo parum in pronuntiando "*tribrachyn* inter *dactylumque* interſit, ut uterque potuerit legitime uſur- "pari." Movet ſane aliquid, ſed meo judicio parum promovet; ut & nos forſan nimium minutiis hiſce immorando.—Cum vero huc uſque evagati ſimus, non gravabor Diſſertatiunculæ partem hic ſubjungere, ad Antiquarios ſodales olim habitæ, ab inſtituto noſtro non prorſus alienæ, ad pronuntiationem quippe veterum & ad rem metricam ſpectantis. Quoque tedium perlegendi minus lædat, accipe, qua ſcripta fuit, lingua vernacula †.

* Hinc ex γαλῆ, FELIS, fit γαλέα, *caſſis*, Anglice a HELMET, utpote *felina* pelle tecta; γάμμα, διγάμμα, & aſpirata vicem alterutrius gerente.

† Already printed in the preſent volume, p. 139.

TWO

Two Letters from Dr. Bentley in the Shades Below, to Lord Orrery in a Land of thick Darkness.

Written and printed by Mr. BOWYER, but never publiſhed.

" quæ gratia currûm
" Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
" Paſcere equos, eadem ſequitur tellure repôſtos *."

Virg. Æn. vi. 654.

LETTER I.

My Lord,

IN the noted controverſy between your Noble Father and myſelf, I remember it was objected againſt me, that the ſame reaſons, which I had brought to ſhew that Phalaris could not be the author of the Epiſtles which bear his name, would prove that I could not be the author of my own book. The ſtyle, it ſeems, was diſcordant to the age in which I wrote, and to the character I bore. The management of this part of the argument, I have been told, was left to the celebrated Dr. King of the Commons.

By a ſtrange fatality, like circumſtances come round again; and, I think, I can ſhew, with Dr. King, or againſt Dr. King, that your Lordſhip cannot be the writer of the " Letters on the Life and Writings of Dr. " Swift." Since my head has been laid, I have been often reproached with ſaying, I would not believe Horace could uſe ſome particular expreſſions, though he were to tell me ſo himſelf. I will now be ſo bold as to ſay, that nothing leſs than having it from your own mouth will convince me, that you were the author of thoſe letters: and while I am cenſured by many for my confidence, I truſt I ſhall have your Lordſhip's thanks for my charity.

* " Thoſe pleaſing cares the heroes felt, alive,
" For chariots, ſteeds, and arms, in death ſurvive." Pitt.

The firſt province of a critic, and in which I have been long converſant, is to compare MSS. and editions. The writer of the "Remarks" declines this taſk, and ſeems to perſuade others from it. "The Engliſh edition "(ſays he) of Swift's Works, I have ſcarce ſeen; and I have little incli- "nation to examine it; becauſe I was acquainted with the Dean, at the "time Faulkner's edition came out, and therefore muſt always look upon "that copy as moſt authentic; well knowing that Mr. Faulkner had the "advantage of printing his edition, by the conſent and approbation of the "author himſelf. The four firſt volumes were printed by ſubſcription, "and every ſheet of them were [was] brought to the Dean, for his reviſal "and correction. The two next were publiſhed in the ſame manner: "*and yet* the dates were often *gueſſed* at *(by the editor)*; and every ſcrap was "thruſt into the parcel, that might augment the collection." From whence we may eaſily judge what wonderful advantages this edition received from the author's inſpection. However, not ſatisfied with ſurmiſes, I procured, in compliance with this writer's recommendation, a ſight of two of the Dublin editions, one in 8vo, 1735, the other in 12mo, of the ſame year; and ſhall from thence lay before your Lordſhip ſome ſingular efforts of the Dean's care.

The firſt tract I haſtened to, was "A Letter from a Member of Parlia- "ment, concerning the Sacramental Teſt," written in 1708, in the fourth volume of the Dublin edition, becauſe the author of the Remarks ſays, "It is preceded by an explanatory advertiſement, that was either dictated, "or STRICTLY reviſed by the Dean himſelf." By all means then let us hear what it ſays. It begins thus: "In the ſecond volume of Dr. Swift "and Mr. Pope's Miſcellanies, I found the following treatiſe, which had "been printed in London, with ſome other of the Dean's works, many "years before, but at firſt came out by itſelf in the year 1708, as the date "ſhews—I have taken the liberty to make an EXTRACT out of that diſ- "courſe, omitting only ſome paſſages which relate to certain perſons, and "are of no conſequence to the argument." So then the Dublin edition of the treatiſe is but an extract from the genuine copy, which is *fully* preſerved only in the London edition; and That Mr. Pope, who has been accuſed of garbling the writings he was entruſted with, appears here at leaſt a faithful editor, and the author himſelf to be the garbler. For he pleaſed to obſerve only what a magnificent paſſage the author has thought

proper, among others, to leave out. After the words *Preſbyterian brother*, in the third page of the letter, the Engliſh edition adds thus: "The reaſon why I mention him [the Obſervator] is, to have an occaſion of letting you know, that you have not dealt ſo gallantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel caſe. Laſt year a paper was brought here from England, called 'A Dialogue between the Abp. of Canterbury and Mr. Higgins,' which was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, as it well deſerved, though we have no more to do with his Grace of Canterbury, than you have with the Archbiſhop of Dublin; nor can you love and reverence your Prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely ſuffer to be abuſed openly by name, and by that paultry raſcal of an Obſervator, and lately upon an affair wherein he had no concern: I mean the buſineſs of the miſſionaries of Drogheda, wherein our excellent Primate was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and diſcretion. But becauſe the Lord Abp. of Dublin hath been, upon ſeveral occaſions, of late years miſrepreſented in England, I would willingly ſet you right in his character. For his great ſufferings and eminent ſervices, he was by the late King preſented to the ſee of Derry. About the ſame time he wrote a book to juſtify the Revolution; wherein was an account of King James's proceedings in Ireland; and the late Archbiſhop Tillotſon recommended it to the King, as the moſt ſerviceable treatiſe that could have been publiſhed at ſuch a juncture. And as his Grace ſet out upon new principles, he has proceeded ever ſince as a legal ſubject to the Queen, entirely for the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, and for ever excluding the Pretender; and though a firm friend to the church, yet with indulgence towards diſſenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was ſettled for many years among the moſt virulent ſect; yet upon his removal to Dublin, they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and univerſal acknowledgment of his wiſdom and goodneſs. For the reſt, it muſt be owned he does not buſy himſelf by entering deep into party, but rather ſpends his time in acts of hoſpitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthieſt perſons he can find, without other regards. In ſhort, in the practice of all virtues, that can become a public or private life. This, and more, if poſſible, is DUE to ſo excellent a perſon, who may be juſtly reckoned

" among the greateſt and moſt learned Prelates of his age, however his " character may be defiled by ſuch mean and dirty hands as thoſe of the " Obſervator, or ſuch as employ him."

The author of the Obſervator was Mr. John Tutchin, who died, if I am rightly informed, in a public houſe about the year 1707. The book written by Dr. King (afterwards Lord Primate) was " The State of the " Proteſtants in Ireland under King James II." an anſwer to which was attempted, upon Jacobite principles, by the noted Mr. Charles Leſley. The author of the " Remarks" informs us, that Dr. King, when Biſhop of Derry, hindered Swift from being made Dean of Derry. So that, conſidering the violence of Swift's reſentments, it may ſeem harder to account for his inſerting this encomium, than for his leaving it out. But he was then, probably, a ſtranger to the ill offices of his back friend, till he was initiated into the party to which he always adhered, and to which Dr. Boulter owed his advancement to the Primacy, in oppoſition to Dr. King. Whatever induced him to efface this character, the public, once in poſſeſſion of it, will not contentedly part with it. It is too precious a morſel to be loſt. And if authors (as they have a right) ſhall *caſtrate* themſelves, they muſt not think to appear to the world with the ſame *ſpirit* they had before.

There are ſome other paſſages omitted in the Iriſh Edition, either through inadvertency or with deſign. But I proceed to another explanatory advertiſement. The former explained away the ſentiments of the text; this wants explanation itſelf. It is prefixed to the Drapier's VIth letter, addreſſed to Lord Chancellor Middleton, in the fourth volume of the Dublin edition, and runs thus:

" The former of the two following papers is dated Oct. 6, 1724. [This is repeated in the edition 12mo, except that it is there Oct. 6, 1725.] " by which it appears to be written a little after the proclamation againſt " the author of the Drapier's fourth letter. It is delivered with much " caution, becauſe the author confeſſeth himſelf to be the Dean of St. " Patrick's; and I could diſcover his name *ſubſcribed* at the end of the " original, although blotted out by ſome other hand. I can tell no other " reaſon why it was not printed than what I have *heard*." [What other means of information could he wiſh for? By hearing cometh knowledge, though ſometimes the fountain is corrupt. But he proceeds:] " How- " ever, having ſome encouragement to collect into one volume all papers

" relating to Ireland, ſuppoſed to be written by the Drapier——to make " the volume more compleat, I procured a copy of the following letter, " from one of the author's friends, with whom it was left while the author " was in England, and I have printed it as near as I could in the order of " time." Here I ſubmit to your Lordſhip a remark or two.

1. The firſt of the papers is ſaid to be dated Oct. 6, 1724; and that it appears from thence to be dated a little after the proclamation againſt the fourth letter; now the fourth letter itſelf, againſt which the proclamation was publiſhed, your Lordſhip will ſee, is dated Oct. 13, 1724. This is a pardonable miſtake any where, but much more in a country, where *going before juſt coming after*, is the characteriſtic dialect. But I little thought that the Dean, in his zeal for Ireland, would vouchſafe to adopt the *ſhibboleth* of it.

2. The preface-writer, in the choice MS. which he found, could diſcover the Dean's name " ſubſcribed at the end of the original; but *blotted* " *out* by ſome *other hand*." As the former paſſage is a proof that the advertiſement was drawn up in Ireland, ſo this affords a ſtrong preſumption that it was under the direction of the Dean himſelf: for who elſe could divine that his name was ſtruck out by another hand? Other ink, it might be: but in theſe recent MSS. of one age it is the firſt time I ever heard of a blot carrying the evidence of a hand-writing. Whether the Dean or printer hit this blot, I ſhall not enquire; but lay before you the pleaſant procedure of the latter upon this diſcovery. He had got, we ſee, the original in the Dean's hand; but the NAME was obliterated. What does he, but ſends away to England for a copy which might authenticate *this original*, and from ſuch a copy the public is favoured with it. I remember in a cauſe before Sir Joſeph Jekyll, a man began reading in court the title-deeds of an eſtate, which was conteſted. " The original is a little " blind," ſays he. " I have got a very fair copy of it, which I beg leave to " go on with." *Hold*, ſays Sir Joſeph, *if the original is not good, the copy can never make it ſo.*

I am far, however, from accuſing the printer of intending any fraud on the world. He who tells his ſtory ſo openly, gives ſecurity enough for his honeſty. I can eaſily conceive the advertiſement might be in a good meaſure the Dean's, who never was over-courteous to his readers, and might, for once, be content to be merry with them.

I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip any further with collations of theſe editions: for I, who am uſed to tread on claſſic ground, ſhall not think it worth my pains to beat over this flowery field, which I leave to geniuſes different from mine to ſport in. I am, my Lord, *&c.*

LET-

LETTER II.

My Lord,

I Proceed to make good my propoſition, that it is impoſſible your Lordſhip could be the author of the "Remarks on the Life and Writings of "Dr. Swift." I prove it from the inaccuracy of the ſtyle, the reflections which occur on ſeveral branches of literature, and on the writings of the Dean in particular; all below what I ſhould hope for from your Lordſhip's reading and experience. Style is what few give themſelves the trouble of examining, though all pretend to be judges of it. I ſhall, therefore, only touch upon ſome of the figures of oratory in theſe "Remarks," which, I am perſuaded, cannot be found in your Lordſhip's rhetoric.

I. When *not only* —— *but alſo* are oppoſed, if we advance no farther by the latter gradation, I would call it the art of *curvetting*, not of *writing*. Now let us try a ſentence or two. "I ſhall have the happineſs NOT ONLY "of ſeeing you forming yourſelf every day for public life, BUT—What? "—rendered more capable of exerting your faculties with dignity." Lett. i. p. 1. Undoubtedly, if he actually *forms* himſelf *every day*—he will be rendered more *capable* of *exerting* himſelf. Nay, the *formation* is ſomething more than the *capacity* of *exerting*. Again, "Bailiffs, who are "NOT ONLY ſworn foes to wit and gaiety, BUT whoſe tyranny might have "been fatal to Eſther." Lett. x. p. 70. If foes to all wit, what wonder if fatal to a lady endowed with that quality. "Una dolo—ſi fœmina "victa duorum eſt?" Read, As *they were foes to wit*—ſo *they might have been fatal*, &c. and all is well: it is not an oppoſition, but a conſequence. There are more of this ſort. But,

II. Compariſons had better be omitted which afford no entertainment to the imagination. "The ſcoffs and ſarcaſms of Swift, like the bite of "the *rattle-ſnake*, diſtinguiſh themſelves, and are not more VENOMOUSLY "DANGEROUS (or *dangerouſly venomous*) than the wounds of a common "ſerpent." Lett. xvi. p. 124, The *ſpecies* ſeems here to be put poetically for the *genus*: no more is meant than as ſubtly poiſonous as the bite of a ſerpent. If the alluſion had been to that animal's giving warning

before

before he bites, it had been properly formed from his diſtinguiſhing property.

III. The author of the "Remarks" obſerves very juſtly, that "Swift "maintains and conducts his metaphors and alluſions with a juſtneſs par- "ticularly delicate and exact, and without the leaſt ſtiffneſs or affectation." How ill has he profited by ſuch example! He has metaphors diſcordant to the ſenſe. "His MIND was equal to the WEIGHT of the laurel crown," p. 68. Rather the *head* was equal to the *weight*, or *mind* equal to the *dignity*.

"He looked upon women rather as buſts than whole figures." So far well. He proceeds: "In his panegyrical deſcriptions he has ſeldom de- "ſcended lower than the CENTRE of their hearts." Lett. x. 78. Who can go lower, in the metaphorical ſenſe, where Pope, it ſeems, differently from the Dean, found them to be all rakes? But the author of the Remarks means only, that he deſcended no lower than the *ſituation* of their *hearts*; but the *heart* often implying ſomething very deep, we are led on deeper ſtill, to the *centre*, and the ſenſe is confounded between *imagery* and *metaphor*.

IV. Some compariſons and citations are worn ſo threadbare, that a writer could not chuſe to appear in public with them. They ſeem to betray more a poverty of fancy than an exuberance of reading. "The af- "fection between Theſeus and Pirithous was not greater." Lett. vii. 53. "A ROCK more dangerous to princes than Charybdis was to mariners." Lett. xxiv. Where the author, by avoiding *Scylla*, has fallen into his own *Charybdis*; for unhappily Charybdis is not a rock, though Scylla is. "In eo freto eſt ſcopulus Scylla, item Charybdis mare vorticoſum, ambo "clara fævitia," Plin. N. H. iii. 8. "Scylla ſaxum eſt, Charybdis mare, "utrumque noxium appulſis," Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 7. "Their poets "would have added her to the Furies—a fit companion for Tiſiphone, "Megæra, and Alecto."

After a common-place of two or three pages in Lett. xxvii. on the dignity of human nature, where we are ſure to find *divinæ particulam auræ*, the author applies his diſcourſe thus: "Swift deduces his obſervations "from wrong principles: for in his land of Houyhnhnms he conſiders the "ſoul and body of their moſt *degenerate* and *uncultivated* ſtate.—He ſeems "inſenſible of the ſurprizing *mechaniſm* of every part of the human com- "poſition.

" poſition. He forgets the fine deſcription which Ovid gives of mankind,

" Os homini ſublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
" Juſſit, et erectos ad ſidera tollere vultus."

One would be tempted almoſt to compare this with a like introduction of the very ſame paſſage by an eminent traveller. " I am free (ſays he) to " unboſom all my thoughts to you, who are a lover of juſtice as well as " war: man was not born to make war on thoſe of his own kind, but to " enjoy the ſweets of peace; for otherwiſe God Almighty would have fur- " niſhed him with claws, &c. *Os homini*," &c.—I will not name the writer, becauſe, I own, he is not worthy to be named in the ſame page with one who can be ſuppoſed to have perſonated your Lordſhip.

V. Words ſhould be cautiouſly uſed in a new ſenſe, never againſt analogy. *The whole affairs*, p. 59. is ſcarce allowable in proſe, notwithſtanding the authority of Mr. Pope in verſe,

" Graſp the whole worlds of reaſon, life, and ſenſe."

A corruption which, I own, is coming into faſhion.

" The NOTIONS of his genius were often irregular." Let iii. p. 29.

" I muſt *renew* the ſame declaration," p. 79. We ſay *renew* a requeſt, but *repeat* a declaration.

" I often *revert* in my mind," for *revolve* in my mind.

" *Sextumvirate*," Lett. xiii. p. 106; and again, p. 108. in imitation of *duumvirate*, *triumvirate*, which are ſo far from authoriſing, that they ſhew the illegality of the coinage.

But let theſe and a hundred more ſuch inaccuracies in diction paſs. I proceed to errors in ſentiment.

Lett. xii. p. 96. A reflection occurs, which ſeems to have much depth, perhaps becauſe it is not clear. " The real uſe of knowledge is to invi- " gorate not to enervate the faculties of reaſon. Learning degenerates into " a ſpecies of madneſs when it is not SUPERIOR to what it POSSESSETH." May we not add, *and when it does not expreſs itſelf ſo as to be underſtood.* Try, if what follows will help us: " The ſcientific powers are moſt evi- " dent, when they are capable of exerting themſelves in the ſocial duties " of life; when they wear no chains, but can freely diſengage themſelves, " and, like a ſound CONSTITUTION of body, riſe chearful, &c." Here again I underſtand, how a *body* of a ſound *conſtitution* riſes, but know not by what figure *a conſtitution of body* can be ſaid to riſe, &c.

I have

I have been often admired for my profound obſervations fetched from Scholiaſts. But I never equalled the following, and eſpecially the learned introduction to it. Ariſtotle SAYS, in the words of his SCHOLIAST, "eum "præclara et magna vix poſſe exequi et præſtare, cui facultates deſunt," &c. Lett. x. p. 66. I ſuppoſe rather the Scholiaſt ſays this in *Greek* in the words of his maſter: but it is ſo important a ſentence, that I leave the Critic and the Philoſopher to contend for the property of it; and will beg your Lordſhip's attention to a reflection on a beaten ſubject, the fall of Julius Cæſar.

The author of the "Remarks" having given us the ſtale obſervation, that not one of the conſpirators died a natural death, proceeds thus, Lett. xii. p. 103, 104. "Even Brutus, perhaps recollecting in his laſt moments "the benefits which he had received from Cæſar, was ſtaggered in his "thoughts of virtue, and imagining himſelf deceived by a ſhadow, broke "out into a pathetical expreſſion, ſignifying, that he had worſhiped virtue "as a ſubſtance, and had found it only a ſhadow. So that he ſeems to "have wanted that fortitude of mind, which conſtantly attends true virtue "to the grave. This defect [i. e. want of fortitude] in the character "of Brutus is not improperly expreſſed in the famous gallery of the Great "Duke of Tuſcany, where there is a very fine head of Brutus begun by "Michael Angelo, but left unfiniſhed: under it is engraven upon a copper-"plate this diſtich:

"Dum Bruti effigiem ſculptor de marmore ducit,
"In mentem ſceleris venit, et abſtinuit."

In ductile ſtone while Brutus' image grew,
His crime appear'd before the artiſt's view,
And from his hand the plaſtic power withdrew.

Now we have the ſenſe of the diſtich, how ſhall we reconcile it with the comment? Brutus having, upon a principle of virtue, embarked in a cauſe which failed of ſucceſs, naturally cries out, upon the defeat of his well-meant ſtruggles for liberty, *Virtue is but a name*; as every diſtreſſed patriot will, who ſets aſide the conſiderations of another world. Deſtitute of this laſt reſort of the ſoul, no wonder if he wanted that fortitude of mind, which attends true virtue to the grave. But what ſays the comment? Why, that Brutus, reflecting on his *ingratitude* to Cæſar, was ſtaggered at his falſe purſuit of virtue; as if he had repented of his attempt to reſtore liberty

liberty to his country, inſtead of diſcharging his obligations to the Dictator. Alas, nothing like it ever entered into his mind: Patriotiſm was his reigning principle to the laſt, and though it could not ſupport him under the utmoſt preſſures, yet it acquitted his conſcience of having overlooked any other duty for the ſake of it.—But the ſtatuary, it ſeems, judged differently: ſhocked at reflecting on the heinouſneſs of Brutus's crime, not (as the comment repreſents) on his *want of fortitude*, he left the buſt unfiniſhed. The Patriot broke out into his exclamation, and the Artiſt broke off from his deſign, from different ſources of reflection; and the Commentator has aſſigned a falſe one to each, making Brutus's ingratitude the cauſe of his want of fortitude, and the want of fortitude the *defect* which the ſtatuary (our author would ſay) thus accidentally *expreſſed*.—So much does refined reflection obſcure common ſenſe.

To give another inſtance of it: Vaneſſa, growing by degrees in love with *Decanus*, breaks through the reſtraints of female pride, and openly diſcloſes her paſſion for him; but at the ſame time apologizes for her conduct from a maxim he had taught her, viz. that honourable intentions need not be aſhamed of being communicated—

" That Virtue, pleas'd by being ſhown,
" Knows nothing which it dare not own:
" Can make us, without fear, diſcloſe
" Our inmoſt ſecrets to our foes."

The ſenſe is obvious: But the Author of the " Remarks," Lett. ix. in his charitable diſpoſition having ſuppoſed that Veneſſa ſued, not for marriage, but to become a proſtitute to the Dean, tortures theſe words to make them an apology for her abandoned impudence. *He taught her*, he ſays, in theſe lines, *that vice, as ſoon as it defied ſhame, was immediately changed into virtue.* He ſhould have ſaid, Taught her, that VIRTUE, which knows no vice, fears no ſhame, and needs no ſecrecy. But then his comment would have been overthrown.

From the letter-writer's *occaſional* reflections, let us take a taſte of thoſe he makes *particularly* on the works of the Dean. How penetrating are moſt of them!

" The papers which follow are entirely humourous, and relate to *Par-*
" *tridge* the almanack-maker." Lett. viii. p. 62.

" The *critical Eſſay* will make you ſmile." Ibid.

" You will laugh at the ſtory of Whiſt and Swabbers."

" When you have read it, *digito compeſce labellum.*" Lett. xx. p. 167.

I paſs by many more of this ſort. But one piece of the Dean's is honoured with a moſt ſingular encomium: " A piece, which will excite your " riſibility, or I am miſtaken.—The whole is a ridicule too powerful for " the ſtrongeſt gravity to withſtand." Lett. xvi. p. 126, 127. Now what, at laſt, is this merry-making machine? Why, the author deſcribes the ſeveral artificers attending W Wood (repreſented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each of them expreſſing his reſentment in the terms of his calling: the cook will *baſte* him; the bookſeller will *turn over a new leaf* with him; the taylor will *ſit* on his *ſkirts*.—The letter-writer then leads up the laugh, with *Riſum teneatis, amici:* If he did not, we ſhould want ſuch a note as the prudent Parſon put to the pathetic part of his funeral ſermon; *Here pull out your handkerchief, and weep.* Every apprentice, who has not ſenſe enough to learn his art, is ſoon able to apply the terms of it to this kind of banter and ridicule. And though I blame not the Drapier for falling into it, as it was characteriſtic of the perſons he deſcribes, and ſuited to the taſte of thoſe for whom he wrote, yet I own I am too phlegmatic to ſhake my ſides at it.

While we are ſpeaking of wit, I cannot but obſerve, the writer of the "Remarks" does your Lordſhip great injuſtice, in his repreſentation of the interview between You and Daphne. The Lady, it ſeems, was proud of her portrait, as drawn by the Dean; you, in your politeneſs, could not ſee the leaſt reſemblance. She ſtill perſiſted that ſhe had rather be Daphne drawn by him, than Sachariſſa by any other pencil; you had no other way of *retrieving your error*, than by whiſpering in her ear, as you was conducting her down ſtairs to dinner, that indeed you found

" Her hand as dry, as cold as lead."

I appeal to all the Daphne's in both kingdoms, whether you might not very ſafely have compounded the matter, and told her, than though her hand was cold, you ſtill believed her heart was warm; as the fruitful earth preſerves its central heat, while virgin ſnow adorns its ſurface. Something of this ſort muſt have come from *tam elegans formarum ſpectator.*

But the making of your Lordſhip an ill judge of wit is not the leaſt charge I have againſt the letter-writer. He has abuſed the Dean, in ſuppoſing him to have placed " the reſurrection (one of the moſt encouraging

" principles

" principles of the Chriſtian Religion) in a ridiculous and contemptible " light."—Now let any impartial reader judge of the words which are the foundation of this charge. " They bury their dead (ſays he) with their " heads directly downwards, becauſe they hold an opinion, that in eleven " thouſand moons they are all to riſe again; in which period the earth, " which they conceive to be flat, will turn upſide down; and by this " means they ſhall, at the reſurrection, be found ready ſtanding on their " feet. The learned among them confeſs the abſurdity of this doctrine; " but the practice ſtill continues, in compliance with the vulgar *." The utmoſt which can be made of this is, that it repreſents the reſurrection of the *body* as groundleſs, and the opinion of the vulgar alone; but *ſuppoſes* a future ſtate, that time of the *reſurrection* when the people hoped to be found ſtanding on their feet. Now give us but a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments for the ſons of men, we ſhall not want the moſt encouraging principle of the Chriſtian Religion. The diſputes about the body, whether the body of youth or of old age, whether only a ſeminal principle of corporeity ſhall be reanimated, or larger ſtamina, are ſubtile enquiries, which will have very little influence on the lives of thoſe who are, or are not, converſant in them.—But, after all, had the paſſage above cited a view even to this doctrine? It is well known a cuſtom has long prevailed of burying with the face towards the Eaſt, as if, while the earth turns round from the Weſt, the deſign was the dead ſhould be upright to meet the riſing ſun, the well-known emblem of the reſurrection. This cuſtom was what the Dean might *poſſibly* make the object of his ridicule; and I will venture to propoſe it to the letter-writer, as the moſt probable, I am ſure the moſt charitable, view of it. It is not only unjuſt, but unſerviceable, to Religion, to repreſent eminent writers as diſbelievers, without the fulleſt proof.

Thoſe that have written in favour of the ſacredneſs of the Eaſt, have diſcovered perhaps ſome whim in defence of their opinion. " Conſidering " all theſe things (ſays an eminent writer of our own), I am altogether of " their mind, who perſuade themſelves that the ſeat and tribunal of the laſt " judgment ſhall be placed in the air over againſt the mount *Olivet*. *Joel* " the prophet is thought to have foretold as much, when he ſaith, that " *all nations ſhall be gathered into the valley of Jehoſaphat*; and his feet ſhall " ſtand in that day upon the mount *Olivet*, which is before *Jeruſalem* to-

* Voyage to Lilliput, c. vi.

" wards the eaſt—Yet not to be ſo particular as to point out the very " mountain or valley, or to take care, with that Doctor in the *Jeruſalem* " *Talmud*, how the bones of wiſe men ſhall roll under the earth, into this " place; moſt manifeſt it is, that this great aſſize is to be holden on the " holy land," &c. See J. Gregory's works, c. xviii. A man may be allowed to ſpeak lightly of ſuch particularities, without the imputation of denying the doctrine of the laſt judgement in general.

Having vindicated the writings of the Dean from ſo heavy a charge, I may be allowed to cenſure him in my turn in a point of *leſs* moment, but in which I am *more* concerned. In the *Battle of the books*, in the Introduction, lett. xxiii. p. 196. our author obſerves, Swift never loſes the leaſt opportunity of venting the keeneſt ſatire againſt Mr. Dryden. But alas, he greatly betrays his want of judgment as well as temper, when he raiſes that high-ſounding wight, Sir Richard Blackmore, above him: Blackmore, I ſay, that diſtinguiſhed genius, who afterwards afforded his friend ſo many bright examples of the *art of ſinking in poetry*. " Swift deſcribes Dryden, " iſſuing from among the thickeſt of the enemies ſquadron, with leſs *ſpeed* " than *noiſe*; for his horſe, old and lean, ſpent the dregs of his ſtrength " in a high trot—Lifting up the vizard of his helmet, a face *hardly* ap- " peared from within—the helmet was nine times too large for the head, " which appeared ſituate far in the hinder part, even like a lady in a lob- " ſter, or a mouſe in a canopy of ſtate.—Next behold Lucan appeared on " a fiery horſe of admirable ſhape, but headſtrong, bearing the rider " where he liſt, over the field. He made mighty ſlaughter over the ene- " mies horſe; which deſtruction to ſtop, BLACKMORE a famous modern " (but one of the moderns) ſtrenuouſly oppoſed himſelf, and darting a " javelin with a STRONG HAND, which falling ſhort of its mark, ſtruck " DEEP in the earth. Then Lucan threw a launce; but Æſculapius came " unſeen, and turned off the point. *Brave modern, ſaid Lucan, I perceive* " *ſome God protects you, for never did my arm ſo deceive me before*—Lucan " then beſtowed the modern a pair of ſpurs, and Blackmore gave Lucan a " bridle." I need not tell the letter-writer, that *ſtriking deep* has here a very different ſenſe from what the wits afterwards meant by *ſinking deep*; who, not having ſagacity enough to reſtore Longinus to his true reading of of περὶ Πάθες inſtead of περὶ Βάθες, ſtumbled into an artful piece of ridicule, which has ſerved as a net to catch others blunders, and to conceal their own.

But

But let that paſs: I would only obſerve from hence, how proper an arbitrator the Dean was to decide in the conteſt between antient and modern learning, who has ſingled out to ſupport his own cauſe of poetry ſo doughty a chief. But knights in poetry, like knights in romance, have their day. Sir Richard was placed in the foremoſt liſts of fame by Mr. Locke, Mr. Molyneux, and Dean Swift; though his works are now begging about with an honourable paſs *, ſigned by three ſuch judges in learning.

As to Swift, I queſtion whether he had any great taſte for heroics. In his writings, as well as in his life, he loved *power*, but hated *pomp*—which accounts perhaps for his ſtrong averſion to an Alexandrine. I am ſliding inſenſibly into his character, and will conclude with a word upon it.

If we deduct ſomewhat from report, which is apt to add to the oddities of men of note, the greateſt part of his conduct may be accounted for on the common operations of human nature.

" Choler," Lord Bacon obſerves, " puts men on action; when it grows " aduſt, it turns to melancholy." In Swift that humour ſeems to have been predominant, governed, however, even in his younger days, with a fund of good ſenſe and early experience of the world. He was thrown luckily, in the prime of life, into the family of a great perſonage, where he had the happineſs of an interview with a monarch, from whence he had reaſonable hopes of ſatisfying his tow'ring ambition. But he found them followed by nothing but diſappointment. He ſeems to have had too great a value of himſelf to owe his fortune to a wife; or too reſtleſs a ſpirit, too great a love of whim, to be confined to one. In a courſe of years, honours ſeemed a ſecond time to make their court to him. He came into favour with a prime miniſter under another reign, even when different principles prevailed from thoſe which guided his former patron. A rare felicity; which however, in the event, ſerved only to convince him that he was baniſhed to Ireland for life, and that all hopes were cut off of his riſing, even there, any higher than the Deanry. What would one of his parts and wit do in ſuch a ſituation, but drop mankind as much as poſſible, eſpecially the higher claſs of it, which to a man of humour is naturally a reſtraint; where, at beſt, as he obſerves, the only difference is to have two candles on the table inſtead of one? What, I ſay, would ſuch an one do, but cultivate an acquaintance with thoſe who were diſappointed like himſelf? What, but write compliments on ladies, lampoons on men in

* As far as relates to his admirable poem on the " Creation," the paſs has been counterſigned by Dr Johnſon. J. N.

po.ver,

power, ſarcaſms on human nature, triſle away life, between whim and reſentment, juſt as the bile aroſe or ſubſided? He had ſenſe, and I believe religion, enough to keep him from vice; and from a conſciouſneſs of his integrity was leſs ſolicitous about the appearances of virtue, or even decency, which is often the counterfeit of it. The patriot principle, which he had imbibed in Queen Anne's reign, lurked at the bottom of his heart; which, as it was more active in thoſe days than ſince, ſometimes rouſed him to defend the Church, and Ireland, his aſylum, againſt any new incroachments.—View him now in his decline: paſſions decay, and the lamp of life and reaſon grows dim. It is the fate of many, I may ſay moſt geniuſes, who have ſecluded themſelves from the world, to loſe their ſenſes in their old age; eſpecially thoſe who have worn them out in thought and application. Providence, perhaps, has therefore ordained, that the eyes, the inlets of knowledge, ſhould be impaired, before the underſtanding, the repoſitory of it, is decayed, that the defects of the former may protract the latter. Few of us are enough ſenſible how much the conjugal tie, and the ſeveral connections which follow from it; how much even domeſtic troubles (when ſurmountable) are the phyſic of the ſoul, which at the ſame time that they quicken the ſenſes, preſerve them too. I myſelf, for want of falling into ſome innocent amuſements, after a life of ſtudy, which is the ruin of a conſtitution, had my infirmities, which I could wiſh had been recorded more tenderly, not as an inſtance of *Compotationis academicæ*, but of *Virorum literatorum infelicitatis*.

I could eaſily recriminate on the great genius I have in my eye; and conſidering the ſtrictures I have met with from him even ſince my death, I may be allowed juſt to ſhew, in my way, that he has left ſome inſtances of the weak ſide of humanity. In the fable of Dryope from Ovid, p. 69, &c. on her being half transformed into a tree, ſhe tells her huſband and father,

" If to the wretched any faith be given,
" I ſwear by all th' unpitying pow'rs of heaven:
" No wilful crime this heavy vengeance bred;
" In MUTUAL innocence our lives we led."

To clear herſelf from the imputation of falling under this judgement of heaven by any crime of hers, ſhe bears witneſs, you ſee, to *their* behaviour equally at leaſt with her own: but why that introduction, *Si qua fides*, Believe me; if ſhe appeals to *their* innocence, which they knew at leaſt as well

well as ſhe; Then by what figure is mutual *innocence* put for mutual *harmony?*

" Si qua fides miſeris, hoc me per hoc numina jura
" Non meruiſſe nefas; patior ſine crimine pœnam:
" VIXIMUS innocuæ."

Nothing is more common in verſe than to uſe the firſt plural for the ſingular. *Patior ſine crimine*, and *viximus innocuæ*, is but one and the ſame perſon; a teſtimony of her *own* innocence, not of the *mutual* concord between her relatives. " Don't think I have by private ſins called down this " judgement on me. No, I declare, my life has been innocent."

By what I have offered, I would not detract from the wonderful writer before us. This tranſlation was the attempt of his youth, and therefore admirable with all its faults. But my chief deſign is to ſhew, that a good ſtock of ſchool learning laid in at firſt, will be of uſe to a ſcholar all his life. And to bring this age to a ſenſe of it, I am perſuaded, no means would be more effectual than to publiſh a cenſure of many of our modern writings. It would be of credit to good literature, if we even ſuppreſſed that load of lumber which diverts the channels or obſtructs the avenues to it, and which, under the ſhew of politeneſs, is haſtening on barbarity. I am ſenſible of my raſhneſs in this attempt; but reformations are ſometimes begun even by the meaneſt hands. To bring about the former, I am content to lie under the imputation of the latter. I am, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the foregoing vindication of your Lordſhip was penned, you have been attacked by two or three writers of Memoirs of Dr. Swift; in which you will have the pleaſure to ſee, that as each finds matter for cenſure in his predeceſſor, ſo all of them are open to ſtill further correction.

Is it not ſtrange, that none of them ſhould take notice of Swift's inconſiſtency with himſelf in his narrative of his own family? If in the Memoirs he left, publiſhed by his kinſman, it appears his parents had no other children but a *daughter* and himſelf; in letter xli. he no leſs expreſsly ſays, he was *the* YOUNGER SON *of a younger branch of a family not undiſtinguiſhed in its time*. Whether it is inaccuracy only in expreſſion, that he calls himſelf a *younger* ſon, becauſe he had a *ſiſter* born before him; or whether he intended among his *Engliſh* friends to diſclaim his *ſiſter*, who had offended him in marriage, I leave others to determine. Men of genius,

nius, I know, are above regarding minute miſtakes; their very failings paſs for wit. Thus, I remember, the excellent tranſlator of Cicero's familiar letters obſerves, that Swift *has applied a paſſage* in them, *with more humour, perhaps, than it was at firſt conceived.* And yet half the application is founded on a falſe fact. In the *Tale of a Tub*, he ſays, "Cicero writing "to his friend Trebatius in *England*, with a caution, among other matters, "to beware of being cheated by our hackney-coachmen (who, it ſeems, "in thoſe days were as arrant raſcals as they are now), has theſe remark-"able words, *Eſt quod gaudeas te in iſta loca veniſſe, ubi aliquid ſapere vi-"deare.*" Ep. Fam. vii. 10. Would any one think now, that the very next words in Cicero ſhew that Trebatius did NOT go into England? And yet it follows, *With how much greater advantage would your noble talents have appeared,* HAD YOU GONE *into* BRITAIN?

Is it not equally ſtrange, that ſo elegant a writer as the author of the *Obſervations on Lord Orrery's remarks** ſhould exemplify the correctneſs of Swift's ſtyle, from as unlucky a paſſage as he could have ſelected. It is this: "How would it brighten the character of the preſent and after-ages, "if ſhe [the Queen] would exert her utmoſt authority to inſtil ſome ſhare "of thoſe virtues into her people, which they are too degenerate to learn, "only from her example." With which ſentence the author of the *Obſervations*, &c. is ſo enamoured, that *whoever*, he ſays, *ſhall attempt to contract or make it clearer or more correct, will quickly ſubſcribe to your judgment of Swift.* To your judgment I will readily ſubſcribe, and yet will pretend to make this very paſſage clearer, by removing the word ONLY to the end of it. As it ſtands now, it is ambiguous, and at firſt view you might think it ſignified *unleſs, niſi; too degenerate to learn unleſs from her example:* ONLY the concluſion of the ſentence would contradict the beginning of it. Read then, *which they are too degenerate to learn from her example* ONLY.

The former life-writers were collectors of materials for the laſt ingenious editor of the Dean's works. But has he always made a right uſe of them? He obſerves, that Swift did not receive the livings of Laracor and Rathbeggin till after the Dean of Derry was given to another; therefore *his non-reſidence could not, as Lord Orrery ſuppoſes, be the reaſon why it was not given him.* Nor did the imaginary Lord Orrery *ſuppoſe* it was. He does not ſay that the Biſhop of Derry charged Swift with *actual* non-reſidence, but

* Dr. Delany.

only

only that he feared it would be the conſequence of his volatile temper. *I know Swift*, ſaid the Biſhop, *to be a ſprightly ingenious young man; but inſtead of reſiding, I* DARE SAY, *he will be eternally flying backwards and forwards to London.* Remarks on the Life and Writings, &c. Lett. iii. p. 2.

To conclude all that has been ſaid concerning the life of the author, I will preſume to add one circumſtance relating to his ſhadow, viz. that a portrait of him, preſented to the Univerſity of Oxford, by John Barber, Eſquire, is placed in the picture-gallery there, with this inſcription:

IONATHAN SWIFT,
DECAN. S. PATRIC. DVBL.
Effigiem Viri Muſis amiciſſimi,
Ingenio prorſus ſibi proprio celeberrimi,
Ut ipſum ſuis Oxonienſibus aliquatenus redonaret,
Parietem habere voluit Bodleianum,
A. D. MDCCCXXXIX.
JOHANNES BARBER, Armiger,
Aldermannus, nec ita pridem Prætor Londinenſis.

In Engliſh:

JONATHAN SWIFT,
DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.
This portrait of the Muſes' friend,
Of a happy turn of wit, peculiar to himſelf,
That Oxford might in ſome meaſure regain a genuine Son,
Was placed in the wall of the Bodleian gallery,
A. D. MDCCCXXXIX.
By JOHN BARBER, Eſquire, Alderman,
and ſome time Lord Mayor of London.

MR. BOWYER'S PREFACE

TO A TRANSLATION OF

The DISCOURSE which carried the PRÆMIUM at the Academy of DIJON, in 1750. On this Queſtion, propoſed by the ſaid Academy, "Whether "the Re-eſtabliſhment of ARTS and SCIENCES has contributed to the "refining of Manners?" By a Citizen of GENEVA.

"Barbarus hic ego ſum, quia non intelligor illis." OVID.

THE following Diſcourſe has made ſuch a noiſe in France, that I thought it, for its ſingularity, well worth the tranſlating: it muſt be owned to be one of the fineſt modern pieces of oratory, and of ſo dangerous a perſuaſion, that if the author, inſtead of giving it in writing, had pronounced it with all the force which the fluency of tongue and the graces of action uſually add to ſuch orations in publick, I ſhould tremble for all the libraries of Europe, and dread his elocution almoſt as much as the fire and ſwords of Goths, Vandals, and Muſſulmen.

All I can learn of the author is, that his name is Rouſſeau, and that he is, as he ſays, of Geneva, or of ſome place in the neighbourhood of Switzerland. I alſo have been aſſured, that when the Preſident of the Academy acquainted him with the ſucceſs of his piece, it was in theſe or the like words: "Sir, the Academy have crowned your Diſcourſe, for its "elegance and purity of language; and have overlooked your ſentiments, "becauſe of your country."

We may ſee by theſe words, that the Academy judged, as mankind muſt, that he undertook the wrong ſide of the queſtion, and, like the ſcholar at he Jeſuit's, d erved the prize and the rod. I was really at a loſs, for a time, to find his ſincere opinion; but his preface and notes, in ſupport of his theſis, convinced me, that he ſpoke his mind. I was therefore once reſolved to ſuperadd a few critical remarks upon him, to ſhew how abſurd his

his tenets were, and detect the art with which he would defeat art; but, upon a more mature deliberation, I feared I might be laughed at, like the Prelate who gravely undertook to prove that there was no Pope Joan; or one who ſhould ſeriouſly argue againſt the ravings of Hobbes, Agrippa, Spinoſa, or Noſtradamus; and, deſiſting from the undertaking, thought it ſufficient to ſay two words by way of advertiſement to the reader.

This gentleman would have us believe that the arts and ſciences have injured our morals and manners, and therefore would have them and their profeſſors baniſhed. But has he forgot that man, in all climates born naked and defenceleſs, cannot at all ſubſiſt without arts, nor, with any comfort, without ſciences? His ſituation and capacity prove, beyond doubt, that they were by Providence intended to be improved by him. Is not art neceſſary for his feeding, cloathing, lodging, and defence? and is his daring mind a proof, that ſome ſcience was ordered for his recreation, and ſome for cultivating the land in proper ſeaſons for his proviſions?

Was it not by art that Hannibal raiſed a reputation? and were Xenophon, Epaminondas, Cæſar, and all the famous Grecians and Romans, ignorant of arts and ſciences? And ſince this man would raiſe War into a divinity belonging to Ignorance, how came it that the Barbarians could not ſtand before them? And if Ignorance increaſed ſtrength and valour, ſurely all our common ſoldiers, nay, and a vaſt majority of our officers, ought to be heroes. He frets at the European or French politeneſs; but upon his own ſyſtem, and allowing his hypotheſis, that it is all counterfeit, is it not yet better that the rude, harſh, and different characters of men ſhould be veiled under even a falſe urbanity and affected mild manners, than that an eternity of broils ſhould diſturb ſociety, by each ſavage mind's being viſible in all its uncouth and unpoliſhed behaviour? Is it not a happineſs that I ſhall be, even outwardly, well uſed by thoſe from whom I expect no more? or would he prefer travelling among the banditti of Arabia, or his own ſavages of America, before a tour through Europe? and if the latter muſt be pronounced the moſt agreeable, and that the arts and ſciences are the cauſe of the difference, what becomes of his goddeſs, Ignorance? In ſhort, he had taken a laudable ſubject, if he had only laſhed the abuſes, which are ever the unfortunate attendants on all great ſyſtems: but to run down the ſun becauſe he ſometimes ſcorches, or the rain becauſe it ſometimes falls to exceſs, contains hardly any thing

more delirious than what this orator has ſeriouſly undertaken; like Jack in the Tale of a Tub, he tears the coat to pieces becauſe of a few uſeleſs embroideries; and yet, it muſt be confeſſed, his argument is worthy of admiration for its compoſition and elegance, and may be conſidered by thoſe of his own opinion (if any) as a proof of the danger of arts and ſciences, ſince, by their help, ſo much could be made of the worſt of cauſes.

I have endeavoured to keep up to his ſpirit in the tranſlation; and if the Engliſh reader finds any thing ſtriking in it, I ſhall put him in mind of the unſucceſsful Grecian orator, when he heard his adverſary's oration praiſed on the reading, and cry out, almoſt in his words, "What would it be, "if you underſtood the original?"

The AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THIS is one of the fineſt and moſt important queſtions that hath ever been diſcuſſed. We are not here to debate on thoſe metaphyſical ſubtilties which have intruded into all the branches of literature, and from which the very academical occupations are not always exempt. No, we are this day upon one of thoſe truths which are inſeparably annexed to the happineſs of mankind. I foreſee I ſhall be ſeverely attacked for having dared to appear on the ſide I undertake; I can expect no leſs than an univerſal outcry againſt me, for my audacious attempt at overthrowing the delight and admiration of mankind; nor is the approbation of a few wiſe men a ſufficient warrant againſt the cenſure of the publick: but I have taken my party, for I value not what the wits or gentlemen of the mode can object to me. There will always ſubſiſt men who ſeem born to be ſlaves to the opinions of their age, their country, their ſociety.

Some, who this day act the Free-thinkers, ſceptic unbelievers, and philoſophers, would, for the ſame reaſons, have paſſed for Fanatics in the days of the League in France; no one, therefore, who has a mind to outlive his works, ſhould write for ſuch readers.

I conclude with one word more;—not expecting the honour done me, I had, ſince my ſending it to the preſs, altered and augmented this Diſcourſe ſo as almoſt to have made it another work; but now I find myſelf obliged to publiſh it in the ſame dreſs in which it was crowned. I have only ſubjoined a few notes, and inſerted two additions eaſy to be remarked, which in ſpeaking might have diſpleaſed the Academy. I judged that equity, reſpect, and acknowledgment, required this laſt advertiſement.

REMARKS

Remarks on a Speech made in Common Council, on the Bill for permitting Perſons profeſſing the Jewish Religion to be Naturalized, ſo far as Prophecies are ſuppoſed to be affected by it *.

First printed in 1753.

I Wiſh the Gentleman who went out of his way in Common Council to fetch an argument from Prophecy againſt the Bill for enabling the Jews to be naturalized, had ſaid leſs on that head, or opened himſelf more fully upon it. I am always afraid for Religious topics when they fall into unſkilful hands, or are made officiouſly ſubſervient to temporal cauſes. Prophecy in particular is a two-edged ſword, which ſhould be truſted to thoſe only who can uſe it with diſcretion. From the ſhort ſketch I have ſeen of his argument, I think he neither underſtood himſelf nor his ſubject.

The concluſion of his Speech, it ſeems, run thus: "By the Chriſtian "Revelation, the Jews were to be a diſperſed and ſcattered people. They "by theirs expect a reſtoration. We are going by this Bill to collect "them together, and thereby, as far as in us lies, to falſify *our own* Pro-"phets, and verify the predictions of *theirs*."

I. The Jewiſh and Chriſtian Prophets are here repreſented at variance with each other; by theſe the Jews are to be *diſperſed*, by thoſe *collected together*. Now I always apprehended the Jewiſh Prophecies are the very ſame in which the Chriſtians believe; and if the latter have any which the former reject, I hope they are in no particular inconſiſtent. I am ſure, before any argument can be drawn from them, it is incumbent on this City Orator to reconcile them. But,

II. Let us endeavour, if we can, to find out the oppoſition, which the Gentleman ſeems to point at. The great diſpute between the Chriſtians and Jews is, whether the Meſſiah is come or not. In proof that he is to come, that text is always urged, "The Sceptre ſhall not depart from

* This little tract was well received by thoſe who were ſuperior to narrow prejudices. See the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 234.

"Judah,

" Judah, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet, till Shiloh come *;" and the Jews themſelves are appealed to, a people diſperſed over the whole earth, without laws or governors of their own, as a ſtanding evidence that the ſceptre has for many ages been departed from them. If this is *now* a good proof of the Chriſtian Religion, it can *never* be overthrown. They have been held out to us as a monument, for a ſucceſſion of ages, that their polity has been deſtroyed. Let us then, for a moment, even ſuppoſe them reſtored to their Jeruſalem. Can they pretend to prove it was before the power of the ſceptre was departed from among them; or, according to Daniel, before " Sacrifices were ceaſed †?" Nay, were a Meſſiah to appear, as they have loſt the very genealogy of their tribes, would it be in their power to ſhew that he is of the tribe of Judah? The Gentleman then need not be in pain for the Chriſtian Religion: An argument drawn from Hiſtory which is once good, will always remain ſo, unleſs all the memorials of it are deſtroyed. But,

III. Are the Jews for *ever* to remain a mark of God's judgements, and a ſtanding evidence for the conviction of Chriſtians? or are they not to become a nation again, and recover the ſceptre in Jeruſalem? The more common opinion is, that they are to be reſtored; and ſo far are the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Prophets from diſagreeing, that citations to this purpoſe are urged from both of them. If it is ſaid, Luke xxi. 24. " Jeruſalem ſhall " be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be ful- " filled:" If, 2 Cor. iii. 15, 16. " when Moſes is read, the vail is upon " their heart; nevertheleſs, when it ſhall turn to the Lord, the vail ſhall " be taken away:" and to the ſame purpoſe, Rom. xi. 25, 26; We find it propheſied in the Old Teſtament, Hoſ. iii. 4. " The Children of Iſrael " ſhall abide many days without a King, and without a Prince, and with- " out a Sacrifice, and without an Image ‡, and without an Ephod, and " without a Teraphim: Afterward ſhall the children of Iſrael return, and " ſeek the Lord their God, and David their King [i. e. as many interpret, " David their Prince, and Meſſiah], and ſhall fear the Lord and his good- " neſs in the latter days." Upon this theory then let not the Gentleman be afraid that we are fighting againſt God; while for aught he knows we are immediately ſeconding the gracious purpoſes of his will. And I

* Gen. xlix. 10. † Dan. ix. 27. xi. 31.

‡ For *Image* the LXX and Vulgate read *Altar*; and therefore in the Hebrew for מצבה it was probably read מזבח.

might

might obſerve for his further comfort, that the Author of the "Short "Method with the Jews" (not ſo *ſhort a Method* perhaps as ſome could wiſh) obſerves, "That England is the moſt likely place where the con- "verſion of the Jews ſhall begin." The Gentleman ſays, by the Bill we are going to "collect the Jews together," and by that means to defeat the Prophecies concerning them. What! to collect them all into England, and then to tranſplant them to Jeruſalem! Not a hundred probably will be naturalized in ten years; and before we ſhall make a nation of them, we may truſt that the "Times of the Gentiles may be fulfilled." We may as well then ſuppoſe we are making one ſtep (how diſtant ſoever it be) towards the completion of all Prophecies, both of Jews and Gentiles, which is to take place in *the latter days*, perhaps after ſome thouſands of years.

But whether the Jews are to be reſtored or not, are mere ſpeculative inquiries, in which, let me tell the Gentleman, Religion is not concerned. There are both Jews and Chriſtians who take the other ſide of the queſtion, particularly Origen, Chryſoſtom, and Seder Olam, who ſuppoſe the times of the Gentiles will not be fulfilled till the day of judgement, and that the Jews will never poſſeſs their Jeruſalem again. I refer him to Grotius on the place of St. Luke above cited; and the other paſſage, every Commentator will tell him, admits of very different interpretations.

The converſion of the Jews is much more univerſally believed than their reſtoration; but whenever the latter ſhall happen, the former is made a neceſſary condition of it. The Jews themſelves conclude it is retarded by their wickedneſs, the Chriſtians by their infidelity. "It ſhall come to "paſs, when all theſe things are come upon thee, the Bleſſing and the "Curſe, which I have ſet before thee, and thou ſhall call them to mind "among all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee; "and ſhalt return unto the Lord thy God, and ſhalt obey his voice ac- "cording to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, "with all thine heart and with all thy ſoul; and then the Lord thy God "will turn thy captivity, and have compaſſion upon thee, and will return "and gather thee from all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath "ſcattered thee. And if any of thine be driven out unto the utmoſt "parts of Heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and

"from

" from thence will fetch thee *." Thus again: " Thou ſhalt ſmite the " Judge of Iſrael with a rod upon the cheek—Therefore will he give them " up, until the time that ſhe [the Mother Church, Rev. xii.] which tra- " vaileth hath brought forth; then the remnant of his brethren ſhall re- " turn unto the children of Iſrael †." Whether theſe and the like Prophecies were fulfilled, as ſome ſuppoſe, in the return of the Jews from the Babyloniſh captivity, or remain yet to be fulfilled, repentance or converſion is the previous ſtep to their completion. And upon this ſuppoſition, the argument from Prophecy will run full as ſtrong for the Bill as againſt it. " Will you reproach us," the Jews may ſay, " with being an incom- " municable people, while you, who have the powers of the earth in your " hands, exerciſe them only to keep us at a diſtance from you? Do you " hope to bring us over to the faith of your religion, and yet not admit " us to the terms of national ſociety?"—I leave the Gentleman, upon a religious principle, to give an anſwer.

IV. Whatever is the ſenſe of theſe and other paſſages, let it be remembered, *Prophecies* in general are not *Precepts:* They are " a light ſhining " in a dark place," given for the confirmation of our hope, not an abſolute guide for our conduct: and, notwithſtanding all the judgements denounced againſt the Jews, our duty is equally the ſame to behave to them according to the rules of humanity, juſtice, and policy. It may have heretofore entered into crowned heads, as well as into thoſe of citizens, that to *ſcatter* the Jews was doing ſervice to the Chriſtian Religion. Such an event has proved a confirmation of it, and yet the inſtruments of bringing about that event were not a jot leſs guilty of injuſtice. If the fulfilling of a prophecy was any alleviation of a crime, the Jews might plead it for perpetrating the greateſt, in crucifying the Lord of Life ‡. Let

* Deut. xxx. 1—4. and ſee Mich. vii. 20. " Hoc eſt privilegium uni iſti populo " propter Patres datum." Grotius.

† Micah, v. 1. 3.

‡ It is a noted obſervation, that the word *That* in the New Teſtament, when applied to Prophecies, denotes only the conſequential *event*, not the intentional *end* of an action. As when it is ſaid, " THAT it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophet, &c." But few obſerve how this ſenſe is fetched out of the words. Now ἵνα with the Subjunctive is uſed for ὥστε with an Infinitive, and ſhould in ſuch inſtances be tranſlated *So that*. Thus Rom. xi. 11. " Have they ſtumbled, THAT they ſhould fall?" It ſhould be " ſtumbled, SO AS to fall?" Many places ſhould be rendered after that manner, and I would ſo underſtand John vii. 23. " If a man on the Sabbath-day receive circumciſion " SO THAT the Law is not broken," &c. &c.

not the Gentleman be troubled: God is able to effect his own ends; and the leſs human counſels are *purpoſely* thruſt in to forward them, the more clearly ſhall we ſee the over-ruling hand of Providence in their completion. It was foretold, for inſtance, that Ahab ſhould be ſlain in battle. He was ſo, by the enemy who knew nothing of the prediction. But if ſuch a report had been diffuſed through his own army, and they had on that account deſerted him, the event would have added little to the credit of the Prophet: We may venture then to ſay,

V. That, after the deſtruction of the Temple, the bare *diſperſion* of the Jews is nothing in itſelf wonderful; and after the Empire became Chriſtian, when honours were diſtributed among the followers of the Goſpel, it was natural for the Jews to be contemned. But the other circumſtance which attends their diſperſion, their *preſervation* through ſo many ages, notwithſtanding their various changes and unſettled ſtate, is what diſcovers the particular guidance of Heaven. "Who can at this day pick out the "ancient Romans from the numerous crowds of people who have thrown "themſelves into Italy? who can diſtinguiſh, in Spain, the ancient Spa-"niards, and the Goths who conquered it? The face of the world is "changed both in the Eaſt and Weſt; and all nations are mixed and "blended in a hundred different manners:—Without a ſingular Provi-"dence, a people diſunited, and divided into an infinite number of diſtinct "families, baniſhed into countries whoſe language and cuſtoms were dif-"ferent from theirs, muſt have been mingled and confounded with other "nations, and all traces of them muſt, theſe many ages, have entirely diſ-"appeared.—In ſpite of the general averſion conceived againſt them, in "ſpite of the efforts of all thoſe nations who hate them, and who have "them in their power, in ſpite of every human obſtacle, they are preſerved "by a ſupernatural protection, which has not in like manner preſerved "any other nation of the earth.—This preſervation the Holy Spirit has "declared to us in his work: Fear thou not, O Jacob my Servant, ſaith "the Lord, for I am with thee; for I will make a full end of all the "nations, whither I have driven thee; but I will not make a full end of "thee, but correct thee in meaſure, yet will I not leave thee wholly un-"puniſhed *." Here let it be obſerved, that the Jews are themſelves the

* Jerem. xxx. 10, 11. See more to the ſame purpoſe, Jer. xxxi. 36, 37. xxxiii. 24, 25, 26. xlvi. 28. Iſai. xxvii. 7. xxix. 7, 8. liv. 9, 10. lxv. 8. Ezek. vi. 8. xi. 16, 17. xii. 15, 16. Amos, ix. 8, 9. Zech. x. 9.

chief inſtruments of fulfilling the prophecies concerning them: They ſtudiouſly keep up an imperfect kind of union, which ſeparates them from other nations; an union, which I do not apprehend that this act will either obſtruct or promote. But of the two the Gentleman ſeems more deſirous we ſhould be a ſcourge to them in the hand of Providence, than ſecond his intentions of their preſervation: Or ſhall I ſay, he is afraid we ſhall remove "the vail from their hearts," and by our tenderneſs melt them into Chriſtians? And yet theſe fears did not alarm the nation, when an Hoſpital * was founded for ſuch of them as ſhould be converted.

Upon the whole: the Prophecies concerning the Jews do not preciſely determine whether they are to be reſtored to their country or not. If the Bill has any religious aſpect, it tends naturally to their converſion, rather than their reſtoration; eſpecially as Chriſtians believe the former is to be made a neceſſary condition of the latter.

I meddle not with the political reaſons for or againſt this Bill: my deſign was only to ſhew, that Chriſtianity is no ways affected by it.

* Temp. Henry II. which is now the Office of the Rolls.

PREFACE to M. HEUSET'S "SELECTÆ E VETERI TESTAMENTO HISTORIÆ; ad uſum eorum qui Latinæ Linguæ Rudimentis imbuuntur, 1726 *."

EXTRACT from Monſ. ROLLIN.

As the following work was drawn up on a Plan of Monſieur ROLLIN, it may not be improper to give it the reader in his own words, from his "Method of teaching and ſtudying the Belles Lettres," vol. I. p. 138.

I HAVE often wiſhed there were ſome books expreſsly drawn up in Latin for the uſe of children upon their firſt entrance on this ſtudy. Theſe compoſitions ſhould be clear, eaſy, and agreeable. At firſt the words ſhould be almoſt all in their natural order, and the phraſes very ſhort. Then the difficulties ſhould inſenſibly increaſe in proportion to the progreſs the boys might make. Above all, care ſhould be taken to introduce examples of all the rules they were to learn. Elegance ſhould not be principally ſought after, but clearneſs. Their buſineſs is to learn the Latin words, to accuſtom themſelves to the different conſtructions peculiar to that language, and to apply the rules of Syntax to what they ſhall be made to read. One might give them ſome apophthegms of the Ancients, ſome ſtories taken from the holy Scriptures, as thoſe of Abel, Joſeph, Tobias, the Maccabees, and ſuch like. Prophane Authors might likewiſe furniſh us with ſome uſeful ſupplies. I ſhall here ſet down ſome ſhort inſtances, which are fit only for the firſt attempts. In the ſtories taken from the holy Scriptures, I think too we ſhould alter ſuch expreſſions and phraſes as are not met with in Latin authors. Thus in the following Hiſtory of Tobias, for *in diebus Salmanaſar*, I have put *tempore Salmanaſar*; and for *in captivitatem poſitus*, I have put *in captivitatem abductus*. The word *Concaptivis* is not Latin, no more than *Conſortium*, in the ſenſe it is here taken; inſtead of the former I have uſed *exilii ſui comitibus*, and for the latter *Societatem*.

* See the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 155.

A former Profeſſor of the Univerſity, to whom I communicated my deſign, has thought fit to draw up a collection of ſtories of this kind from the holy Scripture, for the uſe of ſuch children as enter upon the ſtudy of the Latin tongue, or are in the firſt claſſes. I hope the public will be pleaſed with this ſmall performance, and that their approbation will induce the Author to draw up a ſecond in the ſame way, but of a different kind, containing moral ſtories and maxims, taken from ancient authors, and generally expreſſed in their own words, but free from all difficulties, and adapted to the weakneſs of young beginners.

This ſecond work has been ſent abroad ſince the firſt edition of mine, and the approbation of the public has confirmed my conjectures. And indeed I know of no book, which may be uſeful, and at the ſame time more agreeable to youth. It contains excellent principles of morality, collected with great order and judgement, with very affecting paſſages of hiſtory upon every article. I know ſome very conſiderable perſons who acknowledge themſelves to have found a great deal of pleaſure in reading that little book.

M. Heuset's Preface.

THE generality of maſters, who teach Latin, either publicly or privately, very juſtly complain, that we have not one ancient profane Author eaſy enough, or in other reſpects proper, to be put into the hands of children who are learning the firſt rudiments of that tongue, whom they might betimes accuſtom to tranſlate into Engliſh. On this account, ſome have recourſe to the holy Scriptures, where, beſides the uſefulneſs of the ſubject, they meet with a clear, plain, and leſs figurative ſtyle. But not to obſerve that children cannot conveniently make uſe of ſo large a volume as the Bible; the holy Scriptures, both in the hiſtorical and moral parts, contain many difficulties above their capacities: and we find in them a number of irregular conſtructions and expreſſions, either unknown to claſſical authors, or uſed by them in another ſenſe.

The author of a judicious work, which has been lately publiſhed, upon "The Method of teaching and ſtudying the Belles Lettres," was well aware of theſe inconveniences; and hath obſerved, that they might be remedied, either by comprizing in one ſmall volume, ſome hiſtorical parts of the holy Scriptures that might be adapted to the uſe of children and

other perſons who have only learned the elements of the Latin tongue; or by putting in a good plain ſtyle, ſome pieces of uſeful and agreeable hiſtory, ſelected out of the ancient Greek and Latin Authors. This plan has been thought by many a very uſeful one. And, in order to accompliſh it, we have, according to the beſt of our abilities, drawn up this firſt collection, which we now publiſh to the world.

We have not propoſed to make a continued abridgement of all the Old Teſtament, but only to extract from it ſome hiſtorical places, which yet we do not give entire, retrenching what appeared either too long, obſcure, or not for our purpoſe. We have preſerved, however, almoſt the whole of the Hiſtories of Joſeph and Tobias, becauſe they are generally very pleaſant and very agreeable to children. For the ſame reaſon, or to avoid too great alterations, which we muſt have made, in the choice of the hiſtories, we have given the preference to ſome others, which may ſeem perhaps to be of leſs importance.

We have now and then departed from the expreſſions of the text, to ſubſtitute others that were more eaſy, or more agreeable to the rules of grammar, and the uſe of ancient Authors; ſo that there will be no reaſon to fear that the reading of theſe extracts may leave upon the memory of children ſeveral words and turns of expreſſion, that may detract from the purity of Latin in the compoſition of their themes. For of ſuch we have retained but a very ſmall number, which we have diſtinguiſhed by *Italick* in the narrations, and by Roman in the ſpeeches, whenever they firſt occur, that they might be the better noted, and guarded againſt. Such, for inſtance, are the words, *ſanctificare*, *benedici*, *humiliari*, *reſurrectio*, *peccator*, &c.

With regard to the reſt, it is proper to obſerve, that there are certain words which we are to make no difficulty of uſing in Latin on religious ſubjects, though they are not found in ancient Profane Authors, or are uſed by them in a different ſenſe: for St. Auguſtin hath very judiciouſly determined, that theſe words became Latin, after the Latins became Chriſtians; Religion having no leſs right to form ſome words, than Arts have when they are brought to perfection, and have occaſion to expreſs new objects.

We have almoſt always followed the Vulgar Tranſlation, and have not left it but on ſome occaſions where the Hebrew ſeemed to give us a more clear ſenſe.

As

As there is room to hope that youth, and other perſons who ſhall be put upon tranſlating the firſt part of this Collection, will ſoon attain to a readineſs in it, we have made the ſecond part more difficult, by changing the natural order of the words, and by varying the expreſſions more, by making the phraſes longer, and by uſing a ſtyle a little more elevated. We have alſo ventured to take a greater liberty of adding to the Text, and even to retrench what we thought neceſſary, particularly in the extracts of the Hiſtory of David and Hezechias, which on that account we have placed after the Hiſtory of the Maccabees.

We have nevertheleſs left in this ſecond part ſome places in all their ſimplicity, becauſe we would not have the ſame degree of difficulty run through the whole, leſt we ſhould diſcourage beginners, and becauſe we thought it would be ſpoiling thoſe places ſo much as to touch them. We have been well pleaſed that the holy Scriptures throughout are viſible in this little work. The ſtyle, it is true, is by that means leſs uniform; but that is, on this occaſion, ſo ſlight an inconvenience, that we did not think it our buſineſs to give ourſelves any trouble to avoid it.

If we have not well executed the deſign which was propoſed, we pray God to put it into the heart of thoſe who are more capable of ſucceeding to ſet about it.

M. HEUSET'S PREFACE to "SELECTÆ E PROFANIS SCRIPTORIBUS HISTORIÆ*; quibus admiſta ſunt varia honeſtè vivendi Præcepta ex iiſdem Scriptoribus deprompta; 1727."

THE approbation with which the world has received my little Latin Collection of ſelect ſtories from the Old Teſtament, has determined me to preſent it with a ſecond Collection from Profane Authors, together with ſome of their Moral Precepts. My deſign has been, in both, to put into the hands of children, and others that begin to learn the Latin Tongue, ſome little piece, that might be eaſy to underſtand, and at the ſame time improve their manners. No doubt can be made but that the Holy Scrip-

* See the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 155.

tures

tures afford us both thoſe advantages; which is the reaſon, probably, that has induced ſo many maſters, both in a public and private character, to make their ſcholars read that collection.

That this might, as far as poſſible, merit the ſame eſteem, I thought it incumbent on me not to leave ſight of theſe two objects, clearneſs of thought and expreſſion, and uſefulneſs of matter. With reſpect to the former, I have been obliged, and eſpecially in the firſt part, to retrench, from the ſtories and maxims I borrowed, thoſe thoughts which were ſubtile or obſcure; to change ſometimes expreſſions which were refined, and too far-fetched for children, into others that were more ſimple; to ſhorten phraſes which were too long; and laſtly, paying greater regard to plainneſs and facility than ſound, to place the words in a more natural order; that manner of ranging them, which is ſo great a beauty to the Latin tongue, being a burden to all who firſt begin to tranſlate the authors who have written in it. For this reaſon, the reader will find all the words almoſt of the firſt chapters of this book placed according to their natural and common conſtruction. When we teach children language, it is ſufficient at firſt to teach them rules, and make them know words. Time will follow, when they muſt attend to elegance. It is not till after the foundations of an edifice have been well laid, that we employ our thoughts about the decorations of the apartments.

The means I have taken to facilitate the underſtanding of the originals, have undoubtedly made them loſe ſomewhat of their force and beauty: but, I dare promiſe, enough of it is left to render them pleaſing and profitable to children. And I thought it would be doing no injury to the intention of theſe illuſtrious dead, whoſe works are deſigned for poſterity, if in favour of thoſe tender years, which are to be taught betimes to reap advantage from the leſſons they have ſet, and to apply the remedies (as one of them expreſſes it *) which they have prepared for all mankind, I diminiſhed for once ſomewhat of their majeſty and ornaments. Theſe will open to their young diſciples in all their brightneſs and all their charms, as ſoon as they ſhall be capable of underſtanding them.

As much facility as we have endeavoured to give this little piece, we may now and then have left in it places ſomewhat difficult to children.

* Poſterorum negotium ago. Illis aliqua, quæ poſſint prodeſſe, conſcribo. Salutares admonitiones, velut medicamentorum utilium compoſitiones, litteris mando. *Senec. Epiſt.* viii.

It

It is not therefore to be expected, that they who have but a ſlender knowle lge of the firſt rudiments of the Latin tongue, ſhould with eaſe underſtand it without the help of a maſter. It will be with this as with the eaſieſt Claſſic authors, to underſtand whom every one at firſt has need of an interpreter and a guide. The advantage that it has above them, which yet we are far from intending to baniſh out of ſchools, is, that it unites, and places as it were in one point of view, a great number of maxims and examples, which may not only by their variety gain the attention of youth, but alſo contribute to the forming of their manners; the greateſt advantage that can be drawn from reading Heathen Authors.

We ſhall there ſee, that theſe Heathens, even in the midſt of the darkneſs of idolatry, teach us, That the Providence of God is not only watchful over all men in general, but over every individual: That he knows our moſt ſecret thoughts; and that it is he who inſpires us with good ones, as well as condems and puniſhes the evil: That the true worſhip due to him conſiſts in purity of heart, and that unlawful deſires are no more permitted than criminal actions: That he proves good men by afflictions, and gives them ſtrength to bear them: That the happineſs of man conſiſts neither in pleaſures, nor honours, nor opulence; but in virtne: That we ought not to indulge the body with any thing further than what is neceſſary for its ſupport: That it is our duty to ſuffer injuries, not to render evil for evil; but to do good to all mankind, even our very enemies: That there is no ſuch thing as true friendſhip, but what has virtue for its foundation and aim: That it is better to loſe our quiet, our liberty, our life, than to be wanting to our duty, &c.

Good examples, generally of greater force than precept, eſpecially upon the minds of young people, here preſent themſelves throughout in crowds, and render virtue more lovely and reſpected. Sometimes we ſee generals of armies, whether Greeks or Romans, who, after having diſcharged the greateſt employments of the ſtate, and enriched their country with the ſpoils of their enemies, died ſo very poor, as not to leave enough to defray their funeral expences. Sometimes fathers renouncing the tendereſt ſentiments of nature, to ſecure the public liberty, and maintain the diſcipline of the army; or children inſpired with courage by filial piety, and rendered ingenious to preſerve the lives of thoſe from whom they received their own. The richeſt bribes were not able to taint the noble diſintereſted

reſted ſpirit of the Curii, the Fabricii, the Phocions, or that of Xenocrates. Nor the roughest threats, nor priſon, exile, or death, ſhake the conſtancy of the Catos, the Metelli, the Reguli. Ill uſage by them is borne with patience, is diſſembled, forgot, pardoned. With them Friendſhip is ſacred, religious, ſincere; Liberty prudent and induſtrious: a frugal table, and plainneſs in dreſs, in furniture and houſe, is equally the taſte of great Generals and Philoſophers. Judges and Magiſtrates are clear, juſt, diſintereſted. Kings have the bowels of Fathers for their Subjects. Virtue is practiſed out of the love of duty, without any view of recompence; and nothing appears intereſting that is not entirely agreeable to juſtice. In a word, the reader has here an aſſemblage of ſeveral ſtrokes of Morality and Hiſtory, many of which may ſerve as rules and models for the different conditions of life, and at the ſame time give ſome pleaſure by the diverſity of matter which they treat of; ſo that this little work, though deſigned for children, will not, perhaps, diſpleaſe perſons of more advanced age, who will here find ſummed up together, what they have formerly read diſperſed up and down in various Authors.

If, amidſt ſo many examples of different Virtues, we have mixed ſome of contrary Vices, it was only to ſhew the deformity of the latter, and to make them the more deteſted. We know what Livy has ſaid of Hiſtory in general *, That it furniſheth examples of every kind; ſome of which are patterns to be imitated, and others admonitions of what we ought to ſhun.

The examples I have choſen, are ſometimes a little diffuſe and circumſtantial, and the precepts of morality more largely explained. Often, on the other hand, both are conciſe, and no more than the anſwer of ſome great General or Philoſopher. The latter has this advantage, that they are the more eaſily retained. They are a ſort of lively ſtrokes, that penetrate deep: agreeably to the obſervation of Seneca †, who tells us, in his time, they made children learn moral maxims compriſed in few words. And

* "Hoc illud eſt præcipuè in cognitione rerum ſalubre ac frugiferum, omnis te "exempli documenta in illuſtri poſita monumento intueri: inde tibi quæque reipublicæ, "quod imitere, capias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites." L. i. in Præf.

† "Faciliùs ſingula præcepta incidunt circumſcripta, & carminis modo incluſa. Ideo "pueris & ſententias edifcendas damus: quia complecti eas puerilis animus poteſt." Senec. Epiſt. 33. Vide & Epiſt. 38. 94.

Quinctilian * likewiſe adviſes to teach them, by way of diverſion, the wiſe ſayings of great men, and certain verſes ſelected out of the Poets.

As I found it neceſſary to mix the precepts with the examples, as Cicero has done, that they might illuſtrate and enforce each other; I thought I could not do better than diſpoſe this great field of matter agreeably to the method he has followed in his firſt Book of Offices, and to reduce to a certain order precepts and facts which are ſo diverſified, that it would be difficult to retain them without ſuch help. Cicero, every one knows, reduces his whole ſubject to Prudence, Juſtice, Fortitude, and Temperance. I have followed that diviſion, being the plaineſt and the beſt known, dividing into four Books what I had to ſay upon theſe four Virtues; and have prefixed a very ſhort one concerning God, Religion, and the Nature of Man. That which follows it upon Prudence is ſhort likewiſe; becauſe I ſtraitened myſelf with reſpect to the Sciences, and to what relates to them.

The title of each chapter is generally a maxim proper to be remembered; becauſe it contains in a few words the chief ſubject of the chapter. The Arabic Figures that occur in almoſt all the chapters ſerve to diſtinguiſh the different Sections. All that is contained in a chapter has not always a neceſſary connexion with the title. I thought it ſufficient if it had a relation to the ſame ſubject. I did not think myſelf obliged to make all the chapters of equal length: but was generally ruled by the copiouſneſs and importance of the ſubject. Nor have I been in any pain, through a ſcrupulous exactneſs, to bring into the ſeveral chapters a certain number of examples, and a certain quantity of morality. I ſometimes give more, ſometimes leſs. There are even ſome that contain nothing elſe but examples, and others nothing but moral precepts. I am perſuaded, that the uniformity, which ſome perhaps would deſire, would be leſs pleaſing to children.

As there is a ſort of connexion between all the Virtues, and often one great action, according to the different lights in which we view it, may be conſidered, for inſtance, as an act of Prudence or Juſtice; I have placed ſometimes under one title what might be as well placed under another. It would be needleſs to ſay what determined me to this way or that. Since whatever occurs in a collection like this has its advantage, of what conſequence is it that it be placed under one head rather than another?

* "Etiam dicta clarorum virorum edifcere inter luſum licet; & electos ex poëtis "maximè locos." Quinctil. l. i. 2.

I have

I have made uſe of all the ancient profane Authors, Greek as well as Latin, which I thought might contribute to the execution of my deſign. I have ſometimes even blended them, as it were, together upon the ſame fact, or the ſame maxim, to make the object I propoſed to the reader the more viſible, and to avoid repetition. I have generally preferred, as I ought, the Latins to the Greeks; and have been exact in my references to both, that thoſe who would might with eaſe have recourſe to the originals.

If I have often abridged hiſtorical facts, and precepts of morality, it was to retrench what appeared leſs agreeable to my plan, or to prevent my work from growing too large.

I have not engaged myſelf in reconciling Hiſtorians with one another, in relation to the truth of a fact, or its circumſtances. I cite my authority; that ought to be my warrant, and is enough for me.

I ſcarce any where paſs my judgement, or make reflexions upon the paſſages I have produced in this work from the Ancients, leaving that care to the Maſters, who will do it by word of mouth to more advantage than I could by writing *.

Seneca the Philoſopher abounds with maxims and examples, many of which I have thought proper to make uſe of; and that the rather, becauſe this Author is not uſually read in Schools, and remains unknown to Scholars the reſt of their lives. It is true, he betrays almoſt always an affectation in his ſtyle; but his expreſſion is ſhort, and his thoughts lively; and he embelliſhes his diſcourſe with natural compariſons and images, which entertain the imagination: ſo that, with the alterations I have taken the liberty of making in what I have borrowed from him, I hope he will be able to pleaſe, and be intelligible to children, without any prejudice to them. I do not imagine I ſhall lie under any cenſure for having turned to a more favourable ſenſe certain paſſages from this Author, and perhaps of ſome others likewiſe, with a view to render them proper for children. We meet in this philoſopher, as well as in all the Heathen Writers, principles of morality, which ought not to be inſtilled into Chriſtians without ſome correctives, to reduce them to that ſtandard of truth which our Religion has taught us.

* "Ipſe præceptor aliquid, imò multa quotidie dicat, quæ diſcipuli ſecum audita "referant. Licet enim ſatis exemplorum ad imitandum ex lectione ſuppeditet, tamen "viva illa, ut dicitur, vox alit pleniùs, precipuéque præceptoris, quem diſcipuli, ſi modo "rectè ſunt inſtituti, & amant, & verentur." Quinctil. l. ii. c. 2.

Good men have the comfort of ſeeing the cuſtom by degrees prevailing of ſanctifying the public and private inſtruction of youth, by explaining to them, and making them every day get by heart, ſome paſſages of Scripture, which ſerve for a rule of conduct in the courſe of their lives. By theſe means they lay up inſenſibly a rich treaſure, infinitely more valuable than what they inherit from their parents. Though that be ſufficient to teach them the whole of their duty, ſince the word of God is a fruitful and an inexhauſtible fund; yet they may add to it however another, which, though indeed of leſs value, is not without its uſe. What I mean is, they may furniſh their memories with the pureſt maxims, both in proſe and verſe, that are to be found in profane authors, as we before ſaid the Heathens uſed to do. Theſe maxims, it muſt be owned, come to us through ſuſpected channels; but that is no objection to their uſe, ſince they are eternal, and flow from the only ſource of truth and happineſs. Thoſe that ſhall think it proper to teach their children ſuch leſſons, will find this collection for their purpoſe: and it is partly for that reaſon I have added ſome verſes out of Publius Syrus.

Though man's reaſon has been much obſcured by original ſin, yet he has light enough left to trace the great lines of his duty. Thoſe Heathen Philoſophers, who were content to be guided by theſe faint lights of the law of nature, give us ſometimes ſuch ſolid and pure principles of Religion, that they ſeem to be not far from the doctrine of the Goſpel. And then it is proper to point out to youth the likeneſs; and to obſerve what a ſhame it is that Chriſtians, who have received the ineſtimable gift of faith, ſhould have leſs rational ſentiments of morality than thoſe of a Heathen. Sometimes, on the contrary, we find in theſe pretended ſages of antiquity ſuch groſs errors, that we plainly ſee the Divine Light, without which man ſits in darkneſs, has not ſhined upon them. And from thence we ſhould take occaſion to let children know how reaſon has been weakened and obſcured by Sin, and how imperfect the morality of the Heathens is. The concluſion of all which is, That it is JESUS CHRIST whom we ſhould give ear to: That it is the Goſpel we ought to conſult, as a ſure and infallible oracle; that it is the Chriſtian Religion alone that has the privilege of ſhewing the truth without any abatements of error. If therefore any principles of the Heathens ſhould be found in this book, not agreeable to the doctrine of the Goſpel, we truſt the piety and vigilance of the maſters will take care to obſerve to their ſcholars, in few words, in what particular thoſe principles deviate from it.

There

There have been Heathens, no doubt, who, perſuaded that it was reaſon which gave man his diſtinguiſhed excellence and merit, endeavoured to follow it on many occaſions, and practiſed it in ſeveral moral virtues. But, beſides their want of the knowledge and love of the only true God, and Jesus Christ his Son, the only foundation for true ſolid Virtue; ſome of them, who paſſed for the moſt virtuous, lie under the imputation of great vices. Therefore we are far enough from propoſing them here as perfect patterns. We report ſome of their great actions and wiſe ſayings, without diving into the motives of either, or examining what inconſiſtencies they have fallen into upon other occaſions. We generally ſhew their beautiful ſide, and ſo far as they may ſerve for an example of the virtue we recommend.

If the maſters that ſhall ſet their pupils to tranſlate this little book would give themſelves the trouble to read, in the originals, the Lives of the Philoſophers and great Generals, which we have given them but an imperfect knowledge of, they would find there a great many fine things to be picked up, from whence the youth under their kind might be inſenſibly, and very profitably, acquainted with the actions and ſentiments of the heroes of antiquity.

It would not be improper likewiſe to let them into ſome knowledge of the ſeveral authors they tranſlate; telling them, by the bye as it were, who they were; in what age they lived; and what ſubjects they wrote upon, &c. It is a great degree of learning, which coſts little time, and is ſure to be attended with good advantage.

Thoſe maſters, who have been well verſed in the Ancients, and ſhall caſt their eyes on this collection, will obſerve, perhaps, that we have omitted ſeveral examples and precepts of great beauty. They will be ſo good as to ſupply this defect, by word of mouth, or any other way. For my part, beſides the neceſſity I was under of confining myſelf to certain bounds in every chapter, I choſe the youth ſhould read, ſome time or other, in the originals themſelves, certain bright paſſages, which were too long to be ſuitable to my purpoſe, without being extremely injured. Some others there are, as well ſhort as long, which ſlipped my memory. For this fault I humbly crave pardon, as well as for all the others I may have been guilty of in this little book: in compiling which I ſhall think my time happily ſpent, if it ſhall pleaſe God to give his bleſſing to it, to render it ſerviceable to Youth.

PREFACE

PREFACE

To WALLIS's "Grammatica Linguæ Anglicanæ, 1765 *."

LINGUÆ Anglicanæ Grammaticam, a viro eximio JOHANNE WALLISIO, S. T. D. Geometriæ Profeſſore Saviliano in celeberrima Academia Oxonienſi, atque Regalis Societatis Londini ſodale, Latine conſcriptam, poſt iteratas editiones viſum eſt, in Exterorum gratiam, denuo recudere, juxta exemplar inter ejus opera, Oxon. MDCXCIX. in Folio, prioribus longe auctius.

Subjungitur, utpote quæ cum Tractatu de Loquela Grammaticæ præfixo habet conſortium quoddam & neceſſitudinem, "Epiſtola Auctoris ad "Thomam Beverley, De mutis ſurdiſque informandis."

Hujus Grammaticæ ſubſidio, adhibito Dictionario Anglico-Latino & Latino-Anglico accuratiſſimi noſtratis Roberti Ainſworth, quivis Latine peritus ad linguæ Anglicanæ notitiam perveniat. Quod ſi pleniorem ejus indolem pernoſcere cupiat, conſulat libellum, cui titulus "A Short In-"troduction to Engliſh Grammar, with Critical Notes," a viro ornatiſſimo Roberto Lowth, Canonico Dunelmenſi, nuper editum, qui ſtudiorum ſuorum complexu res fere diſſociabiles conjunxit, auſuſque veteris poeſeos orientalis fontes recludere, patrii ſermonis rudimenta exquirere dignatus eſt.

In uſum ſingularum gentium Grammatica Linguæ Anglicanæ melius forſan concinnata foret ſermone cuique genti proprio; Italis una, Germanis altera, tertio Gallis, &c. Si vero hanc præ manibus intueamur exteris omnibus pariter aptam, opus eſſe cenſebitur non ſolum utile, ſed ſummo judicio elaboratum. Vale.

Londini, Jan. 1, 1765.

* For the hiſtory of this Preface, and of that which follows it, ſee the "Anecdotes of "Mr. Bowyer," p. 361.

AN

AN ENGLISH PREFACE,

Deſigned for Dr. WALLIS's Latin Grammar of the Engliſh Tongue.

TO THE READER.

AS there are many rich treaſures of learning and ingenuity contained in our Engliſh Writers, Foreigners often regret the want of being maſters of them. And ſome of our natives, from a zeal for the honour of the nation, have wiſhed that its language was more diſſeminated, and not bounded with the extent of its conqueſts; that ſo the ſpirit of liberty, as well as knowledge, which breathes through every page of a Briton, might be communicated in its original channel to the proper objects of ſuch a bleſſing, even to all mankind. As a manuduction, therefore, to this language, it has been thought proper to republiſh the incomparable Dr. Wallis's Grammar of the Engliſh tongue, written in Latin, that by the help of it, joined with the accurate Mr. Ainſworth's Engliſh-Latin and Latin Engliſh Dictionary, any one who underſtands Latin may attain to a knowledge of the Engliſh, and need no longer have recourſe to the treacherous aids of French tranſlations, "malifidis Verſionum Gallicarum auxiliis."

The edition which we now offer to the public is printed from the folio edition of that author's works, of the year 1699, corrected by his laſt hand, and much augmented beyond the former editions; which yet have left ſome gleanings for our further care. I ſhall juſt mention one or two of them:

P. 6. l. 21. Nam eorum כָּל et כָּלְ ſeu כָּלְ as it ſtands in the Folio edit. But we have preſumed to omit the middle word as uſeleſs; for ſince the author inſtances only *Kametz-longum* and *Kametz-breve*, of what uſe כָּלְ could be, which is neither one nor the other, we could not underſtand. But if we have erred in this omiſſion, we aſk pardon of the reader.

P. 27. l. 3. *to glaze*, vitro obducere; *to graze*, gramen decerpere; we have ventured to add, which are neceſſarily to be ſupplied; to exemplify

the ſoft ſound of *s*, in oppoſition to the hard ſound before expreſſed in *glaſs*, vitrum, *graſs*, gramen.

P. 185. l. 19. ſed *freeze* vox architectonica a *zephorus*, by an error of the Printer for *zophorus*.

Some other ſmall inaccuracies of the like ſort we paſs over; and have only mentioned theſe, that, if in our turn we have betrayed ſome frailties, the common lot of printers and of human nature, the reader may be perſuaded we have endeavoured to compenſate for them in other particulars.

P. 103. l. 17. I know not whether I am to impute it to the author or the printer that *in the burning* [OF] *this*, the word *of* was omitted in the other edition, which we have ſupplied in this. The Engliſh participle in *ing*, and the verbal noun of the ſame termination, require a different conſtruction: *In burning this*, in urendo hoc, the participle governs an accuſative: But *in* THE *burning* OF *this*, the noun has *the* before it, and governs a genitive after it. I the rather mention this, becauſe it is an error, into which our beſt writers are apt to fall, as Dr. Lowth has ſhewn in his Short Introduction to Engliſh Grammar, p. 117. ed. 8vo. 1764.

P. 158. l. 9. The author tells us, that the groat was our largeſt ſilver coin before the reign of Edward VI. when ſhillings were firſt ſtruck. This hiſtorical obſervation of his I durſt not alter; but am obliged to obſerve here, that the word *ſhilling* was firſt applied to money in the latter end of Henry VII. A. D. 1504, as Fabian, who lived at that time, teſtifies *. I may further add, that the *Solidus*, called likewiſe *Sicilicus*, whence the Saxon *Scillig*, and afterwards our word *Shilling*, was a coin even from the Roman and Saxon times, as will be abundantly proved, againſt the opinion of all our antiquaries, in a work which will throw new light on various parts of polite literature, but of nummulary more particularly †.

To the Grammar we have ſubjoined an Epiſtle from the author to Thomas Beverley, *De mutis ſurdiſque informandis*, in which, as in his *Tractatus Proœmalis de Loquela*, he has ſhewn (the firſt of any man) how every letter is mechanically formed by the mouth of the ſpeaker, by which means even the deaf may be taught to pronounce it, ſo he has here ſhewn how a deaf and dumb perſon may be taught to write any language, and from thence to underſtand it.

* See Fleetwood's Chron. Pret. p. 40; and ſee Mr. Folkes's Table of Engliſh Silver and Gold Coins.

† Mr. Clarke's Connexion of Roman and Saxon Coins.

As

As one of the excellencies of this work conſiſts in reducing our language to as few ſimple rules as poſſible, it may not probably be altogether perfect, it may perhaps be in ſome things deficient; and it were to be wiſhed, that the before-cited ingenious author * would have vouchſafed, in notes or a preface, to have ſupplied ſuch defects, the beſt qualified of any one for this taſk, who has made his progreſs from the earlieſt Eaſtern poetry to the moſt modern Northern proſe, extending his views, like the royal maſter of all ſcience, *from the cedar in Lebanon to the hyſſop on the wall.* I cannot therefore oblige the reader more, or do greater juſtice to this book, than by improving it with ſome of his obſervations.

Dr. Wallis ſays, p. 76. that nouns ſubſtantive have no diſtinction of *Gender* or *Caſes.*

As to the former, Dr. Lowth obſerves, "That the Engliſh tongue with "ſingular propriety, following nature alone, applies the diſtinction of maſ-"culine and feminine only to the names of animals; all the reſt are "neuter: except when, by a poetical or rhetorical fiction, things inanimate "and qualities are exhibited as perſons, and conſequently become either "male or female. And this gives the Engliſh an advantage above moſt "other languages in the poetical or rhetorical ſtyle. Thus,

"Was I deceiv'd? or did a ſable cloud
"Turn forth *her* ſilver lining on the night?" Milton, Comus.

Here, however, a caution ſhould be given, that ſuch inanimate things only ſhould be perſonified as authority has warranted, either from our beſt modern writers or the ancients, from whom we have borrowed moſt of our poetical genders. When Mr. Francis, in his Horace, l. ii. Sat. 6, tranſlates:

"Nor yet to CHANCE this happineſs I owe,
"Friendſhip like yours, SHE had not to beſtow."

The reader, I believe, is in doubt whether he ſhould admit this new Goddeſs or not. The Romans had two deities with nearly the ſame attributes, the one female, FORTUNA; the other male, BONUS EVENTUS; and we ſeem to have naturalized the former only.

In regard to *Caſes*, Dr. Wallis, p. 69, to preſerve the uniformity of his rule, makes the termination in *s* after nouns, which ſupplies the word OF before them, a ſuccedaneum to the adjective poſſeſſive. So that *man's nature* is natura humana; *Virgil's Poems*, poemata Virgiliana. But in the

* The preſent excellent Biſhop of London.

firſt place, *poemata Virgiliana* does not neceſſarily expreſs the force of *Virgilii poemata*; the latter denoting poems which are the product of Virgil; the former thoſe which are made like his. 2dly, Upon Dr. Wallis's ſuppoſition, it muſt be ſaid, that adjectives, which were before poſſeſſives, have ſtill needleſsly another poſſeſſive term added to them, and are made, as it were, *double* poſſeſſives, as *ours*, *your's*, *their's*, *her's*, p. 92. 3dly, What occaſion have we to go to the learned languages for this termination, when we can deduce it ſo clearly from our own mother tongue, the Saxon; where, in the firſt declenſion, the genitive ſingular and the nominative plural end in *s*, as they do to this day: as *Smith*, gen. *Smithes*; plur. *Smithes*.

We have ſeveral proper names, indeed, which ſeem in the nominative to terminate in *s*, as *Williams*, *Richards*, *Edmunds*, &c. but thoſe were originally genitives likewiſe; for as the Greeks underſtood ὁ υἱὸς before the genetive, τοῦ Σῆθ, τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, &c. ſo *Williams* was uſed for the son of *William*. In like manner Harry Stephens obſerves, the French in ſome places ſaid, *Les d'Hanri*, for *Les fils d'Hanri* *. By corruption we have gone further, and from conſidering *Stephens* as a nominative, add another *s* to make it a genitive, as, when we ſay *Henry Stephens's printing*, &c. This termination the later Latin writers ſeem to have conſidered with Dr. Wallis as the mark of poſſeſſive adjectives, rendering Williams, *Gulielmius*, Richards, *Richardius*, Edmonds, *Edmondius*, &c.

But whatever imperfections Dr. Wallis has betrayed, they are very pardonable among his many excellencies. In etymology it muſt be owned he *reigns*, a branch of knowledge which, though often abuſed by bad hands, is of great ſervice in good ones, and which not only helps us to the true meaning of words, but ſecures them from being corrupted by the mouths of the populace. I ſhall take the liberty of illuſtrating this by an inſtance, which is every day prevailing, and bringing on barbarity under an affectation of politeneſs. From the authority, I think, of the late Dr. Middleton, and ſome others ſince, the word PURSUE is daily written PERSUE, deriving it, no doubt, from the Latin PERSEQUOR, which is a remarkable proof of their ignorance in both languages. For, in the firſt place, Engliſh words derived immediately from the Latin, come from the ſupines, as *perſecute* and *perſecution* do. But by what powers will they bring *purſue* from any tenſe of *perſequor*? I will add, ſecondly, from any ſenſe of it likewiſe?

* See Hen. Steph. de la conformité du langage Françoiſe avec le Grec, p. 5.

The

The firſt and genuine uſe of which is not to *purſue*, to follow at a diſtance, but to follow ſo as to come up to, to attend and accompany. *Familiæ aliquot cum mapalibus pecoribuſque ſuis perſecuti ſunt regem.* Liv. xxxix. 31 *. And thus in the metaphorical ſenſe the word *perſecute* ſignifies. But to follow at a diſtance is *proſequor*, from the ſupines of which comes our word *proſecute* †. Does not this plainly ſhew that we muſt fetch the original of *purſue*, not from *perſequor*, but from the French *pourſuivre*, and that from *proſequor*; who change the Latin *pro* into *pour*, as *pro me*, pour moy; *proſequor*, pourſuivre; but *per* into *par*, as *per Deum*, *par Dieu* ‡.

As Etymology leads us to the true meaning of words, it is a kind of hiſtorical knowledge, which renders the ſtudy of Grammar entertaining. The progreſs of the Greek tongue to the Getes or Goths (mentioned p. 170), and from them to the Saxons, will open a theory, which the reader will ſome time hence ſee wonderfully illuſtrated, explaining the uniformity and the difference between the weights and coins of our nation with the Gre-

* And, to cite a Rhetorician in the cauſe of Grammar, *Æolicæ quoque literæ, qua* ſervum, cervumque *dicimus, etiamſi forma a nobis repudiata eſt, vis tamen nos* PERSQUITUR. Quintil. l. x. c. 10.

† Would it not make one ſmile to ſee a late author happily tracing out old Engliſh words in Shakeſpeare from French, and at the ſame time antiquating modern Engliſh up to antient Rome? Thus, ſays he, *The Lord alloweth the Righteous*, i. e. approveth, from *à louer, laudare*. But for fear his own Engliſh ſhould favour of ſuch Gallic fetters, what a Hybridous compound does he make of the word PERSUE? Write it *purſue*, as our mothers did before us, it comes naturally from *pourſuivre*: But if you derive it immediately from the Latin, it ſhould be *perſecute*.——After all, does the French *pourſuivre*, whence our *purſue*, come from *perſequor*, or *proſequor*? Is it not POUR *moy*, *pro me*; but PAR *tout*, *per totum*? According to this taſte, with freſh elegance and more propriety, it ſhould be written *proſue*.

‡ From this ſenſe of the word *per*, Mr. Markland, Quæſtio Grammatica, ad finem Eurip. Supplic. p. 255. 4to, corrects a paſſage in Hor. Ep. l. i. VII. 82.

perſuadet uti mercetur agellum.
Mercatur: ne te longis ambagibus ultra
Quam ſatis eſt morer; ex nitido fit ruſticus, &c.

Si dixiſſet *ſuadet* uti mercetur, recte ſubjeciſſe potuit, *mercatur*: ſed *perſuadet* ſatis ſignificavit hominibus Romanis Vulteium, jam mercatum fuiſſe, et ſine neceſſitate addi *mercatur*. Lego et diſtinguo:

perſuadet uti mercetur agellum:
Mercatus (ne te longis ambagibus ultra
Quam ſatis eſt morer) ex nitido fit ruſticus, &c.

And ſee the ſame author in his Remarks on the Epiſtles of Cicero to Brutus, p. 27.

If any undoubted inſtances ſhould be produced of *perſequor* being uſed from *proſequor*, they will not overthrow what I have advanced from the general diſtinction in ſenſe between *per* and *pro*; from the uniform change in French of *per* and *par*, and *pro* into *pour*; and I may add from the no leſs uniform derivation of Engliſh words from the ſupines of the Latin.

cian and the Roman *. In the mean time, I ſhall juſt mention one word, which our great reſtorer of Northern literature gained much honour in explaining; yet has not, I think, been traced far enough to its original. The Scotch word *Ule*, it is well known, he derives from the Scandinavian *Ol* †, from whence the Cimbric *Iol*, and the Dano-Saxon *Iul*, a *feaſt* in general; but applied in time to denote the principal one, the ſeaſon of Chriſtmas in particular. But he ſhould not have ſtopt here. We have ſtill the more preciſe meaning of it in the Greek Οὐλαὶ, barley; a word as old as Homer, who mentions Οὐλοχύτοι ‡ the *molæ-ſalſæ* uſed in ſacrifices, made of barley. And Heſychius explains Οὐλαὶς, by κριθαῖς. As the Northern nations were diſtinguiſhed for uſing a beverage made of malt, it is no wonder that their feaſts and compotations were denominated from that which was the principal concomitant at them, and that the principal feaſt went by that name. So that *ale* and *beer* come from the ſame denomination, as well as from the ſame materials; the latter from *barley*, as Dr. Wallis obſerves, p. 170; the former from Οὐλαὶ, as we have now ſeen ||.

To produce the various lights which Etymology affords would be endleſs, but I may be indulged to mention one more inſtance, as it opens an inquiry into ſome part of the hiſtory of our profeſſion, in which the learned world has vouchſafed to be intereſted.

John Fauſt, or *Fuſt*, is by many, I believe, thought to have derived his name from *Fauſtus*, happy, and Dr. *Fauſtus* ſeems to carry an idea of grandeur in the appellation. But very erroneouſly: *John Fauſt*, or *Fuſt*, is no more than *John Hand*, whence our name *Fiſt*. This is of ſmall moment in itſelf, if an eminent German critic had not refined too much upon it, and led himſelf into a miſtake by his too great knowledge. The famous editions of Tully's Offices (for there are two at leaſt) by John Fuſt, have generally theſe colophons:

> " Preſens Marci tullij clariſſimū opus. Johannes fuſt, Mogūtinus civis. nō atramē-
> to. plumali cāna neq; aerea. Sed arte quadam perpulcra. *Petri manu pueri mei* feliciter effēci. finitum Anno M. cccc. lxv.

* Alluding to Mr. Clarke's book on Coins, at that time unpubliſhed.

† Hickeſii Theſ. Lingg. Septentr. v. 1. p. 211. Ejuſdem libri conſpectus brevis a G. Wotton, p. 28. Notes on Ælfric's Saxon Homily, Append. p. 29, 30.

‡ Il. A. 419. et alibi.

|| See a particular Diſſertation on the Gule or Yule of the Saxons, by Mr. Bowyer, in the preſent volume, p. 154.

The ſecond is worded with more exactneſs, and ſtands thus:

" Preſens Marci tulij clariſſimū opus. Johannes fuſt Mogũtinus civis. nõ attramẽto. plumali cãna neq; aerea. Sed arte quadam perpulcra. *manu Petri de gernſhem pueri mei* feliciter effeci finitum. Anno M. cccc.lxvi. *quarta die menſis februarij, &c.*

Now Schmidius, in Nov. Teſt. Norimbergæ, 1658, p. 5, tells us, he was poſſeſſed of a copy of this book, with the firſt of theſe colophons; and had heard of, but never ſeen, the other. This learned critic, full of the meaning of the name *Fuſt*, ſays, " Monco non rectè ſcribi *manu Petri*, &c. quaſi τὸ *manu* eſſet ablativus inſtrumenti; quum ab autore, licet σολοίκως, uſurpetur in Genitivo *, *arte Petri Manu*, & ſit proprium, Petes Fuſt, oder " Fauſt, non appellativum." The Latin indeed, if ſo read, is not diſagreeable to the rudeneſs of the age, when that language, though much diffuſed, was yet read and written with a very low degree of accuracy. But the misfortune is, Schmidius's reading is inconſiſtent with hiſtory. For it does not appear that John Fuſt had any ſon or ſervant named Peter, except *Peter Schoeffer de Gernſheim*, to whom, for being an uſeful aſſiſtant to him in his art, he gave his daughter Chriſtian Fuſt in marriage, and I have not heard that it was a cuſtom in Germany for the huſband to change his name for the wife's. There can be very little doubt, therefore, of there having been *two editions*, unleſs the variation is accounted for by ſuppoſing that the colophon in Schmidius's copy was printed off before it was fully corrected; which might poſſibly be the caſe, becauſe the month and day ſeem to have been omitted. But, after all, if Schmidius had *ſeen* the colophon of 1466, he muſt have given up his interpretation of *manu*.—We leave this, however, as a curioſity to be fought after; and as highly to be prized, when poſſeſſed, as Duke Lauderdale's Bible, with the forgery in it of, *Paul, a* KNAVE *of Jeſus Chriſt* †.

I have made theſe ſlight excurſions as a diverſion to the reader, before he enters on the drier ſtudy of Grammar, and to convince him that the firſt elements of it will ſoon lead him into inquiries of greater importance.

* So for the dative *Parce metu*, Virg. and *Sed adhuc ſupererat centies tibi laxum*, Martial, l. III. epig. XXII. adhibete manus annulum, Luc. XV. 22.

† See an account of this book in the Notes of Forteſcue Aland, Eſq; on Lord Chief Juſtice Forteſcue on Abſolute and Limited Monarchy, p. 42.

M R.

MR. BOWYER's PREFACE

To "JOHANNIS HARDUINI, Jesuitæ, ad Censuram Scriptorum Veterum Prolegomena, 1776."

QUALEM sententiam Johannes Harduinus de plerisque, ut perhibentur, Veterum scriptis tulerit, jam dudum ex operibus ejus innotuit. Ex quo Plinium ediderat A. D. 1685, ejus auctoris admiratione adeo videtur perculsus, ut cæteri fere omnes præ illo forderent: mox nihil antiquitatis sincerum crederet, nisi cujus vestigia ibi non deprehenderet. Hac trutina non solum priscorum sæculorum fidem librat, verum etiam stylum et eloquentiam. "Habebant, inquit, illi [impia cohors] idoneos artifices omni stylo. "Latinitas tamen in omnibus a PLINIANA, aliaque simili vetere longe dis-"crepans *."

Ipse sane quibus gradibus morbus iste animi ingravescceret, in hoc libello narrat: "Nos mense Augusto, anno 1690, cœpimus in Augustino et æqua-"libus fraudem subodorari; in omnibus mense Novembri suspicati sumus; "totam deteximus mense Maio, anno 1692, prolixis et singulis scriptoribus "Græcis Latinisque excerptis descriptis †."

Circa ad igitur temporis, tanquam si in tertium usque cœlum jam raptus esset, caute et personatus nuntium inenarrabilem, certe haud credibilem, profert: "Asseram," inquit, "hoc loco non inanis quidem semper con-"jectoris, sed nunc tamen plus justo fortassis suspicios, ingenioque nimium "indulgentis hominis conjecturam. Accipiet quisque ut volet. Depre-"hendit ille, ut quidem mussitabat nuper nobiscum, cœtum certorum ho-"minum ante sæcula nescio quot exstitisse, qui historiæ veteris concinnandæ "partes suscepissent, qualem nunc habemus, cum nulla tum exstaret: sibi "probe notam illorum ætatem atque officinam esse; inque eam rem istis "subsidio fuisse, TULLIUM, Plinium, Maronis Georgica, Flacci Sermones "et Epistolas: nam hæc ille sola censet, quod vereor ut cuiquam suadeat,

* Proleg. p. 15. † Ibid.

"ex

"ex omni Latina antiquitate fincera eſſe monumenta, præter inſcriptiones "admodum paucas *." Pullulaſſe denique aït hanc largam fictionum ſegetem ſeculo quarto-decimo †.

Novum iſtud dogma ut non erat fenectæ ſuſpicioſæ delirium, ſed maturæ ætatis fœtus, ad annum quinquageſimum nondum provectæ; ita quoſdam ex Loyolitarum gente id monſtri aluiſſe, erant qui multis argumentis probare niterentur. Poſtquam enim per annos quoſdam ſuſque deque ſpargeretur, Dominus La Croze publice teſtatus eſt autorem ſummo honore a fratribus habitum; adeo famæ ejus et fuæ ſecuris, ut novæ editioni conciliorum procurandæ eum præficerent: totius familiæ cordi eſſe veteribus monumentis pretium deterere, et quæ pro certis eſſent habita, incerta reddere: eo forſan conſilio Germon Jeſuitam Mabillonii Benedictini librum de re diplomatica, maxima laude ab omnibus receptum, oppugnaſſe; quem P. Couſtant itidem Benedictinus propugnavit; idemque certamen noſter mox redintegrat, p. 73. Tantus eſt ordinum inter ſuos fraternus amor! Hæc ſi ſecum reputaſſet Middletonus noſtras ‡, vix, credo, tam fidenter contra Chapmannum ſponderet Harduini commenta non eſſe niſi unius Jeſuitæ veternoſi ſomnia, ab omnibus ludibrio habita, et habenda.

Ut ut illud ſit, exprobratio iſthæc a Domino La Croze profecta A. D. 1707, hoc effecit, ut eopſe anno Harduinus opiniones, quas Superiorum permiſſu in lucem ediderat, eorundem juſſu retractarit. Diſſimulaſſe vero, non mutaſſe ſententiam, ex hoc opere poſthumo abunde patet; ubi, ut antea, bis triplicem ſolummodo veterum ſcriptorum turbam in vaſto temporis gurgite ſupereſſe docet. "Servavit antiquitas duntaxat e Latinis "PLAUTUM, Plinium, Virgilii Eclogas novem cum Georgicis; Horatii "Satyras et Epiſtolas: e Græcis Homeri Iliada et Odyſſeam, et Herodoti "libros novem §."

Cernis, lector, indiculum hunc expurgatorium a priori aliquantum diſcrepare. Latinorum ſcriptorum convenit numerus, unica vero commutata perſona; qua in re doleres viri inconſtantiam et humanitus aliquid patientis, niſi dolus malus et artes inhoneſtæ elucerent, quæ bilem moveant magis quam veniam efflagitent. Inter varia nova tentamina, Plinio ſuo, famæ, ſcilicet, et nomini ejus conſulens, patriam abjudicarat; cum enim ille an-

* Chronologiæ ex Nummis Antiquis reſtitutæ Proluſio de nummis Herodiadum, in notis, ſub ann. LI. Permiſſio datur 1692. † Proleg. p. 14. 16. 18. &c.

‡ "The ſtale and ſenſeleſs whim of a ſingle old Jeſuit, publiſhed about forty years ago, "without any other effect than of being laughed at ever ſince by all men of ſenſe." Middl. P. S. to Introd. Diſc. p. 61. § Proleg p. 198.

nos,

nos NOSTRÆ urbis ſæpius memorans Romam intelligat, Romanus, inquit *, erat, non Veronenſis. Huic la Croze Ciceronis iſtud objicit: "Ego me- "hercule et illi et omnibus municipibus duas eſſe cenſeo patrias; unam "naturæ, alteram civitatis: ut ille Cato, cum eſſet Tuſculi natus, in Po- "puli Romani civitatem ſuſceptus eſt †." Rurſum, Juliam gentem a Venere, indeque ab Ænea, profluxiſſe negarat ‡. Cui La Croze regerit §, C. Julium Cæſarem diſerte Venere prognatum dici apud Cic. Ep. ad Fam. l. viii. 15. Quid ad hæc Harduinus?—Ex judicio ſextumvirali Ciceronem ſubmovet, et, ut vices ejus præſtet, Plautum clam ſubjicit, ne poſthac tam luculento ſuffragio obruatur.

Quanquam vero profanos Scriptores primum convellit, id præcipue in animo videtur intendere, ut patres et verſiones ſacri codicis, præter Vulgatam Latinam, in exilium relegaret. Nil mirum igitur, ſi cum ratione et religione inſaniens conſilium primum nunquam abjecerit. Bellum ſacrum indicit, et pergit monumenta vetera dejectum ut templum imperiumque Romæ ſuper traditionis fundamentum ſtabiliat.

Ut, inter *Opera Varia* Amſtel. 1733 edita, in Virgilii Æneïda et Odas Horatii Criticen contexuit, ita in his Prolegomenis palam facit ſe quoſdam ex eccleſiaſticis ſcriptoribus ſigillatim ad examen revocaſſe: "Auguſtinum, "Bernardum, et Thomam confecimus, concilia quoque pleraque; cætera "ſimiliter peracturi, et alia ſcripta, dum erit vita ſuperſtes ‖."

Parti cuidam hujus incepti iſta Prolegomena exarata videntur, ut diſcimus ex additamento ultimo mox ſubſecuturo. Illud quidem in naufragio fortunarum ſuarum, quod tota familia Jeſuitica nuper fecit, periit, aut neſcio qua terrarum parte latet. Hoc vero fragmentum, quaſi ex undis ereptum et in manus P. VAILLANT bibliopolæ traditum, noluit ille orbi literario invidere. Paradoxa enim per ſe cum novitate ſua delectant, tum longe magis Harduini artificio exornata, qui tam belle novit dare obſcuris nitorem, lucidis umbram, fictis probabilitatem, omnibus denique ſpeciem, prout velit, et gratiam. Iſtud, igitur, quicquid eſt, fideliter imprimendum curavit; autographumque ipſum in Muſeo Britannico reponendum, tanquam votivam tabulam, poſteritati conſecravit. Paucula hæc, quæ raptim

* Chronol. V. T. ſub ann. U. C. 608.

† Cic. de Legg. l. ii. init. La Croze, Vindiciæ Veterum Scriptorum, contra Harduinum, Roterod. 1708, p. 149.

‡ Chron. V. T. ſub A. D. 14. § Vind. Vet. ‖ Proleg. p. 10.

prælibavi,

prælibavi, erudito colloquio, quo vir reverendus Cæsar De Missy * me honeſtavit, accepta debent referri. Si quid imprudenter dictum ſit, meæ tribuendum eſt inſcitiæ ; ſi quid quod non diſpliceat, ejus laudi ; qui mox, ut ſpero, plura ſuper hac re publica luce dignabitur.

P. S.

* Who ſoon after publiſhed " De Joannis Harduini Jeſuitæ Prolegomenis cum " Autographo collatis, Epiſtola quam ad amiciſſimum virum Wilhelmum Bowyerum " iiſdem nondum proſtantibus ſcripſerat Cæſar Miſſiacus [vulgo C. De-Miſſy] Reg. Maj. " Brit. à Sacris Gallicè peragendis."

The beginning and end of this curious Epiſtle are here extracted, as a proper compliment both to Mr. De Miſſy and Mr. Bowyer.

" Cæsar Missiacus Wilhelmo Bowyero ſalutem plurimam dicit ; et gratias agit " habetque quam maximas, de facta ſibi tam liberaliter, non impreſſi tantum libri, ſed " autographi quoque copia. Utrumque legi ; nec legi modo, ſed inter ſe, quoad licuit, " contuli : tum vero, quod velle te ſenſeram, naevos in impreſſo, ſi qui forent, adeo non " indiligenter ſum venatus, ut quae me pro te talium venatorem fecerat amicitia, hoſti- " lem paene videretur aemulari male feriati vitilitigatoris inquiſitionem. Sed exitum " praevidebam : et haec enim jam nobis exiſtit adhibitae diligentiae merces, ut ſancte " teſtari queam de ſumma tua praecipuis in rebus fide, talique vel in minimis cura qua- " lem laudare Stephani Plantinique potuiſſent, vellicare certe non auſi fuiſſent : nam ne " Stephanorum quidem Plantinorumque tam perpetua fuit felicitas, in ſacris etiam Co- " dicibus edendis, ut omnino nihil praetermitterent ab operis peccatum. quas autem tu " non plane nullas id genus maculas in hoc officinae tuae foetu non abſterſas reliquiſti, " tales illae profecto ſunt, ut eas recenſere propemodum pudeat, vixque dignae videantur " quarum cauſſa componas preloque mandes *Erratorum*, quem vocant, Indicem : ni " forte pauculas quaſdam carpamus.———Ultima nempe jam ſola reſtat pagina, quæ " quidem novae nobis anſam praebeat animadverſionis. Ibi videlicet ſic legitur quae " prior pars eſt ultimi paragraphi : Hactenus *dicta ſufficiant veluti Prolegomena quae-* " *dam, praemittenda lectioni cenſurae noſtrae, qua liquido apparebit, ut ſpero, tot operum* " *Dogmaticorum et Hiſtoriae (ut vocant) Eccleſiaſticae, eo ſpectaſſe opifices, ut Religionem* " *totam, ſi poſſent, funditus peſſumdarent :* Hanc autem partem ſic antea conſtituerat " Harduinus : ' Sed hactenus dicta ſufficiant, veluti Prolegomena quaedam, praemittenda " lectioni Cenſurae noſtrae, tum jam peractae de Auguſtini et Bernardi operibus illis, " quae vulgo genuina creduntur, et de Summa Thomae Aquinatis, ut vocant : tum " peragendae de ceteris, ſed contractius ; ſi Deus vitam et vires et mentem dederit. " Liquido apparebit, ut ſpero, ex illa quidem Cenſura, operum Dogmaticorum et Hiſto- " riae (ut vocant) Eccleſiaſticae, eo ſpectaſſe opifices, &c.' An ipſe vero mutarit ; " itemque, ſi mutavit, an ex toto mutationem fecerit, an partim tantum ; non poſſum, " fateor, quin dubius haeream. Sed hac de re verbo monuiſſe, mihi quidem ſat eſto : " ne profeſſi modo pudoris nunc obliviſci videar. Paginam librumque claudit vox *Finis*. " Hanc tu Prolegomenis appoſuiſti : eandem per me licet uti heic apponas, vel appo- " ſitam videre ſimules. Et habet tamen etiam poſterior poſtremi paragraphi pars non- " nihil, de quo non invitus aliquid adjicerem : Adeo trahit me mea garriendi tecum vo- " luptas : Sed neque mihi tantum temporis uſque vacat ab officiis ; et ſcio te nimis ab " aliis occupatum, tuoſque in literario ſtadio curſus adeo non morari velim, ut, ſi com- " pendium temporis futurum putes, hanc meam epiſtolam ſimul edere cum Harduini " Prolegomenis ; non interceſſurus ſim quominus vel expreſſis edatur noſtris utriusque

P. S. CUM in MSto loci ſint nonnulli lineola obducti, indicante eos eſſe omittendos; alii qui corrigentis manus aliquantum poſtulate viderentur, quos tamen ſponte noſtra religio erat immutare; utroſque ſingulos ſubjunximus *, ut ſi lector aliquando tanti viri curas ſecundas deſideret, habeat ſaltem primas.

Vir iſte Coriſopiti in Britannia Aremorica natus, A. D. 1646; obiit Pariſiis, Sept 2, 1729; non infeliciter a M. De Boze hoc epitaphio ad vivum fere expreſſus:

" In expectatione judicii
Hic jacet
Hominum paradoxotatos,
Natione Gallus, Religione Romanus,
Orbis literati portentum:
Venerandæ antiquitatis cultor et deſtructor.
Docte febricitans
Somnia et inaudita commenta vigilans edidit.
Scepticum pie egit
Credulitate puer, AUDACIA JUVENIS, deliriis ſenex."

" Les Jeſuites des Paris ont condamné en termes tres forts les ſentimens " du P. Hardouin, et l'ont contraint de les retracter d'une maniere honteuſe."

M. Le Clerc to Mr. Addiſon, Amſt. 12 Feb. 1709; among Swift's Letters, vol. I. Lett. XV.

" nominibus. Quid enim, quaeſo, ſi forte σκιθρωπὸς aliquis indecorum cenſeat, palam " nos in partem venire libros vulgandi Jeſuiticos? Ego certe clam nollem, ſi palam non " auderem. Vale, vir clariſſime, meliuſque vale quam valeo: Et quod has literas, quas " tibi ſtrenae loco Calendis Januariis mittere cogitabam, non ante datas dicere licet " quam venerint *Idus Martiae*, id morbo dumtaxat aſſignandum puta gravi, tenacique, " nec dum plane depulſo, cujus binas acceſſiones ita prae caeteris lethiferarum ſimiles " expertus ſum, ut ſi tertia talis incidiſſet in *Idus Martias*, forſitan mihi *Caeſarum* mi- " nimo non minus illa dies lethalis veniſſet, quam veniſſe fertur Julio Caeſarum maximo. " Quod hanc autem vivus adhuc, et infirmus quidem, veruntamen laetus contemplor, in- " gratus eſſem profecto niſi illud egregio Viro Medicoque *Franciſco Philippo Duvallio* " acceptum referrem: quanquam nec illius immemor ſum, ſine cujus numine nec aliis " nec ſibimetipſis plus valent Medici quam Caeſares. Solus ille perduxit nos ad annum " reparatae Salutis MDCCLXVI. Faxit idem precor, ut quod cuique noſtrum vitae ſu- " pereſt, id pie ſimul et hilariter tranſigamus."

* For theſe it will be ſufficient to refer to the publication itſelf, p. xi. et ſeqq.

Cursory Remarks on Dr. Wotton's Edition * of the Laws of Howell Dda, 1730.

BOOKS, like the writers of them, owe their ſucceſs to time, chance, recommendation, ſingularity, or merit. From one or other of theſe motives we might have expected the *Welch Laws*, publiſhed by the late Dr. Wotton, to have had a better fate. The author was encouraged by the late Archbiſhop [Wake]; and ſo numerous were the ſubſcribers, that he was obliged to increaſe the number of copies he firſt began printing, and to reprint 60 ſheets to ſatisfy this growing patronage. In what then did it balk their expectations? They perhaps thought they ſhould have had a code of laws of the Ancient Britains repreſenting their Police before the times of the Romans.

Had they any reaſon to be angry if they were undeceived in this particular? If truth be the end of all our reſearches, it is no great matter whether the event prove agreeable to our prepoſſeſſions, or remove them: of the two the latter one would think ſhould be the more eſteemed, as it partakes more of a new diſcovery. Upon a general view of the thing, were not theſe laws as likely to be *uſeful*, when found to be drawn up on a plan of the Saxon government, as if they had been older than Julius Cæſar's time?

The editor then, at firſt ſetting out, examines an enquiry into the truth of that opinion which had been ſwayed by Leland, Bale, Pits, Priſe, Sheringham, Silas Taylor, Rowland, Hunter, Lluyd, &c. of a body of laws being drawn up by Dunwallo Molmutius many ages before Howell Dda, obſerves there are three teſtimonies beſides that, of little authority, taken from Jeoffrey of Monmouth, and makes a laugh of its forgery, as it contradicts all true hiſtory.

The next teſtimony is from Alured of Beverley, which the editor of him, Mr. Thomas Hearne, would make more ancient than Jeoffrey of Monmouth. But our author has fixed his age from his own account of himſelf, ſome time after the Council of Weſtminſter, which was held in 1141, as is evident from Malmeſbury, who ſays Eaſter was that year the 3d kal. April or Mar. and yet the editions print it 1142, as has Sir H. Spelman, and, notwithſtanding this admonition, the learned editor of Engliſh Councils. This

* See the "Anecdotes," pp. 50. 73. 142. 529.

 authority

authority of Alured of Beverley is no more than that of Jeoffrey of Monmouth, from whom he copies.

The next is of Caradoc of Lancarvon, who brought his hiſtory of Wales down to 1156, ſixteen years after Jeoffrey's Hiſtory came out, and was never publiſhed except in Engliſh, 1584, with many marks of additions by his tranſlator Humphry Lluyd. So that at firſt view it is a book little to be depended on. This book improves the ſtory of the Molmutian laws, by letting Dunwallo's Queen Mertia appear in the title of them when Alfred had tranſlated them into Saxon. And yet Biſhop Nicolſon has ſhewn abundantly that the Saxons never heard of any laws under that title.

As to the credibity of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it is little to be depended on, if we may believe two of his contemporary writers, one of them his countryman, William of Newburgh and Giraldus Cambrenſis. Newburgh's teſtimony againſt him David Powel would take off, by urging, that he wanted to ſucceed Jeoffrey of Monmouth in the biſhoprick of St. Aſaph, about A. D. 1165; but was repulſed by the Welſh prince, from whence he bore a ſpleen againſt the Welſh nation. I muſt obſerve that David Powel cites authorities for this that never yet were produced; that it differs from better hiſtory, which makes it more poſſible for Newburgh, though ſo old, to ſtand for a biſhoprick when Jeoffrey died.

Having ſhewn the authority urged for theſe laws of Molmutius to be without foundation, he then ſays, that it is impoſſible there ſhould have been any ſuch, by examining into the ſtate of the Britains, from the firſt notices we have of them under Julius Cæſar, who expreſſly tells us, that the Druids, who preſerved theſe laws, made a part of their religion to commit none to writing.

Claudius was the firſt that reduced part of Britain to a Roman province, which from his time was governed, as other provinces were, by the laws of their conquerors. As a proof that Britain was ſo, he gives you the oldeſt inſcription that has yet been found in Britain, to a better purpoſe where it is legible, and better applied where it is not, than it ever was produced before; by which it appears, that Cogidubuus, a king of the Regni, was admitted to a citizenſhip of Rome, if not made Claudius's lieutenant here. This inſcription is the more lucky as it ſerves to remove the great Stillingfleet's miſtake, who, obſerving in his time fewer remains of Roman antiquities among the Regni, concludes that, contrary to the uſual cuſtom of provinces, they had the exerciſe of their own laws allowed them. To the authority of this inſcription, he adds the teſtimony

teſtimony of hiſtory, which tells us that the Britains, like other conquered provinces, every day became Roman citizens, and conſequently were governed by Roman laws. A proof it is the famous victory, not rightly underſtood, of Boadicia at Camalodunum and Verulamium, where there were 70 or 80 thouſand citizens and allies ſlain, among whom there were few of them ſoldiers. Whence then ſo numerous a ſlaughter, but among the Britains themſelves, their fellow-citizens and allies, with their new conquerors? And yet in how obſcure, or rather falſe light, do our hiſtorians repreſent this villainy! In this maſſacre about 7000 Romans and their aſſociates loſt their lives, ſays Milton.

Our author then tells us through what channels juſtice was adminiſtered, viz. by the emperor's lieutenant chiefly; only in matters relating to the treaſury his procurator had a particular juriſdiction: the former by an uncertain kind of rule, indeed partly conformable to the prætor's edicts at Rome, or the emperor's on particular occaſions, or his own when he ſat, till Hadrian formed what was called the *Edictum perpetuum*, which was afterwards divided into *Edictum Urbanum et Provinciale*, which was a fixt and written law for the provinces to go by. This was aboliſhed by Caracalla, who extended the rights of Rome to all the provinces, unleſs to thoſe who had the privilege allowed them of following their own laws.

The Britains having been thus governed by a Roman law for near 400 years, the juriſdiction of the Druids was ſufficiently worn out. Upon the departure of the Romans, A. D. 449, the Saxons, a new enemy, ſucceeded; who, about A. D. 504, reduced the poor Britains to the boundaries of the river Wye and the Severn. During theſe ſtruggles for liberty, we ſee no footſteps revived of the ancient Druid diſcipline. In time the animoſity againſt theſe new conquerors ſubſided, and in the 8th century it was decreed that the Britains ſhould receive the Roman Paſchal cycle and tonſure, Elbodius being arch biſhop of St. David's, who by the way is falſely after David Powel ſtyled archbiſhop of South Wales, Elbodius Archiepiſcopus Venedotiæ, inſtead of *Veredotiæ*. The Welſh and Saxons being thus united by religious and civil intercourſe, Howel the Good firſt drew up this body of written laws, in conformity to the Saxons, in a great council held about 942 or 943. The æra of them our author ſettles from the time of the expulſion of the Northumbrians in the Saxon Chronicle, in which our hiſtorians were much divided.

Nor were they leſs ſo, whether theſe laws were drawn up on a Saxon plan, which our author proves they were, by an induction of particulars. Mulcts were paid by both, for murder and other crimes; part to be paid to the king, part to the kindred of the injured party. Among both, it was allowed to appeal to the written law, when either of the parties thought himſelf injured by the deciſion of the judge; which ſhews that the judges, having always in court what the Saxons called *Domboc*, was not only, as Hickes would have it, a *mark* of the office, but as a neceſſary appendage to his execution of it.

Another remarkable inſtance of conformity between the two nations, is in the two ſorts of Compurgators made uſe of among them, the Greater and the Leſs, from the quality of each; the former not ſo called from being more in number, as Dr. Hickes maintains, but, as the Welſh laws clearly prove, from their better condition and quality. In the former the verdict was not good unleſs they all agreed; in the latter it was ſo though one third diſſented. Here then we have the cleareſt and the moſt ancient proof of the original of our juries, the boaſt this day of the Engliſh nation.

Mulcts were uſually paid in cattle; not but that they had the uſe of money (though none of it has yet been diſcovered), as appears from the laws againſt coining it. But the names of the different pieces they borrowed partly from the Roman, and ſome from their Saxon conquerors, which they retain to this day.

Another agreement was in the value of a pound, of 240 pence, which leads our author to ſettle a difficulty about which our antiquaries had long contended.

The Saxons had two ſorts of land, Bocland and Folcland; the former of which they could ordinarily alienate, unleſs there was an entail to the contrary. In Wales the lands were chiefly of the latter kind, in which they came nearer to what Tacitus tells us was the cuſtom of the ancient Germans. To omit other particulars of agreement, the prieſt and lay-judge ſat in court together to exerciſe juriſdiction.

The names of titles of honour were borrowed from the Saxons, as *Edling*, from Æbling, Noble, the title of the king's eldeſt ſon, under the decline of the Roman empire, which, according to Pancirolus, was firſt given to *Licinius Valerianus*; and yet, we obſerve, an inſcription found in Cumberland

land very happily diſcovers that it was given more early to Philippus Junior. And Selden obſerves *, that the title was at laſt attributed to thoſe of ſomewhat inferior dignity, which is what Pitiſcus was not aware of by his not being able, through his want of underſtanding the Engliſh tongue, to fetch out the treaſures of learning in that work; and ſhews moreover the advantage it has over Pancirolus's, from whence it is ſaid to have been taken.

Theſe laws, called by the name of Howel, as chiefly drawn up under him, yet mention many cuſtoms much later, even down as low as the Norman times. Mr Wharton was not aware of this: though he ſuſpected the diviſion of pariſhes in Wales to be as ancient as theſe laws, yet from their mention of *Domus Capellanus Villæ* he could not tell how to get rid of the argument. Def. of Plur. c. II. A proof of ſome cuſtoms being later than the Normans is the mention of ſome feudal ones, ſuch as fines paid to the lord by the tenant when he married a daughter. Here ſome light is given to a paſſage in Liber Conſualis, and another in the Honor of Richmond, which were ſcarcely to be underſtood without theſe laws.

Some cuſtoms, however, here are not borrowed either from the Saxons or Normans; remains of their original police before they had any laws in writing. Such in particular is *Gavelkind*, from whence our author takes occaſion to examine Mr. Somner's book on that ſubject, which though Serjeant Wright has ſince treated of in his Diſcourſe on Feudal Tenures, this preface will receive no diſadvantage from the compariſon. Under this head he takes occaſion to correct Cowel, and all that have followed him.

* * * * * *

* In his Titles of Honour.

LETTERS

LETTERS occaſioned by the Publications of two LEARNED DIVINES *.

LETTER I.

To the Printer of the ST. JAMES's CHRONICLE.

SIR, *April* 2, 1766.

THE attention of the Literati has been much engaged lately in the controverſy between a Right Rev. Biſhop, and a late Profeſſor of the Univerſity of Oxford; but, upon an impartial view of the conduct of theſe two learned diſputants, as well as an examination into the merits of the point in queſtion, a bye-ſtander will be apt to ſay, *adhuc ſub judice lis eſt*: and for this reaſon, becauſe each of them lays claim to firſt-rate authorities for the eſtabliſhment of their reſpective opinions, which, though at preſent they ſeem to be diametrically oppoſite, yet a ſmall abatement of the acrimony which ſeems to have got the aſcendancy over them, may bring them to a better mind, and incite them to exert their kind endeavours in the ſame great cauſe which their profeſſion demands from them, and to which their abilities muſt be allowed admirably fitted. If this ſhould be the caſe (as is much to be wiſhed), we may have a chance of ſeeing their difficulties reconciled, and both their great works ſo perfectly complete, as to be the ſtandard of future ages, as they are the admiration of the preſent. The ſerious and well-diſpoſed mind cannot but be hurt, when it obſerves perſons ſo confeſſedly eminent and ingenious, as the Biſhop and the Profeſſor are, treating each other in the manner they have done. They need not be told how much the cauſe of Truth and Religion ſuffers by ſuch intemperate management, and what encouragement it gives to little philoſophers to diſcard all notions of religion upon the diſagreement of the moſt learned of its profeſſors.—It muſt be allowed, that the Profeſſor's pamphlet was bought and read with the utmoſt avidity; it muſt likewiſe be allowed that there is merit in its compoſition; but the peculiarity of its ſtyle, and the half jeſt, and half earneſt of it, would have been better fitted againſt a Hobbes, or a Bolingbroke, than againſt the author of Divine Legation.

* See the "Anecdotes," p. 365.

On

On the other hand, the Note in Divine Legation, which was the occaſion of this pamphlet, cannot altogether be juſtified; but the proper place to have taken notice of it would have been in a new edition of the *Prælectiones*; for what difference is it, to be ſtuck up in an eighteen-penny or a ſix-penny pamphlet? none in the leaſt. The very name of a pamphlet now-a-days immediately conveys to my mind the idea of ſcurrility however, be the cauſe of reſentment ever ſo juſtifiable on the Profeſſor's part: but I think the liberty he has taken to publiſh the Biſhop's letters, cannot by any means be juſtified, though the letters do the Biſhop the greateſt honour; for there is ſuch an openneſs and generoſity of temper which breathes through the whole of them, that will be found to have more real merit in them, than any fancied havoc which is threatened againſt the Divine Legation.

In the further peruſal of this famous pamphlet, I cannot help expreſſing the indignation which I felt on the contemptuous treatment which Dr. Bentley meets with there, which is ungenerous and unmanly. Surely Dr. Bentley did not deſerve this aſperity of treatment; for though it may be ſaid that he gave up too much of his time to the minutiæ of learning, yet as long as his confutation of Atheiſm can be read, wherein Spinoziſm, &c. are ſo effectually taken up by the roots, he will be entitled to reſpect from Chriſtians of all denominations, but more eſpecially from his brethren, the clergy. I am, Sir, yours, &c. IL MODERATO.

LETTER II.

SIR, *April* 24.

I DARE anſwer for it that neither of the late eccleſiaſtical diſputants will thank *Il Moderato* for the arguments he has uſed to reconcile them. Each (he tells us) *lays claim to firſt-rate authorities.*

"What!" ſays the Biſhop, "does he mean the Jewiſh commentators "which Dr. L. produces (and he produces no other), to prove that Ido- "latry was puniſhed by the judge under the Patriarchs!"

On the other hand he owns, *The Note in Divine Legation, which was the occaſion of this pamphlet, cannot be altogether juſtified.* "Was a ſingle note," will Dr. L. ſay, "the occaſion of this pamphlet? I had reaſon, and ſo "had every good Chriſtian, to be offended with the whole Appendix."

I beg leave to tell Il Moderato a ſtory, which perhaps happened before he was born.

When the Divine Legation firſt came out, one of the opponents being convinced of miſrepreſenting it, began to relent and retract. Upon which a Letter was inſerted in the Daily Memoirs of thoſe times, whether from the author or his friends I will not pretend to ſay, in words to this effect; the very identity of the laſt I am ſure of.

" Near that famed place where the city Naïads diſembogue their ſable " ſtreams into the ſilver Thames, a good woman ſat crying oyſters. *What!* " *all the good people go by*, ſays ſhe, *and none of them buy my oyſters?* At " length, a ſurly porter paſſing on with bended ſhoulders, and with empha- " tic voice, crys out, No COAXING, YOU BITCH."

Good *Moderato*, beware! Z. Z.

LETTER III.

SIR,

I L Moderato, in your Paper of April 22, diſcovers, in the Letters of a learned Prelate, lately publiſhed, an openneſs and generoſity of temper which charms him. Private correſpondence, it muſt be owned, lays open the diſpoſitions of the reſpective writers; but ſets them in a different light to different readers. However, where two correſpondents keep copies of the Letters they ſend (as one did here, and probably both), they write with caution, and under reſtraint; and when ſuch are publiſhed, there is little breach of confidence, for none ſubſiſted between them. Let us ſee what concluſions may be fairly drawn from one or two of the Letters which I Moderato calls upon us to admire.

From Letters III. and IV. it appears, that Mr. Lowth (the father of the late Profeſſor) ſent ſome notes to Mr. Reading, to be inſerted in his edition of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians; in which he had charged Baſnage with wilfully ſuppreſſing the unexceptionable evidence of Ammianus Marcellinus, concerning the deſtruction of the Temple by lightning; and had likewiſe made an application of the meteoric appearance of croſſes, from Caſaubon's Adverſaria, to this ſubject. Both theſe circumſtances the Biſhop likewiſe had taken notice of in his Julian, without knowing that they were pre-occupied by Mr. Lowth, till he was informed of it by Dr. Jortin, when, it ſeems, he had finiſhed his book, and it was half-printed off.

Query

Query 1. Was this notice imparted by Dr. Jortin, while the firſt edition of Julian was printing, or before the ſecond was put to the preſs? If the latter, why was no mention made of it in the ſecond edition at leaſt? For (2), it was communicated time enough for his Lordſhip to charge Mr. Lowth, very undeſervedly, with an uncharitable reflection on Baſnage, in Julian, 2d edit. p. 256, but too late, it ſeems, to acknowledge that Mr. Lowth had made the two obſervations above, which makes ſo great a figure in the Biſhop's work: ſo eaſy is it with ſome perſons to find occaſion for cenſure! ſo hard to find room for praiſe! (3) The cenſure on Mr. Lowth is manifeſtly proved to be unjuſt. Does his Lordſhip any where retract it? No, he promiſes, indeed, to ſtrike it out in a future edition. But why? Not becauſe he was himſelf in an error, but out of a tender regard to the filial piety of the late Profeſſor. *Credo, præ amore excludet hinc foras.* But (4), when his Lordſhip, in his Julian, cenſured Mr. Lowth, why were we not referred to the place where Mr. Lowth was guilty of what he is charged with? It would have been but fair to have referred us to the note in Reading's edition of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, which a common reader was at a loſs to know, till this private correſpondence laid it open. I know of no good reaſon for this procedure with the publick; unleſs it was, that, had he cited Reading's edition, we ſhould there have diſcovered the obſervations on Caſaubon's narration, and on Baſnage's omitting the teſtimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, which the Biſhop deſcants upon, already anticipated. But, for fear that ſhould appear, he lets off his random cenſure of Mr. Lowth, and conceals from us where the foundation of it is laid.

But Il Moderato is charmed, I ſuppoſe, with the delicacy of the Biſhop, who declares, "no Author was ever more averſe to take to himſelf what "belonged to another."

Shall I tell him a ſecret? The buſkined proſe which Dr. Lowth has cited [Letters, p. 66] from another work of the Biſhop's, is taken from Milton's Areopagiticæ, Works, 4to, Vol. I. p. 168, only ſomewhat mangled, and in a good meaſure ſpoiled. The words of Milton run thus:

"Methinks I ſee, in my mind, a noble puiſſant nation rouſing herſelf like a ſtrong man after ſleep, and ſhaking her invincible locks. Methinks I ſee her as an eagle nurſing her mighty youth, and kindling her undaz-

zled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unſealing her long-abuſed ſight at the fountain itſelf of heavenly radiance; while the whole noiſe of timorous and flocking birds, with thoſe alſo that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what ſhe mourns, and in their envious gabble would prognoſticate a year of ſects and ſchiſms."

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

PARRASIUS.

LETTER IV.

We have heard of the patience of Job, and almoſt as much of the dogmatical ſuperciliouſneſs of Dr. Bentley; but two late writers have made little uſe of the former, and (I think) have aggravated the latter beyond meaſure. The Biſhop indeed has ſometimes ſet Dr. B. in a more favourable light; but, as he tells us he ſuggeſted to the Poet the plan of the Fourth Dunciad, we may attribute the outlines of that character to him. If the inhumanity with which that great Critic is charged is owing to the ſtigma fixed on him by the Hon. Mr. Boyle, every one who reads the Preface to his Remarks on Phalaris muſt acquit him.

And I will venture to ſay there is not a Librarian now living who would equal the candour and prudence of his behaviour at that juncture.—With regard to his ſuperciliouſneſs in his writings on that controverſy, they ſpeak for themſelves; and let poſterity judge of them. But I will mention one particular *, where he owns an error with ſuch openneſs as does honour to humanity; and I would recommend the example to the two late writers, who have left abundant occaſion for it * * * * * * * *

* This alludes to the epigram of Callimachus, which both Bentley and Madam Daciere had miſunderſtood, as he ingenuouſly acknowledges in the Preface to his "Diſſertation," p. lix. ed. 1699.

NOTES

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF JULIAN *.

P. 326. Ἰκλιανὸς μεθ' Τίγριν] Julian was buried at Tarſus. How then can it be ſaid in his epitaph, that he lies ἔνθαδε κεῖται, μεθ' Τίγριν? This is an elliptical way of ſpeech among the Greeks, in which they underſtand ἐλθών, or ſome ſuch word. So Herodotus in Urania, Ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόνησον, καὶ Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἦλέ τε ἐς Αθήνας, &c. *Exercitus enim cum Xerxe Bœotiam ingreſſus, incenſa Theſpienſium urbe, quam ipſi deſertam reliquerant, in* PELOPONNESUM FUGIENTES, *& ſimiliter Platæenſium, Athenas pervenit, &c.* —Diod. XLIV. p. 242, μεθά τε τὰς ἀνοχὰς, τὰς Λατίνας ἐπίκλησιν, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ΜΕΤΑ τῶ Ἄλβανῶ ἐσελάννειν—ut ipſe foris Latinis peractis *ex Albano* in urbem curru inveheretur. The edd. now read ἐκ τῶ Ἀλβανῶ; but it was heretofore μεθά, as Pighius in his Annals cites it, and would correct it, Vol. III. p. 63, but whether juſtly or not may be matter of doubt.

P. 333. *Chriſtianized.*] Pere Harduin mentions one or two coins with the monogram on the Labarum; but, if they are genuine, they denote the *faith* of the army, not of the Emperor, two ſtandard bearers ſupporting the enſign. It is certain, he ſays, in the ſame year, another coin is found of Conſtantinus junior, who, with the Claudian family, adhered to heatheniſm all his life. Hard. Num. Sec. Conſt. p. 473, c. 1. ed. folio, op. ſelect. The gold coin of Conſtantine, which Euſebius thinks was ſtruck on the occaſion of the viſion in the ſky, has never yet been ſeen. Ibid.

P. 333-4, Bonus Eventus was a *male* Deity, and Fortune a *female* Deity.] This diſtinction is preſerved in the Engliſh language to this day, and every one will diſapprove of Mr. Francis's turn given to Horace, 2 Sat. vi.

> *Nor yet to* CHANCE *this happineſs I owe,*
> *Friendſhip like yours* SHE *had not to beſtow.*

Where *ſhe*, though proper to be ſaid of Fortune, is very improperly applied to CHANCE †.

* See the "Anecdotes," p. 185.

† This inſtance has been elſewhere uſed by Mr. Bowyer. See above, p. 473.

NOTES

NOTES on Biſhop WARBURTON'S JULIAN.

P. 31, l. 17, For "civil tribunals," ſhould be read "civil offices." See Jortin's Rem. on Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 223.

It has been ſaid, that if the Jews had rebuilt their temple under Julian, yet they would not have had time to make uſe of it, becauſe his Chriſtian ſucceſſor would have pulled it down, or converted it into a church. But if it was not fit that the Jews ſhould have a temple, it might ſurely be as *proper that God himſelf ſhould interpoſe*, as that he ſhould leave it to the chriſtians. Jortin, ibid. p. 389. Compare this with what Mr. W. ſays of a *waſte of miracles*.

P. 32. Forbidding the Chriſtians to teach humanity and the ſciences.] Lege data prohibiti ſunt Chriſtiani docere *Literaturam* & *Oratoriam*, Aug. Conſt. l. viii. c. 4. i. e. Grammar and Rhetoric, as Valeſius obſerves in Valeſiana, p. 65. And what is this but a ſimilar law of our own times, which prohibits all, who will not take the oaths, from being ſchool-maſters?

P. 73, l. 15, 16. He cannot allude to his reſtoration of idolatry, for that had not been reſtored *three* years, nor yet two. In the ſpring of the year 363, it was not more than three years ſince he had been declared *Auguſtus* by the ſoldiers in Gaul; nor yet quite a year and half ſince his being ſole Auguſtus; and not more than two years ſince he at all made an open profeſſion of Helleniſm, allowing him to have begun to make it when he was in Illyricum, before the death of Conſtantius. Julian, in this place, probably, uſes a definite for an indefinite number; as, in his work againſt the Chriſtians, he ſays, *he will demonſtrate the laws of Moſes* [to have been deſigned to be everlaſting] *not from ten, but from ten thouſand paſſages of Moſes himſelf. Lardner's* Coll. of *Ancient Jewiſh and Heathen Teſt.* Vol. IV.

P. 74. l. penult. Or, if Julian is to be underſtood literally, we may ſuppoſe that he refers to the ſubverſion of Jeruſalem and the Jewiſh people in the time of Adrian, ſpoken of by Euſebius in his Hiſtory and his Chronicle, and other writers. Lardner, ubi ſupra.

That Julian never began to rebuild the temple at Jeruſalem has been, ſince the publication of Dr. Warburton's book, made probable by Mr. Lardner.

I. In

I. In his letter to the community of the Jews, he defires their prayers for the profperity of his reign; tells them, that, "if he fucceeded in his war with the Perfians, he WOULD rebuild their holy city of Jerufalem." But he did not fucceed in the war; and he never returned from Perfia: therefore, he never fet about rebuilding Jerufalem, or the temple there; nor did he, at the time of writing that letter, intend to fet about it, unlefs he firft fucceeded in the war with the Perfians.

II. It is not likely, at fuch a juncture, he fhould fet about fuch an arduous work. He was fenfible he fhould want all the refources of money and treafure for his Perfian expedition.

III. Ammianus Marcellinus might take up this ftory from fome Chriftians without examination. He was credulous, as appears from other parts of his Hiftory, particularly l. xviii. c. 3.

IV. The hiftory of this event, as related by Chriftian writers, is loaded with pretended miracles, which appear to be incredible; that by divine interpofition croffes were formed in the air, and impreffed with a *fine embroidery* or *painting* upon men's bodies or garments: not to mention other things filly and trifling. But all God's works have a dignity becoming himfelf.

V. There was no need of miracles to hinder the execution of this attempt, if it had been begun. Julian did not live long. Suppofing the Jews to have begun in his reign to erect the temple, the Chriftian Emperors who fucceeded him would take care that they fhould not proceed. If they had fet about the work A. D. 363, they could not have done a great deal before Julian died.

VI. There are feveral Chriftian writers who have faid nothing of this affair, who were very likely to mention it if there was any truth in it: *Jerome* particularly, *Prudentius*, and *Orofius*. The firft, on Dan. xi. 34, tells us that prophecy was by fome applied to Julian, who pretended to love the Jews, and promifed to offer facrifices in their temple; but fays not a word of his attempting to rebuild it. Prudentius has gone over the hiftory of Julian's reign, and of the Jewifh people; but nothing of Julian's attempt to rebuilt their temple; and yet he was contemporary with Julian, being born A. D. 348.

Orofius,

Oroſius, not far below the beginning of the fifth century, who ſeems to hint at all Julian's incivilities to the Chriſtians, ſays nothing of his attempting to rebuild the temple in oppoſition to them—nor does Cyril of Alexandria, in his books againſt Julian, or in any other of his works, ſay a word of it.—Zonaras's mention of it in the XIIth century deſerves no notice.

W. B.

REMARKS on Dr. JOHNSON's Criticiſm on POPE's Epitaphs.

THAT pruriency of finding fault, which is the eſſential part of a critic, ſometimes blunts his underſtanding, as at other times it ſharpens it. I ſubmit whether the former effect is not diſcoverable in Dr. Johnſon's Remarks on ſome of Mr. Pope's Epitaphs:

> " Kneller, by heaven, and not a maſter taught,
> Whoſe art was nature, and whoſe pictures thought,
> Now for two ages having ſnatch'd from fate
> Whate'er was beauteous, or whate'er was great,
> Lies crown'd with princes' honours, poets' lays,
> Due to his merit, and brave thirſt of praiſe.
> Living, great Nature fear'd he might outvie
> Her works; and, dying, fears herſelf may die."

The fourth couplet, he ſays, wants grammatical conſtruction, the word *dying* being no ſubſtantive. In the name of elegance, what does he mean? What would he do with a ſubſtantive if he had it—if *dying*, for inſtance, was changed into *death?* The conſtruction, ſurely, is clear enough: take it in the manner of Stirling, the ſchoolmaſter; KNELLER *living* (ablative abſolute), *Nature fear'd he might outvie her works; and,* KNELLER *dying, fears herſelf may die.* The *Latin*, perhaps, may make it clearer; for Dr. Johnſon did not at firſt tell his readers, that theſe lines are no more than a tranſlation of an epitaph on Raphael:

Hic ſitus eſt Raphael; timuit, quo ſoſpite, vinci
Rerum magna parens, & moriente mori.

The line, "Lies crown'd with princes' honours, poets' lays," I, for my part, can eaſily bear; but the following, "Due to his merit, and brave thirſt of praiſe," I own, is not worthy of its place, and is made not ſo much for ſenſe as rhyme.

On Mr. Pope's epitaph on Gay, Dr. Johnſon's obſervation is very true, "that works of imagination are often influenced by cauſes wholly out of the performer's power, by hints of which he perceives not the origin." But I will beg leave to remind him of another, viz. that every thing has two handles; and a more candid reflection might ariſe on the epitaph before us. Mr. Pope was remarkably delicate in all his praiſes; he did not laviſh out flattery where there was no foundation for it, and therefore tempers his love for his friend with the niceſt diſcrimination and propriety.

Of this I think we have an inſtance, in his Imitations of Horace, Book II. Ep. vi. where, while he tells us what Geniuſes the Law has ſpoilt, he laments an Ovid loſt in Lord Mansfield. A more fulſome panegyriſt would have ſaid, a Homer, Virgil, and a Milton, were ſunk in him alone. I mention this the rather becauſe his Right Reverend Annotator ſays, that epiſtle is writ *con amore*. It may have all the excellences he gives it; but the poet refrains himſelf within due bounds when he ſpeaks of the patron of it. Read now the epitaph on Gay, as dictated by the ſame turn of mind, and we ſhall admire the amiable friendſhip of the ſurviving poet, and the juſt character of the dead one.

After all, we are obliged to Dr. Johnſon for his Remarks; and if he had at his leiſure continued to write annotations on Mr. Pope, I will venture to ſay that, notwithſtanding the labours of a venerable Prelate, the world would *at leaſt* have diſpenſed with them. W. B.

To the Printer of the UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

SIR,

UPON a view of the Printer's Letter Caſe in your Magazine, one or two obſervations occurred to me, which may ſuggeſt others to your numerous readers.

In the firſt place, I admire the apt diſpoſal of the letters; thoſe placed neareſt at hand which occur the oftenеſt; *z*, *x*, and all the double letters, removed to the greateſt diſtance.

Then I ſee, by the different capacity of the ſeveral boxes, in what proportion each letter occurs. The vowels, and *c*, *d*, *r*, *n*, *m*, *t*, *h*, the oftenеſt: but, above all, the vowel *e* in the Engliſh language half as often again as any of the reſt. A circumſtance, which the ladies and the ſhort-hand-writers take advantage of.

In the next place, I would obſerve, that, as it is natural for a letter to fall from its proper box into a neighbouring one, it would not be amiſs for the Critics to try a new method of accounting for faults in the ſeveral editions of books, which has not yet been hit upon. From the ſimilitude of ſound in ſome letters, and of ſhape in others, their ſagacity has reſtored many an error: but a new field of glory would be opened, were they all to turn Compoſitors; a proper reward, for having laſhed the *Scribes*, to become *Printers*.

I am yours,

MECHANICO-CRITICUS.

OBSERVA-

OBSERVATIONS on the Sixth Chapter of DANIEL.

1. WE are totally unacquainted with Darius the Mede, who muſt have reigned at Babylon between the death of Nebuchadnezzar and the reign of Cyrus in that city. The moſt authentic monuments of Antiquity afford us only three or four princes during that period. We may add to them (if we pleaſe) the Cyaxares of Xenophon, who probably never reigned at Babylon; and the Aſtyages, grand-father of Cyrus, who certainly never did. Every circumſtance of the names, characters, and hiſtory of theſe princes, which could bear the leaſt analogy to the Darius of Daniel, has been minutely ſifted; but all in vain! A more elaborate enquiry would be improper in this place. Let any fair reaſoner peruſe what Scaliger, Marſham, Prideaux, Freret, Sir Iſaac Newton, &c. have publiſhed on this head: he muſt acknowledge, that each of theſe learned men has completely refuted his adverſary; and that, amongſt them, they have proved all their various ſyſtems to be equally deſtitute of truth or probability. What then muſt a ſtory appear, whoſe principal perſonage ſeems to have no more than a fabulous exiſtence?

2. Darius the Mede appointed Daniel the firſt of the three preſidents who were ſet over the 120 princes or governors of his empire. So great a promotion excited the jealouſy of the Babylonians againſt a foreigner. I have nothing here to object. Such a jealouſy and deſire of ſupplanting the miniſter is perfectly agreeable to the practice of all courts, ancient and modern. But, not being able to find the leaſt flaw in his adminiſtration, they were obliged to attack his religion. Had they forgot in how wonderful a manner the God of Iſrael protected his ſervants? They muſt have been witneſſes of the miracle wrought but a few years before in the plains of Dara; the ſurpriſing deliverance of the three children from the fiery furnace, and the royal edict, which in conſequence of it was publiſhed among all nations. Blind zealots have ſacrificed every after-thought to the dictates of their preſent fury; but crafty ſtateſmen would not have choſen a plan of revenge, which promiſed nothing but danger and deſtruction to themſelves.

3. Daniel's enemies obtained an edict from the King, That no perſon, under the penalty of being caſt into the Lion's den, ſhould, during thirty days, aſk any thing either of God or man, ſave of the king only; that is, in other words, that all religious worſhip of every denomination ſhould be prohibited during thirty days. Can ſuch an edict be paralleled in hiſtory? Particular ſects have been often perſecuted; but this prohibition extended equally to the eſtabliſhed religion, and forbad what every age, nation, and religion, has always conſidered as the firſt and moſt important duty of man. The maddeſt of the Cæſars, in their mad pretenſions to divinity, never attempted to ſhut up the temples of Rome, much leſs to forbid under pain of death all worſhip, private as well as public. Yet Darius, who is repreſented as a man of ſenſe and humanity, conſents to ſo extraordinary a prohibition, for which he could have no ſort of inducement. Let me add, that were it poſſible to find any reaſon totally to aboliſh divine worſhip, there could be none for ſuſpending it during the arbitrary term of thirty days.

4. The edict was publiſhed, and ratified according to the law of the Medes and Perſians, which altereth not. Daniel, regardleſs of the event, ſtill continued his private devotions. His enemies, who watched all his motions, ſeized the lucky opportunity, accuſed him before the king, and called loudly for the execution of juſtice. Darius wiſhed to have ſaved his favourite; but was much ſurpriſed to find himſelf embarraſſed in the unfortunate conſequences of his own edict. I ſhould be glad to know what were thoſe unforeſeen conſequences, which ſeem to have aſtoniſhed him. That the laws of the Medes and Perſians were irrevocable, and that the king could never recall the conſent which he had once given to them? It is ſcarcely conceivable that a Mede (take the word in any ſenſe) could know nothing of the nature of the laws of his own country, whilſt the Babylonian miniſters were ſo perfectly acquainted with them. Or, did he ſuppoſe that all religious worſhip would be ſilenced by his edict, and that a general perſecution would produce no martyrs? So profound an ignorance of human nature is ſtill more incomprehenſible, and yet I ſee no medium between theſe two ſuppoſitions.

5. The moſt learned reader will be a good deal in Darius's ſituation, as to any knowledge of thoſe irrevocable laws. None of the ancients, who have treated the moſt copiouſly of the Perſian hiſtory and conſtitution, have ever

ever given us the ſmalleſt hint of them. Such laws, indeed, ſeem only to agree with the nature of a limited monarchy; like ours, for inſtance, where the ſovereign gives his ſanction to the reſolutions of his great council; reſolutions which he authorizes, but which he cannot afterwards repeal. It would be diſplaying a very idle learning, to prove that the Medes and Perſians, at leaſt from the time of their union, were plunged in the moſt abject ſlavery, and that the will of this monarch was the only law they were acquainted with.

6. The miracle which ſaved Daniel determined very little the merits of the cauſe, and not in the leaſt the guilt of the accuſers. How then could it operate ſuch a revolution as to enable the ſame prince, who juſt before had ſacrificed his favourite to the clamours of the grandees, to order 122 of thoſe ſame grandees to be caſt into the Lion's den, with their innocent wives and children? So quick a tranſition from the moſt confined authority to the moſt boundleſs deſpotiſm can be accounted for upon no principle which I can diſcover.

7. I ſhall diſmiſs this ſubject with an obſervation on the edict of Darius, by which he commands all nations to tremble before the God of Daniel, who is the living God, who worketh great wonders both in heaven and upon the earth, and whoſe kingdom ſhall not be deſtroyed. Here I find the ſame fault which hiſtorians are often guilty of, when they aſcribe Greek and Roman ideas to a Scythian or an Indian. A miracle is *always* to the *believer* a proof of ſupernatural Power; but it is only to Chriſtians, or a Jew already convinced of the Divine Unity that it can prove its Author omnipotent and eternal. A Polytheiſt, like Darius, would have acknowledged the power of the God of Daniel, without indirectly renouncing his own gods, and thoſe of other nations, whoſe merits had never been tried on this occaſion.

Account

Account of the CHRONICON of DEXTER.

Tranſlated by Mr. BOWYER from M. CROUSAZ, Epit. de Syſteme du PERE HARDOUIN, p. 250, &c.

HIERONYMUS ROMANUS of Higuera, a Jeſuit of Toledo, obſerving in the works of St. Jerome, that Dexter, ſon of St. Pacian biſhop of Barcelona, had written an univerſal hiſtory towards the end of the fourth century, concluded he found a proper name and occaſion to ſubſtitute under the name of this author; in which, beſides the particular traditions of the Spaniards, he might eſtabliſh the antiquity of all the fabulous opinions of the Romiſh church. This work he publiſhed in 1594. He pretended that a Spaniſh Jeſuit, named Thomas of Torralta, had found it at Worms in Germany, in the poſſeſſion of a villager, who had it out of the library at Fulda; but not with any deſign to keep it, but to take only a copy of it. This work was ſoon ſpread through Spain; and as, among other fables which it contained, it mentioned miracles of certain pretended martyrs of Granada, buried in a neighbouring mountain, they did not fail to find, in the following year 1595, the pretended relicks of theſe martyrs, with plates of lead, upon which were engraved the hiſtories of them, with their prophecies, one part of which was in Arabic, the other in Spaniſh, ſuch as was ſpoke at the time of the diſcovery of theſe relicks; though they made the people believe that theſe pretended martyrs were buried in this mountain in the firſt ages of the church. The finding of theſe relicks, which were followed with many other miracles, which are never wanting on theſe occaſions, eſtabliſhed intirely the credit of the hiſtory of the falſe Dexter, which was made uſe of to diſcover the impoſture among the more enlightened people.

The Chronicon of Dexter, which till then had appeared only in Mſ. was firſt printed at Saragoſſa in 1599. It afterwards had many other editions; but the moſt famous was that at Lions in folio, 1627, with the Defence and Commentary of Francis Biver, a monk of St. Bernard at Madrid.

The Jeſuits need deſire nothing after this hiſtory. All the fabulous traditions of their church are eſtabliſhed in it; the maſs, the worſhip of relicks and images, the invocation of ſaints, the primacy of the Pope, the coming of St. Peter to Rome, that of St. James to Spain, prayers for the dead,

dead, and monkery; in a word, every thing in their religion the moſt contrary to the word of God. They have not omitted the coming of Dionyſius the Areopagite into France; and in other fables there is mention of the letter of the holy Virgin to the citizens of Meſſina.

Some learned Spaniards cenſured the aſſurance with which they durſt introduce ſo groſs an impoſture; but means were ſoon found to intimidate them. Bernard Aldrate, one of the moſt learned men of that time, is an excellent example of it. He had advanced, in a treatiſe of the Spaniſh tongue, that it was formed from a corruption of the Latin. How indubitable ſoever this opinion was, it ſeemed to leſſen the authority of the prophecies which had been found in the mountain near Granada. Aldrate knew very well *ce qu'il en devoit penſer*; however he was obliged to explain his ſentiments, which did not appear to interfere with this miraculous invention; and, to remove the doubts which he had raiſed, they obliged him to acknowledge the truth of thoſe falſe relicks, by a Latin inſcription which they extorted from him, and which he was forced to prefix to his excellent work of the Antiquities of Spain.

The fraud ſucceeded too well to ſtop here. They continued the Chronicon of Dexter, and they publiſhed a continuation from 430 to 612, under the name of Marcus Maximus, biſhop of Saragoſſa. This Chronicle diſcovered new martyrs and new relicks at Arjena in Andalouſia; and to theſe pretended martyrs, Francis Biver, who had ſignalized himſelf in the defence of the falſe Dexter, dedicated his new work, that appeared at Madrid in 1651, folio, with a long commentary, and a magnificent approbation of the Inquiſition.

SPECIMEN

SPECIMEN OF POPE'S ESSAY ON MAN, ATTEMPTED IN PROSE BY MR. BOWYER.

COME then, my friend, let us abandon the trifles of this world to the meanneſs of ambition, the prepoſterous pride of kings. Since life affords us no more than juſt to look round us before we quit it, let us borrow one moment of it to ſurvey this ſcene of Man; an amazing labyrinth, but not without its regularity; a wild, where the flower ſhoots forth promiſcuouſly with the thiſtle; a garden, which tempts us with forbidden fruit. Let us together beat over this extenſive field, and try what the open, what the covert contains. Let us explore the ſecret paths of whatever creeps in darkneſs, and the giddy flights of what is loſt in rapid elevation. Let us trace Nature's walk, ſhoot Folly in its flight, and catch the Manners as they riſe. Let us laugh where we ought *, and exerciſe our candour wherever it is poſſible; but, above all, let us juſtify to Man the ways of the Almighty †.

What can we affirm of God or Man, but by reaſoning conſequentially from what we know of each? Now what farther do we know of Man than juſt his ſtation in this world? from thence, then, all our reaſoning concerning him muſt proceed, and there muſt center. And as to God, though he manifeſts himſelf in worlds unnumbered, yet it is our buſineſs to ſearch him out only in our own. He, whoſe penetration pervades immenſity, who diſcerns how a multitude of worlds compoſe one univerſe, the connexion

* *Laugh where we muſt, be candid where we can.* The conciſeneſs here admits of ſome ambiguity. Does the Poet mean, that ſome of Man's actions are ſo ridiculous, that we cannot help laughing at them, that it exceeds all power of face to contain? In this ſenſe the words are matter of *indulgence* to a ſatirical obſerver. Or does he mean, that in ſome caſes we *muſt*, i. e. *ought*, to laugh; it becomes us to do ſo. Thus the words are a matter of *precept* to a ſerious contemplator. The former, though the more obvious ſenſe of the words, is leſs ſuitable to the ſpirit of the Poem; and therefore I have followed the latter. And yet perhaps I ſhall be accuſed of deviating from this ſpirit, when I obſerve that there is too cloſe a jingle between *candid* and *can*, which had better have been avoided.

† *To vindicate the ways of God to Man.* Not to vindicate the diſpenſations of Providence towards Man only, but to vindicate to Man its diſpenſations to all its creatures. This ſenſe would have been more eaſily ſeen, if a comma were inſerted after *God*, as I ſee it is in one edition, and only one, 1758.

and dependence which one ſyſtem hath on another, how one planet is open to another, what different inhabitants people every ſtar, may tell (and he only can) why God has made things as they appear to us. Have our pervading ſouls ſeen through the bearings and ties of the different parts of the univerſe, their ſtrong connexions, their nice dependencies, and their juſt gradations? Or can the whole be contained by the minuteſt particle of it?

Is the great chain, which attracts and unites all the parts, and by that union ſupports the whole, upheld in the hands of God, or Man?

Preſumptuous Man, would'ſt thou diſcover the reaſon why thou art formed ſo weak, ſo little, and ſo blind? Firſt, if thou canſt, find, what is more unaccountable, why thou art formed no weaker, no leſs, or no ſhorter-ſighted. Aſk of thy parent Earth, why oaks are formed taller and ſtronger than the ſhrubs which grow beneath them? Or aſk of the azure ſky, why Jupiter is larger than his Satellites?

If it is agreed, that, of all poſſible ſyſtems, infinite Wiſdom muſt form the beſt, in which all muſt be full, otherwiſe it would not be coherent, and every thing muſt riſe in its proper degree; then it is plain, that in the progreſſion of reaſonable beings there muſt be ſomewhere ſuch a creature as Man; and the whole queſtion is (how long ſoever we diſpute), whether God has placed him in a wrong ſtation?

Now, what we may call wrong in regard to Man, conſidered in relation to the whole, not only *may* be juſt, but muſt be ſo. In human works, though wrought with the utmoſt labour and moſt exquiſite art, a thouſand movements are neceſſary to gain one deſign. A ſingle one, in the works of God, not only produces the end it was intended for, but ſeconds ſome other. Thus Man, who of himſelf ſeems here the principal, acts perhaps only as a ſecond to ſome unknown ſphere, moves ſome wheel as a ſecond means to ſome end. We ſee but a part, not the whole.

When the proud ſteed ſhall know why his fiery courſe is reſtrained by his rider, or why he is urged croſs the plains: when the dull ox ſhall underſtand why he now is goaded on to break the clod, and now, an Ægyptian deity, is crowned with garlands; then ſhall Man, with his ſottiſh preſumption,

ſumption, comprehend the uſe and end of his actions, his paſſions, or his being; why he is a ſlave this hour, and the next adored. Let us not ſay then Man's imperfect, Heaven injurious. Man is as perfect as he ought to be: his being proportioned to his ſtation, and the place he fills in it; his time a moment, his ſpace a mathematical point. If he is to be made perfect in ſome ſphere or other, what matter is it whether ſooner or later, whether in this world or another? He who commenced his happineſs to-day, enjoys his eaſe as fully as the man that entered upon it a thouſand years ſince.

But let us ſee how he is provided for here: Heaven hides from all creatures the book of their deſtiny, except the page which contains the leſſon ſet them, that of their preſent condition: it conceals from beaſts the extent of Man's underſtanding, and from Man the extent of Angels; for were it otherwiſe, what creature could bear in this world to reflect on its own exiſtence*? Would the lamb, who is doomed this day a ſacrifice to luxury, bound o'er the fields, if burthened with thy reaſon? Gayſome to the laſt moment, he crops the flowery food, and licks the hand that's armed againſt its throat. Oh happy blindneſs to futurity, out of kind compaſſion allotted to us, that we may all fill the circle preſcribed by the Creator, who, as Lord of the whole, ſees with equal eye a hero periſh, or a ſparrow fall; ſyſtems or atoms jumbled; a world burſt, or a bubble!

Hope then with humility, and let thy thoughts tremble in their aſcent to heaven. Wait for death, the great inſtructor; and, in the mean time, adore the Divine Being, who conceals from thee thy future happineſs, but gives thee Hope, to be thy preſent good; a ſpring that flows inceſſantly in the heart of man, who is never bleſt, but always wiſhing to be ſo; whoſe reſtleſs ſoul is always panting for its home, or fixed on the ideas of im-

* In the original, *Or who could* SUFFER BEING *here below?* in which words it is dubious whether *being* is a Participle or a Subſtantive, whether the Poet meant, Who could BEAR TO BE *here*, or who could BEAR his BEING or EXISTENCE here. If the latter, why would he not with more preciſeneſs expreſs it, *Or who could* BEAR EXISTENCE *here below?* And yet the former conſtruction would be ſcarce Engliſh: For though we ſay *Who could bear to be here below*, yet not without impropriety, *Who could ſuffer to be here below*, becauſe *ſuffer* requires, as the Grammarians term it, ſome Accuſative after it. I have preſerved therefore the better ſenſe, and what the French tranſlation calls *qui pouvoit ici ſupporter ſon exiſtence?*

mortality,

mortality, whether it expatiates, or repoſes. This is a happineſs denied to no part of mankind. View the poor Indian, whoſe untutored underſtanding ſees God in the clouds, or hears him in the wind. Though his ſoul was never taught by learned Pride to mix with the ſolar orb, or tread the milky way; yet ſimple Nature has not left him deſtitute of hope: he fills his imagination with an humbler heaven behind the cloudy mountains; a ſafer world in the woods; ſome happier iſle immured in the midſt of the ocean, where ſlaves ſhall find again their native country, where no demons ſhall torment them, no Chriſtian be tormented with the inſatiable thirſt of gold. Satisfied with bare exiſtence, he longs neither for the wings of an angel, nor the fire of a ſeraph; but thinks his faithful dog will be his companion in that equal heaven.

Go then, thou that art of a higher claſs, weigh, in the ſcale of thy reaſon, thy opinion againſt Providence: call imperfection what thou fancieſt to be ſuch: ſay, "Here God gives too much, there too little:" deſtroy all creatures for thy paſtime, or thy palate; yet cry, "If Man's unhappy, if he alone does not engroſs all the care of heaven, alone made perfect and immortal, then God is unjuſt:" ſnatch from his hands the balance of equity and the ſcepter of power; re-judge his juſtice, and be the God of God.

Our miſtakes take all their riſe from Pride: we ruſh beyond our ſphere, and boldly thruſt ourſelves into heaven. Pride is always claiming its promiſed manſions of heaven: men would be angels, and angels would be gods; and what in them was ambition, is rebellion in us; for whoever wiſhes to reverſe the laws of order, ſins againſt the Eternal Cauſe of it.

Now, to ſhew to what lengths Pride will carry us, aſk, to what purpoſe the ſtarry firmament is bedecked with light, or for whoſe uſe the earth and waters were created? Pride ſays, "It is for mine: for me, her favourite child, kind Nature, ſummoning all her prolific powers, furniſhes each herb with healing juice, and ſpreads out every flower. For me the grape yearly ſwells with nectarious juices, the roſe with refreſhing odours. For me the vine teems with infinite treaſures, and impregnated health flows in a thouſand ſprings. Seas roll to bear me on their waves; the ſubmiſſive earth is my foot-ſtool, and the exalted heavens my canopy."

But does not * Nature deviate from the great end ſhe propoſes, of making every part of the creation promote the good of the whole, when burning ſuns ſend forth peſtilential diſeaſes? when cities are ſwallowed up by earthquakes, and tempeſts ſweep away whole nations?—No; we readily anſwer, the firſt All-powerful Cauſe does not act by particular laws, but by general. If there are ſome ſeeming irregularities in them, it ſhews us that whatever is created cannot be perfect. Let Man therefore reflect, that neither can He be ſo. Abſolute regularity is as neceſſary in the natural as in the moral world; and Man has juſt the ſame reaſon to require an uniform ſucceſſion of rain and ſunſhine, as of his own ſeveral deſires and paſſions; eternal ſprings and cloudleſs ſkies are as neceſſary to the mind of Man as perpetual chearfulneſs and ſerenity, never overcaſt with folly or intemperance. If plagues or earthquakes don't break through the true deſigns of Heaven, why ſhould a Borgia or a Catiline? So much we may conclude in general. But to what end theſe irregularities all co-operate; who knows, but He, whoſe hand formed the lightning, who toſſes about the ocean, and adds wings to the ſtorm; He, I ſay, who ſwells a Cæſar with ambition, and lets looſe an Alexander to be the ſcourge of mankind? It is from Pride, from Pride all our objections ariſe; which would eaſily be removed, by only contemplating the exalted world about us. Why ſhould they inconſiſtently acquit heaven in one part of the creation, and condemn it in another? To reaſon right concerning both, we have nothing to do but to ſubmit.

Better perhaps it might appear to us, indeed, that there ſhould be nothing but harmony and virtue among us; that the ſea ſhould be never ruffled with the wind, nor the mind with paſſion. But upon the leaſt reflection we find, that the contention of the elements is the preſervation of the whole ſyſtem, and that life is circulated by the paſſions. One general

* The connection in the original is obſcure: better

But errs not Nature from this gracious end?

What end? The end juſt before mentioned, for which Pride ſays all things were created? So a reader would, at firſt, be apt to think, till he finds, by what follows, that this line refers to the poſition laid down ver. 51, &c. that Nature conſults the *Good of the whole as well as of particulars*; which would have been much eaſier perceived, if the Poet had only altered it thus:

But errs not Nature from her ONE GREAT END?

order has from the beginning run through all Nature, and is no leſs uniformly preſerved in Man.

What would he have? One while, looking upwards, while he prides himſelf on being little leſs than an angel, he would be more than they are: at another time, looking downwards, he repines no leſs that he wants the neck of a bull, or the fur of a bear. Alas, in vain were the creatures made for his uſe, if he alone were endued with the powers of all of them! Nature to theſe has with juſt liberality aſſigned their proper functions, and proper organs for them, and compenſated every ſeeming want with ſome degree of excellence; aſſigning ſwiftneſs to ſome, to others ſtrength, with ſo juſt and exact proportion to their ſeveral conditions, that nothing can be added to each ſpecies, nothing taken from it: the beaſt, the inſect, each equally happy in its own properties. Is Heaven, then, unkind to Man, to Man alone? Shall Man, Man endued with the exalted privilege of Reaſon, betray the weakneſs of it ſo far as to be ſatisfied with nothing, unleſs bleſſed with every thing!

The happineſs of Man (if we were not blinded by Pride) is, not to act or think beyond himſelf; to claim no powers of body or mind, but ſuch as is ſuitable to his nature and condition. For why has not Man an eye that needs no microſcopic aid? The reaſon is obvious, becauſe he is not formed a fly to need it. * * * * *

POPE's

POPE's Verſes on his GROTTO, imitated by Mr. BOWYER*.

QUISQUIS ades, Thameſis ſpeculum qua leve renidet
Unda per umbroſam, fide miniſtra, domum;
Aſpera qua ſtillant lentas laquearia guttas,
Ramoſoque vitro fracta fluenta micant;
Gemma ubi non luxu violatas ventilat ignes,
Inque toro ingenuâ luce metalla rubent,
Accedas propius: Naturam exquire; ſodinam
Conſpice, ſed ſpernas, quas tibi ſervat, opes.
Accede; Egeriæ ſacrum tibi panditur antrum!
Intres, perculſus relligione loci:
Lælius hic ſcrutans mundi penetralia, menti,
Quam fere divinæ! libera fræna dedit.
Hic moriens Wyndham ſuſpiria duxit honeſta,
Marchmontumque ardens vis agitare ſolet.
Tales hæc tangant, tales hæc limina, fortes
Servare et patriam, pauperiemque nati.

* THOU who ſhalt ſtop, where Thames' tranſlucent wave
Shines a broad mirrour through the ſhadowy cave;
Where lingering drops from mineral roofs diſtill,
And pointed cryſtals break the ſparkling rill,
Unpoliſh'd gems no ray on pride beſtow,
And latent metals innocently glow:
Approach. Great Nature ſtudiouſly behold!
And eye the mine without a wiſh for gold.
Approach: but awful! Lo! th' Egerian grott,
Where, nobly penſive, St. John ſat and thought;
Where Britiſh ſighs from dying Wyndham ſtole,
And the bright flame was ſhot through Marchmont's ſoul.
Let ſuch, ſuch only, tread this ſacred floor,
Who dare to love their country, and be poor.

EXTRACTS

Extracts from Mr. Markland's Letters to Mr. Bowyer.

Dear Sir, *Uckfield, May* 3, 1747.

"If you will put a wafer, and pay a penny with the inclosed to Dr. Tunstall, you may read it for your money. It is upon a whimsical subject, which I must let you into beforehand. Cicero, in his Orator. p. 45, says, that the Romans never said *cum nobis*, but *nobiscum*; quia si ita *(cum nobis)* diceretur, obscœnius concurrerent litteræ; for the *m* before *n* was pronounced like an *n*; so that it would be *cunno-bis*. Now as there is just the same reason in all other words whose first syllable is *no* long (as *nodus*, *nobilis*, *nomen*, &c.) and as I had observed my old friends the Auctor Orat. *De Domo* writing (cap. 9.) CUM NO*minibus tantum uteretur*, and Cicero to Brutus, i. 3, CUM NO*minatim de C. Antonio decernerem*, I had the curiosity to enquire into this matter: the result of which you will here see."

Uckfield, Sept. 19, 1748.

"Mr. Russel was here on Wednesday last, and left the proposals for the two Volumes of Letters *from a young Painter to his Friends*, &c. I carried it with me to Mr. Strode, whose subscription I easily procured. From an hint in the proposals, I find they would be glad of ready money.

"I shall soon send you Mr. Arnald's *Wisdom*, &c. having been hindered hitherto from transcribing them. I think it contrary to all equity to rob an author of the fruits of his labours: *leges latronum esse dicuntur, quibus pareant, quas observent*; and therefore, if you have any account with Mr. Arnald, I had much rather you would allow him eight shillings for the Ecclesiasticus. A propòs to the *Latrones*, I am afraid the *Flamen* *, whose letter you sent me, will not be Flamen *Dialis*, but *Subdialis*. Mr. Gerison brought me your information concerning Mr. Say; and told me he made an answer for me; to which I replied, "*Rectè respondes, Domine.* I should be as glad to see you his successor, as I should be sorry to see myself. I never doubted of your jockeyship; but I doubted much whether it would be to any purpose, and am glad to find myself mistaken, and that you are

* Dr. Jortin.

to

to be paid *in verbo ſacerdotis*." The paralytic you mention, to whoſe caſe that of Horace is applicable, *Mergas profundo, fortior exſilit*, was formerly my acquaintance, and great benefactor; for I won an hundred pounds of him at whiſt, and got it every farthing. I knew his wife too, who was the widow of a neighbour of yours in Fleet ſtreet. The moral of the ſtory, if I take it right, is, *Vexatio dat intellectum*.

"Laſt week I ſaw the Dean of Chicheſter, who tells me Mr. Clarke is very well. He puts me in mind of a queſtion, which I want to aſk you by the bye: Are you acquainted with any young (or middle-aged) clergyman, whom you know or believe to be a truly good man, a gentleman in his behaviour and manners, and a tolerable ſcholar? If you know of any ſuch perſon unemployed, or lowly employed (as it is not improbable he is, if he be ſuch an one), pleaſe to let me know his name and abode, that he may be enquired after; and if his character agrees with this deſcription, I may poſſibly put him in a way *of hearing* (as the News-papers expreſs it) *of ſomething to his advantage*. But do not mention this to any living ſoul, except Mrs. Bowyer.

"In all probability the perſon I want might be found among the London Curates."

May 2, 1749.

"Pierce's Paraphraſe and Notes I have met with here, and have read the firſt chapter to the Coloſſians, which I greatly admire; taking to myſelf the liberty, which every man muſt and will take, of differing from him in ſome little things. I could not but wonder to ſee, in the very beginning (Pref. p. iv.), that paſſage of 2 Pet. iii. 16, *in which are ſome things hard to be underſtood*, by him interpreted as belonging to *St. Paul's Epiſtles*, as if in St. Peter's time there were heretical and perverſe explications of paſſages in St. Paul's Epiſtles: or as if, at that time, St. Paul's Epiſtles were numbered among the Γραφαὶ, as it there follows, ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφὰς."

June 9, 1749.

"To-morrow will be a fortnight ſince Mr. Strode ſent me word that he would be here either at the latter end of the laſt week, or, at fartheſt, the beginning of this; but that I ſhould hear from him before that time: ſince

ſince when I have not heard a word of them. This puts me into as much flutter as can happen to one who thinks that all events are right and for the beſt; for that ſomething extraordinary has fallen out, is paſt all doubt: of what kind is uncertain. I ſuſpect the ſmall-pox, and upon my youngſter. This makes me impatient for the poſt to-morrow: ſo that I have ſent a meſſenger to Grinſted this afternoon to wait for the letters, and to carry this for you.

"I thank you for the firſt volume of the book you ſent me, and wait with ſomewhat of impatience for the ſecond, in which I want to ſee ſeveral places. It fully anſwers the expectations which I had formed from his former performance; and I have had a very full and very innocent revenge upon him for his pertneſs and want of judgement in undertaking what I then ſaw he knew nothing of, and now ſee ſo many inſtances of his ignorance and want of ſkill and taſte in theſe matters as, if I could ſhew them to you, would make you laugh, even though you had a moderate fit of the colic upon you. But this between ourſelves; for this is the *Eſoteric Doctrine*, which I ſhall communicate only to Mr. Clarke and yourſelf: the *Exoteric* is, that the Engliſh is very good, and the Notes (ſcarce one of them his own, but taken from others, without any acknowledgement for the moſt part) very uſeful, and ſuch as I could wiſh might be read by every body. I do not doubt but he will get a great deal of reputation from this work.

"By the laſt poſt I had a Letter out of Lancaſhire, whence I learn that Dr. Cobden has had a fall from his horſe, which has impaired his memory ſo much as that he did not know two perſons of his acquaintance who went to ſee him. You ſay nothing of this. Pray inquire into it, without mentioning the author of your information."

A joint Letter from Mr. CLARKE and Mr. MARKLAND.

June 20, 1749.

"THE laſt account I had from you was ſo little to my ſatisfaction, that, unleſs you can explain yourſelf to more advantage, I muſt deſire Mrs. Bowyer to do it for you. What puzzles me is, that you ſhould be ſo active, and yet ſo irreſolute; that, when you want exerciſe ſo much, you ſhould refuſe to take it; or, what is more ſurpriſing, that you don't like a ride to Buxted, becauſe you cannot lie unleſs it be at an inn. Why I

would have you know, Sir, that there are few houſes in England more like an inn than this is at preſent. There is very little furniture in it, and that very dirty. Every body goes to bed when they pleaſe; and the ſeveral companies, that make up the whole houſe, ſeldom converſe much with one another, or care about what paſſes in the other apartments, and our great buſineſs is ſmoaking and drinking in our own every afternoon. If this is not enough in taſte, I will endeavour to make it more ſo. Your horſe ſhall really go to an inn, for I have neither hay nor corn; and, if you pleaſe, the hoſtler himſelf ſhall come up and pull off your boots.—If all this won't do, I muſt needs ſay you are very difficult to pleaſe, and Mrs. Bowyer muſt have a poor time on't. I wiſh ſhe complained of her belly half as much as you do of yours; I dare ſay ſhe would do all the proper things, and carry it off, ſo as not to be uneaſy at any trouble the Doctors gave her, nor averſe to any motion that would procure eaſe. If you come here, Mr. Markland can talk, and I can ride; both of us ſhall be a match for you. We ſhall give you a fair meeting, and then, as I do now, ſoon bid you farewell.

" My moſt humble ſervice to Mrs. Bowyer, and I deſire her anſwer to theſe difficulties as ſoon as poſſible, becauſe I muſt return the firſt week in July if I can. W. C."

Tueſday Afternoon, June 20, 1749.

" P. S. Mr. Clarke ſent me this, that I might add a poſtſcript as *a ſpur* (as he calls it) to bring you down. I do not know the uſe of a ſpur, not having worn one for near theſe twenty years: but it is not ſo long ſince I have had a *whip* in my hand; and if that would be of any ſervice in bringing you down, I wiſh I were behind you with ſuch an inſtrument. But when he ſays *I can talk*, do not regard him; for I have as great an averſion to it, from diſuſe, as a Pythagorean in his ſtate of probation: where I ſpeak one word, he ſpeaks ten; and we are both in the right.

" I thank you for the books. As ſoon as ever I received the ſecond volume, I opened it eagerly, to look into Lib. ix. 22, the moſt difficult epiſtle in the whole collection. But how great (or rather how ſmall) was my diſappointment, when I did not find a ſingle difficulty explained or taken notice of! only three notes (none of them his own) upon that long and obſcure Letter. I have juſt now ſent the book to Mr. Clarke, not

having had time as yet to read it. I do not underſtand the Poſtſcript of your laſt, where you tell me that you could give me a better reaſon than you are willing to do, why &c. But, if I gueſs right, I can ſay I am very certain, that nothing Mr. R. can *ſay* or *write* at preſent, in this way, will or ought to make me take any notice of it.

"I had not read three pages of the new book you ſent me before I ſaid to myſelf, 'I'll be hanged if this man be not an admirer and imitator of a certain friend of yours!' I was pleaſed to ſee my gueſs verified at the end of the Preface, which I have read twice over; but, finding that I ſhall never underſtand it, I will go no further in the book. The *abſurdity* (as he is pleaſed to call it) of a conjecture of the criticks upon a paſſage in Statius might with much more juſtice be taken off their ſcore, and placed to his own, if δίκη ἰθεῖα γένοιτο. But there is no dealing with this kind of whimſical writers, who know nothing of the language upon which they criticiſe.

"Maſter Strode is returned well: my apprehenſions were juſt, but owing to the miſcarriage of a Letter.

"I want to know more of your *controverſie Irlandoiſe*."

Auguſt 21, 1749.

"AT laſt I have ſent your books, together with Bos, who is an excellent fellow, except in Horace; for there he ſeems to me to be much out of his element. I muſt keep back your Strebæus a little longer, having made another attack upon Cicero de Oratore, in which I fancy I have found out ſtrange things.

"I am glad you have determined to your ſatisfaction concerning Thomas, which (I mean, doing it to your own ſatisfaction) is the greateſt concern of your life. What is beſt for us, God only knows: we can do nothing more than follow our own judgement in what appears moſt probable, and liable to the feweſt objections: after which we are to expect that one half of mankind will differ from us; and, nevertheleſs, we ought to follow our own judgement, by which only, and not by another's, we muſt ſtand or fall, ſince (as Prince Prettyman in the Rehearſal ſays upon another occaſion)—*Love in his breaſt is not Love in thine.* By which wiſe ſtuff I would ſignify, that I think you are in the right in acting in this matter according to your own opinion, not that of Mr. Clarke or mine.

" I like the method of your ſheet *, and wiſh you would conſtantly have it in view. I have kept it, becauſe I ſuppoſe you have more of them.

" P. S. This moment caſting my eye upon Cicero's Epiſtles, vol. II. p. 489, juſt before I put them up for the carrier, I find (not. 5) that Victorius prefers *confeci* to *conjeci*; which, ſays the editor, he interprets to have the ſame conſtruction as *deprendere in ludum*. I wiſh you could get a ſight of Victorius's note, as a matter of curioſity; for, if I have any ſkill in gueſſing, Victorius's remark is expreſt in the participles of the verbs, *inſutus* in culleum, *depreſſus in ludum*, which laſt participle our editor formed from *deprendor* inſtead of *deprimor*, and ſo has made *deprendere in ludum* inſtead of *deprimere in ludum:* as Fam. x, 35. cum *depreſſus in ludum* bis gratis depugnaſſet.—I had written thus far, when remembering a note of Gronovius upon Seneca, De Ira iii, 8. relating to this expreſſion, I turned to it, and find, that, in the paſſage of Cicero juſt now quoted, Victorius inſtead of *depreſſus* would read *deprenſus*; ſo that it is probable the editor is ſafe, and Victorius only faulty in making a bad conjecture: nor is it worth further enquiry, unleſs you have Victorius by you. My thinking it impoſſible that Victorius could make ſo ill a conjecture, and knowing it to be probable that the editor might make ſuch a miſtake, ſtruck me ſuddenly with this ſurmiſe."

Sept. 19, 1749.

" WHAT I mentioned in my laſt and a former concerning the return of a ſmall ſum of money was this: Ἔχω ἀδελφὸν (in comitat. Eborac.) ἕ τὴν ἰσοῤῥίαν I will acquaint you with ſome other time. *Quod a te peto, hoc eſt; ut ad illum ſcriberes, primâ occaſione, ad hunc effectum:* 'I am deſired to acquaint you, that, any time after next Michaelmas-day, you may draw upon me for *ſeven pounds ten ſhillings*, and for the ſame ſum any day after next Lady-day, and ſo on half-yearly, till I receive orders to the contrary.' Ego et ἀδελφὸς ἐμὸς ὁ πρεσβύτερος volumus illum neſcire unde hæc illi pecunia obveniat. Specimen tibi miſi chirographi ejus, ut manum agnoſcas. Sic ad eum inſcribas, *To Mr. R— M—, to be left with Mr. Oates, a Curryer in Wakefield, Yorkſhire.* If you would that he ſhould draw at any number of days after date or ſight, you will ſpecify it ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ.

* An early Specimen of the " Conjectures on the New Teſtament."

As

As to the India bonds, do what you pleaſe. To be ſure the moſt advantageous way would be to ſell them while the premium is ſo high (the reaſon of which I do not comprehend), and to buy into the *Three per Cents.* I would have done ſo two months ago, had I been in town, while the premium was above 4 *l.* for I then foreſaw, and told to ſeveral, what has now happened: and, being φύσει πολιτικὸς, I now foretell that the national funds, which at preſent pay *Four per Cent.* will ere it be long pay but *Three.* After Michaelmas, *quando accepiſti pecuniam*, pleaſe to let your man buy into the *Three per Cents.* of that year, for which you have my Letter of Attorney, which I ſuppoſe will ſave trouble.

"I have ſeen Mr. Strode, who has ſatisfied me concerning the tranſactions at Peter-houſe, in the late election of a Maſter *."

October 21, 1749.

"THE expreſſion in Cæſar, *ab Sequanis et Helvetiis*, I take it, is elliptical: the full would be, *ſi eam ſpectes ab Sequanis et Helvetiis.* The verſion may be this, or ſomewhat like it: *It likewiſe reaches to the river Rhine in that part which is inhabited by the Sequani and Helvetii:* for, by mentioning theſe two people, he had two things in view, viz. firſt, to acquaint us that the *Sequani* and *Helvetii* were *Celtæ* or *Galli* properly ſo called: and, ſecondly, the bounds of Gallia Celtica on the north-eaſt ſide, viz. the Sequani and Helvetii, as far as the Rhine. Or *ab* may be taken in the ſenſe of *poſt: attingit* etiam, *poſt* Sequanos et Helvetices, flumen Rhenum: *It reaches alſo, taking in* (or *comprehending*) *the Sequani or Helvetii, to the river Rhine.* For if it goes on *ab* Sequanis, &c. it muſt of courſe leave them *behind*, and conſequently *comprehend* them, or *take them in*, as having *paſſed over* them to the extent of its limits the Rhine. This laſt will ſeem more ſpecious, if you underſtand me.

"The ſpecimen of Kuſter I like very well, and your annotations, in which I have taken the liberty to fill up ſome of the abbreviations, to which I am a great enemy, as cauſing obſcurity.

"I am glad my brother has received the money. I was afraid your Letter to him had not come to hand."

* Dr. (now Bp.) Keene, on the death of Mr. Whalley.

Auguſt

Auguſt 31, 1755.

"Dr. Burton breakfaſted with me on Wedneſday morning, and tells me that one Mr. Muſgrave of Corpus in Oxford has been at Paris to collate Euripides, and has put into the preſs at Oxford his *Hippolytus*, which he thinks will be out by Chriſtmas. I underſtand that there is to be no Latin verſion, which I fear will hurt the ſale; and if he prints it without accents, in the modern faſhion (which I forgot to aſk him), it will hurt it ſtill more, however ſkilful in other reſpects the work may be. He (the Doctor) put into my hands a little piece he has juſt publiſhed at Oxford, to be had at Rivington's, with this title, Τῦ δεῖνος νοσῦντος, καὶ περὶ τῶν νοσούντων μελετήματα. It is only 32 pages. I did not know before that he had been dangerouſly ill of a fever."

June 14, 1756.

"THE incloſed parcel to Mr. Hall, I wiſh you would let one of your boys carry to Tom's Coffee-houſe, Devereux-court, and leave it there. It is on this account, chiefly, that I ſend you the Sermons back, to make up a convenient parcel. I wiſh there had been two more volumes of them; and I was very ſorry when I got to the 20th of the ſecond volume. The Hiſtory of the Jews * I have not yet read. The other two volumes (you know whom I mean) I will keep a little longer, though I am ſorry to ſay I have a much worſe opinion of the critick than I had before. To me there ſeems to be more ſatisfactory learning and true judgement in one page of the notes upon Chariton's Aphrodiſiaca than there is in the whole performance of this poſitive, confident, unproving writer. He has borrowed (or rather ſtolen) an obſervation from a very young writer of our country, which is directly falſe, and deſtroys all metre, as far as it goes. It is a fine thing to have got a name: nothing elſe could have paſſed off this work; of which, if you have not already the firſt edition, you would do well to procure it, if you think it worth while; for, by the time this book has gone through two or three more editions, it will be perfectly unintelligible: it is already ſo to me in many places, though this is but the third edition of 1740."

* The tranſlation of Abbé Fleury, publiſhed by Mr. Farneworth. See the "Anecdotes," p. 268. 340.

Nor.

Nov. 15, 1756.

"KNOWING that you have concerns enough of your own upon your hands, I was deſirous to have excuſed you from thoſe of others; and accordingly mentioned twice to Dr. ———, that if he had any bookſeller or acquaintance in town to whom I might ſend his papers, he would let me know. To my firſt, in his anſwer, he mentioned nobody; to the ſecond, you. So that I ſhall ſend on Tueſday a ſmall parcel, directed to him, to be left with you, which he will call for when he comes to town; I ſuppoſe ſoon. I have written to him, to acquaint him that the parcel will be with you on Tueſday night, or Wedneſday morning.

"I am very ſorry for your diſtreſſes; one of which (that of the Friars *) I think is of the number of the τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, and may be put an end to at any time. For what is money given for but to make a man eaſy? And if others will be iniquitous, there is nothing to be done but to have recourſe to the *redime te captum quàm queas minimo:* a very good maxim, which we learn in our grammar, and forget in our lives. The other trouble is not ſo eaſily ſet aſide; but it has the comfort of neceſſity, and muſt be borne whether you will or not, which with wiſe men is the ſame thing as choice; for a fool in ſuch a caſe goes about bellowing, and telling every body he meets (who do but laugh at him) what a ſad calamity has befallen him: but a man of ſenſe ſays nothing, and ſubmits. This is very wiſe, you will ſay; but it is very true. I hope things may be altered ſince you wrote.

"I envy you if you can keep yourſelf warm this bitter weather, which often puts me in mind of a piece of an old ballad:

'He laid on his coals, by two and by three;
But the more he laid on, the colder was he.'

"If you ſee the abovementioned gentleman, and he ſhould talk of ſending me any more papers to look over, I beg of you to put him beſide it, if you poſſibly can, by telling him, that to your knowledge it is at this time quite hurtful to me. More of this when I ſee you; and pray let me know whether your preſs is to be employed in what he is about to print. This I want to know much.

"The above was written at the end of laſt week, when I expected an opportunity of ſending this to London the next morning, but was diſap-

* Alluding to a diſpute with Mr. Emonſon, at that time Mr. Bowyer's partner in White Friars. See the "Anecdotes," p. 239.

pointed,

pointed. Παῦε τρόπῳ ἀποβρέπω τὸν δεῖνα, if you can, from ſending me any more papers. I dread men of great vivacity and little conſideration."

Jan. 6, 1757.

"THE place of Acts xvii. I underſtand thus. I think it does not appear that there is the leaſt reaſon for ſuppoſing that St. Paul was carried to the Areopagus as a *Criminal*; nor that there is a ſingle word in the relation which tends to that ſuppoſition. Nor is it reaſonable to think that a ſtranger ſhould be hurried before a Court of Judicature as a *Criminal* for relating only a *Matter of Fact*, which to his knowledge had happened in another country, viz. "That at Jeruſalem in Judea there was one *Jeſus*, "who had brought a *new Doctrine* into the world, in which doctrine all "mankind were concerned: that this perſon was put to death; but that, "in confirmation of the truth of his doctrine, after he had been dead "three days, he *aroſe* to life again, as he had ſaid he would: and that he "himſelf (Paul) knew all this to be certain." That St. Paul informed them firſt of the *Matter of Fact*, before he proceeded any further, we may be certain, becauſe the omiſſion of that would have been moſt abſurd. Now where can be the *State-crime*, to tell a piece of news which he knew to be true, to men of curioſity who ſpent all their time in hearing and telling news? And accordingly, the more ſober part of them ſay to him, "May we know what this new doctrine concerning this *Jeſus* and the *Re-*"*ſurrection* is? for what you tell us is very *ſtrange*, and we never heard any "thing of it before. The Court of Areopagus, which is the judge of theſe "matters, now happens to be ſitting:" (they ſat of courſe three days in a month, Pollux viii. 10.) "be ſo good as to go with us, and relate this "affair before them." Paul was undoubtedly glad of this opportunity, and went with them: and when he had given the Areopagites what account he thought fit, οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν (ver. 33), he then *departed from among them*, and went about his buſineſs, as any other indifferent perſon might do, after having ſaid what he had to ſay. But not a ſingle word of his being *acquitted* or *diſmiſſed* by them, which could not *poſſibly* have been omitted had he been brought thither as a *Criminal*. Thus far I agree with P. Hardouin. But the reaſon he gives, that if Paul had been before the Court as a *Malefactor*, he would have begun, Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, but in more reſpectful

reſpectful terms is nothing at all; and the inſtances of Feſtus and Felix, governors of a province, and who thence had a civil right to the title Paul gives them, are not to the purpoſe. And it is eaſy to ſhew, from ſeveral pieces and orations ſtill extant, ſpoken before the Areopagus as well as other Courts, that the higheſt title given to the Athenian Judges was ὦ ἄνδρει Ἀθηναῖοι, or ὦ ἄνδρει δικασταί. The words ἐπιλαβόμενοι and ἤγαγον perhaps may have occaſioned the miſtaking the ſenſe of this paſſage. But look into the Greek Concordance, and you will find inſtances enough where theſe words are uſed in a friendly and civil ſenſe, without implying any *conſtraint* or *violence*."

Nov. 22, 1764.

"THAT ἄρχοντες and στρατηγοὶ may ſignify the ſame perſons, I can believe; but that Luke ſhould put them both here, I can never believe, unleſs he had a mind to ſhew his erudition, and to puzzle his readers; but any other writer, who in the 19th verſe had ſaid, ἕλκυσαν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ, would have put, ΟΙΣ προσαγαγόντες αὐτὸς, εἶπεν· &c. For my own part, I have no doubt but ἐπὶ τὸς ἄρχοντας is from another hand, as I believe hundreds of other ſupplements are, which it is now to no purpoſe to call in queſtion; for nobody will believe you, nor does it ſignify three ſtraws whether they do or not, moſt of them being only explicatory, and doing no harm, except defacing the ſtyle of the writer.

"I have often ſaid to you, that the perſon who you tell me cannot keep any thing in his ſtomach is not a long-lived man: I judged ſo from his ſudden growth, and from the ſtate of temperate intemperance he was in. Dr. Bentley uſed often to ſay to his nephew, *Tom, I ſhall thraſh thee:* meaning that he ſhould out-live him. The ſame I ſay to you concerning that perſon, *You will thraſh him*, and I believe by many years. There will be a fine job for ſome bookſeller when he dies; for I reckon the books will be diſpoſed of that way.

"The xixth of the Acts has exerciſed me much, and I have juſt got over it. The 40th verſe, as far as I can find, ſeems to be greatly miſunderſtood in ſeveral particulars. What ſay you to ἀργυρίε μυριάδας πέντε, ver. 19? I mean to the *language*, μυριάδας ἀργυρίε, and to the *ſum, fifty thouſand pieces of ſilver. What* pieces?"

Dec. 8, 1765.

"DO not ſtir from the fire-ſide; I mean, ſo as to think of Darking. The days are ſhort, the roads bad, the weather cold; and here you will meet with nothing but pain and flannel, to which I have been aſſigned for ſome time. The greateſt comfort I have met with for a long time is the pamphlet, which has curried our friend handſomely; and yet I confeſs I wiſhed, in reading it, that ſeveral ſcorpions had been added to his laſhes. The anſwer I ſuppoſe will be an Irenicum, ſuch an one as may prevent the adverſary putting in execution what he threatens at the end of the work, the very thing which I want to ſee, and which the other will give any thing rather than ſee. I cannot but wonder, with you, at what the author ſays concerning Dr. B—-y: but when you ſay that he ſhuffles about the magiſtrate's right of puniſhing idolatry, and knows not what to aſſert, and does not underſtand his adverſary's ſyſtem, all this may be ſo; but I fancy he does not apprehend himſelf in any danger, and I confeſs I do not ſee how he is."

Jan. 29, 1766.

"I SAW your hand with pleaſure a poſt or two ago in my Newspaper *, in ſome queries. I have read Dr. Le Neve's Anſwer to Philips's Life of Pole. I think he has proved his point very fully: but the book will not be much ſought after by modern readers."

Feb. 5, 1766.

"THE Queries I mentioned I ſee are anſwered †; but not ſatisfactorily, to me at leaſt. What he calls *blaſphemous*, is, at worſt, no more than what others might call *profane*, there being no evil-ſpeaking againſt any Perſon of the Trinity; and, had it been in a ſermon, it might have been reckoned *elegant*."

* St. James's Chronicle, January 25.
† Ibid. February 1.

June

June 30, 1766.

"I WISH you had not reaſon to be leſs pleaſed with ****'s Letter of the 10th of this month than I am. There ſeems to me to be a great deal of ingenuity and natural eloquence in it. ..... You muſt conſider, that he is at preſent under a diſtemper which is to be cured by matrimony, as an ague is by the bark. This cannot be avoided, becauſe it is part of the conſtitution of his mortality; but if it be ſuffered to run on, without taking the recipe, perhaps it may fly into the head, and end in madneſs, or ſome other permanent diſorder."

Dec. 21, 1766.

"YOUR heart-breaking Letter of Yeſterday *, which I received this morning, has ſuperſeded all paltry regards of money, which pleaſe to put off till you hear from me again. In the mean time, I have got ſpirits enough to write to my L. C. †, who was Mr. H.'s great friend, and who was well-affected towards the people here, whoſe only dependence was on Mr. H. I defy any man, much leſs you, to give me any offence, when it is not deſigned: but the ſuit is no more out of my hands now than it was before; though nobody was more ſenſible of my inability to manage an affair of buſineſs; which was the reaſon I got it transferred to one whoſe knowledge, purſe, and acquaintance with lawyers, might be of ſervice. If I have a favourable anſwer from L. C. I heartily wiſh your great-coat may be made, and the weather continue favourable; otherwiſe, I had rather pout by myſelf."

Dec. 25, 1766.

"I THINK you are ſo totally wrong (to uſe your own words) in every article of moment, as far as I can yet perceive, either through your impetuoſity or miſinformation, that it is to no more purpoſe for you, than for me, to ſay any thing at this time, more than that I am yours, &c.

"I will only mention to you one thing, which the perſon you blame me for writing to (who, by the bye, has no more to do in this affair than

* On the death of Mr. Hall; of whom, ſee the "Anecdotes," p. 111.

† Lord Camden, then Lord Chancellor.

you have) told a friend of mine ſome time ago, That the thing was ſo clear that it would not take up above a quarter of an hour with the then Chancellor, before whom at that time it was thought it would be heard. I find you are quite ignorant of every circumſtance relating to the matter, except that it is *Law*. And yet I think the cauſe may be loſt. Why? Becauſe I know the moſt unjuſt things in that kind happen every day: though I have not the leaſt reaſon to think that it will."

May 28, 1767.

"I DID not receive your Letter of yeſterday till laſt night, juſt as I was going to-bed. If I could have been ſurpriſed with any thing, it would have been at the contents of it *, in a perſon of ſo regular and temperate a life as you are, and of ſo ſmall a portion of fleſh; a great quantity of which renders a man liable to every thing that is deadly. It brought to my mind an expreſſion of an odd fellow, whom we uſed to laugh at when we were young men, who, upon ſome occaſion or other, ſaid, That he thought he ſhould have *loſt the uſe of his face*. I gueſs it was on your right ſide, and that the whole ſide was in ſome meaſure concerned, becauſe you ſay it affects your writing. It is a comfort that you are near the beſt of advice, which I am very ſorry to find Mr. Clarke is forced to come up to take. When perſons of his and my age (though I am ſeveral years older than he is) begin to complain, it is a ſign that the affair is almoſt over, and that the watch will not go much longer. Soon after his book came hither, I lent it to a friend, which is the reaſon I have not yet read it quite over: a great part of it is much above my pitch; but I read it with pleaſure, as his, and becauſe of the quotations from the Ancients, which are numerous. I hope in a few days you will be able to ſend me an account that you are perfectly recovered. You cannot ſend it me with more ſatisfaction than I ſhall receive it.

"Any time before the end of June, be ſo good as to order your broker to ſell 100 *l.* of my ſtock. I know the ſtocks are at preſent very low: but I fancy they will be much lower in a little time, and never higher while I live; and what name would you give a man who ſuffers himſelf to want money which he has in his pocket? Probably you will offer me your purſe; but that will not be near ſo ſatisfactory to me as the other: which I mention before-hand, to prevent giving you offence by a refuſal."

* The news of Mr. Bowyer's having had a paralytic ſtroke.

July 12, 1767.

"WHAT is the meaning of your *Frigidus obſliterit*, &c.? I fancy it would have been of ſervice to you to have ſeen and experienced part of the diſtreſſes which I have undergone here*; for *vexatio dat intellectum*, that is, ſpirits. When this cauſe was at the worſt, and the ungodly as green as graſs, I was certain, and have told the woman ſo an hundred times, that folly, wickedneſs, and undutifulneſs, muſt, ſomehow or other, I could not tell how (nor do I yet ſee), work out their own puniſhment. It is impoſſible it can be otherwiſe; though I believe there never was ſuch a fortuitous concourſe, ſince Epicurus's, of ſuch unfavourable and diſcouraging circumſtances. But this, I fancy, is Providence's way of dealing with knaves.

"It is with infinite concern I ſay any thing of poor Mr. Laxton †; though I muſt contradict the accounts you have in your papers. He was coming hither on Thurſday July 2, when his horſe trod upon a ſtone, and fell upon his head. His fall threw Mr. Laxton over his head, who was ſo much bruiſed that he was forced to be carried home; but they could not prevent a mortification in his back, of which he died on Tueſday laſt. The papers ſay he died upon the ſpot."

October 23, 1767.

"THE Letters of Dr. Swift ſerved me only for two days amuſement; and the others I ſhall expect with eagerneſs. The thing which ſtruck me moſt was a ſaying of Col. Diſney's, concerning Mrs. Kingdom, the maid of honour; who being pretty far gone in years, the Colonel ſaid, that the Queen ſhould give her a brevet (as they do in the army) to act as a married woman."

Nov. 5, 1767.

"WHAT Cicero, or rather Brutus, meant by *Architecti verborum*‡, you may ſee in that place, De Clar. Orat. cap. 31, in the edition you gave me, Schrevelius's, Lugd. Bat. 1661, 4to. So that I will not diſpute with you about that. *Chacun a ſon goût.*

* By the family law-ſuit in which he had ſo benevolently intereſted himſelf. See the "Anecdotes," p. 23.

† Rector of Leatherhead, in Surrey.

‡ On the authority of this paſſage, Mr. Bowyer uſed to call himſelf, as a Printer, ARCHITECTUS VERBORUM. See his Portrait prefixed to the "Anecdotes."

"The

"The book of Debtor and Creditor is quite needleſs to me, who have no accounts with any body but yourſelf: and I know every farthing I owe, and every farthing due to me, as exactly as if it were ſet down in an hundred account-books.

"I am glad you have got an horſe. It would be an excellent thing for me; but am paſt it (being in my ſeventy-fifth year) as much as I am paſt country-dances.

"I deal in Hoare's notes for ſecurity. If they miſcarry by the poſt, I have time to ſend up word, and ſtop payment: but a bank-note, once loſt, is loſt for ever; or, if I could detect the ſtealer, his being hanged would be no ſatisfaction to me for the loſs of the money, and would give a great deal of trouble."

Jan. 15, 1768.

"I HAVE received all your progg for the mind and body, the books and nuts; and will endeavour to return the books before the 9th of March. I could not forbear peeping into Mr. Br. *, concerning the τόπος διβάλαος. I thought the expreſſion was faulty; but the place he quotes out of Chryſoſtom ſhews the contrary: ſo that, at preſent, I do only ſimply not underſtand it, not being able to get any idea of it conſiſtent with the ſenſe I have made up in my own head. Perhaps a common ſailor could explain it better than all the learned men in the world who never were at ſea. But I will read again, when I have time, more carefully what he ſays."

Feb. 5, 1768.

"YOUR Letter gives me as much joy as it is poſſible for me to receive in the melancholy circumſtances we are in at preſent, having loſt Mrs. Stilwell, who died this morning, leaving a child in the month, and another of about four years old. The mother's reflection is, that ſhe has loſt her daughter, and her ſon is a Turk to her. I hope I ſhall be a comfort to her, and to the family. I have this morning received a Letter from Sir Robert Foley †, who ſtill wants to be in this neighbourhood. I have a thing in my eye, which I hope will ſuit him. You ſhall hear from me again as ſoon as I have determined what is agreeable to humanity and œconomy, without any regard to money, farther than is conſiſtent with the latter."

* Mr. Bryant. † Who married a ſiſter of Mr. Markland.

Feb.

Feb. 5, 1770.

"YOUR Letter of Feb. 1, gave me a new and melancholy light concerning * * * * * * * * * *. But the ſpirit which appears in many of our nobility, and the ceſſion of one great wicked man, whoſe parts I was afraid (and there was more reaſon for the fear than I perceive was generally apprehended) had got an intire ſuperiority over the weakneſs of another, have made me very eaſy as to political matters. I had expreſſed my apprehenſions in many political ſquibs and crackers, which I had occaſionally let off; but ſhall now ſuppreſs them as unneceſſary. The laſt was this:

'To the D. of G.

'How ſtrangely Providence its ways conceals!
'From *Pratt* it takes, *Yorke* it takes from, the ſeals.
'Reſtore them not to *Pratt*, leſt men ſhould ſay
'Thou'ſt done *one* uſeful thing in this thy day.'

"Theſe are the ebullitions of 30, not of 77; and of one laid up with the gout, as I am at preſent: it has ſpared me till now, but is now returned with its uſual vehemence, which I am not ſorry for."

July 30, 1770.

"IN mine to you yeſterday I expreſſed ſome unwillingneſs of having any thing printed which is written in the margin of my Greek Teſtament: I had not then thought of an obvious expedient, which has occurred ſince, viz. that my name may be concealed (the chief thing I aimed at); and at the end of each note, if any be made uſe of, may be put the letter *R* *. This will anſwer the intent of each of us."

April 25, 1774.

"*Rectè atque ordine feciſti*, when you told the Bp. of Carliſle † (for ſo I ſuppoſe you mean, not *Peterborough*), that there muſt be ſome miſtake in what he ſays concerning the Mſ. of the Fragments of Ennius. I never ſaw ſuch a Mſ. nor did I know, or ever heard, that we had ſuch an one in our library.

* This ſignature was adopted in the 8vo editions of 1772. † Dr. Law.

"On

"On Sunday I wrote to Dr. Heberden, to acquaint him, that, as you had ſome time ſince told me that he intended one of his ſons for holy orders, I would, on demand, ſend him up a copy I had of Kuſter's edition of the New Teſtament *, with a large margin, on which I had written many things on the Evangeliſts and the Acts, which perhaps might be of uſe to the young man towards ſetting him up."

From the Biſhop of CARLISLE.

April 26, 1770.

"I AM obliged to you for your Letter, and ſorry that we have given Mr. Markland this trouble. My beſt reſpects to him, and pleaſe to let him know that I will examine the Catalogue on my return to Cambridge, and acquaint you with the reſult of the enquiry. E. CARLISLE."

Auguſt 28, 1770.

"I THANK you for the biblical progg, which I did not receive till yeſterday. I turned immediately to ſome places in the verſion; but I ſoon found that *this is not the thing*. However, in two places that I conſulted I perceived that he ſaw the verſion was wrong; but he has not ſet it right. It is ſomething however to ſee what has eſcaped others: but I will venture to repeat it, *this is not the thing*.

"You are ſo well employed for Thomas, that I do not deſire to ſee you till you have ſettled that affair. Mr. Deane called here laſt week, from Ned Clarke's. He ſays as you do, that Amport is worth 400 *l.* a year, and that 800 *l.* has been made of it. Ned is now very eaſy and happy.

"Junius is come to life again; the perſon whom I always ſuſpected ſince the Buckingham petition; becauſe I thought nobody could write it but himſelf. I am ſorry to ſee that he is ſpoken ſuſpiciouſly of. How few men are there in England who are honeſt men; that is, who act like rational creatures! God preſerve us from temptations; which, I believe, is the only way of keeping us honeſt! Whether I am of than number I cannot tell, ὁ ἀνακρίνων με κύριός ἐστιν: but I know that I am out of the way of temptations."

* This copy was kindly communicated to J. Nichols by Dr. Heberden, when the improved edition of Mr. Bowyer's "Conjectures," 1783, 4to, was going to preſs; and the notes taken from it were all accurately examined by Dr. Owen.

"THE

Dec. 2, 1770.

"I UNDERSTOOD long ago that Ely was deſigned for Keene *. He is ſo very fat, that I fancy it will not be long before he has a ſucceſſor; for, as H. Finch uſed to ſay to Armſtrong in his jocoſe way, 'there is no being ſure of a fat fellow for half an hour.' Dr. Bentley uſed to compare himſelf to an old trunk, which, if you let it alone, will ſtand in a corner a long time; but if you jumble it by moving, it will ſoon fall to pieces. *Nimirum hic ego ſum.*"

Feb. 1, 1771.

"I HAVE juſt peeped into the account of Homer †, which I am much pleaſed with; but probably ſhall ſend you no remarks upon it.

"If you have not ſeen the character of the late Lord Waldegrave, written by his wife, and put up in Naveſtock Church, it is worth your ſeeing. It is in the paper of Saturday laſt, January 26."

Feb. 10, 1771.

"THE notes ‡ in the two paper-books were written a long time *before* thoſe in the folio edition. I am ſtill as clear as ever I was in my opinion concerning Acts xii. 10. There ſeems to me many abſurdities in the other: but if it appear otherwiſe to you, the right way will be to print my note, and then your own. You know the ſimilitude between ΕΣΕΛ and ΕΞΕΛ might eaſily occaſion ſuch a miſtake. What you take to be *wards*, I take to be *guards*, the ſixteen ſoldiers, divided into two parties, the firſt at the priſon-door, the ſecond further on, nearer the iron-gate; all in the ſuburbs.

Acts xxi. 11. The reaſon why I ſaid that there was nothing to anſwer in the Antitype was, becauſe it does not appear that St. Paul's *feet* were bound; he was bound only δλύσεσι δυσὶ, but not with πέδαις, *fetters*: nor indeed is it conceivable how Agabus could bind his own *hands and feet* with

* Tranſlated from Cheſter in 1771. He died July 6, 1781. See ſome Memoirs of his Lordſhip, Gent. Mag. vol. LI. p. 343.

† Mr. Wood's. See the "Anecdotes," p. 416.

‡ On the Four Goſpels, uſed in the "Conjectures."

one girdle. However, you ſee what opinion I have of the words ἢ τὰς πόδας, though I dare ſay nothing. The inſtances brought out of Pliny and Alciphron, are they of *criminals* of ſtate? If ἄλυσις ever ſignifies *a chain* with which the *feet* are bound, Artzenius's explication may be right. St. Mark, it is certain, thus diſtinguiſheth: and though I never ſaw the Diſſertation, yet I would venture five to one, that St. Paul's *feet* were never faſtened by either of the two ἄλυσεις: I mean, that it is not proved.

"xxi. 24. I point it as it is there (though I do not know how that is from the queſtion), becauſe otherwiſe I cannot conſtrue it. Τούτων is underſtood before ὧν, which otherwiſe ought to have been ἃ. εὐδὲν [τούτων] ὧν (for ἃ) κατηγ. περὶ σοῦ, ἐστὶν. It may be ſo, or otherwiſe xxv. 11, becauſe κατηγορεῖν governs a genitive caſe, which κατηγεῖσθαι does not.

"xxi. 3. I am not concerned in this note. But I think Mill is right. ἐπάρας, Luc. vi. 20, would not have been written ἐπήρας by an Attic; nor σημήνας, in Sophocles, σημάνας by a Greek who was not an Attic. But ἀναφανέντες, the participle of the Aor. 2d paſſive, is moſt intolerable."

May 20, 1771.

"I SHALL ſend you the ſheets on the New Teſtament by Friday's carrier: you will receive them that night, or the next morning. The reaſon of my ſending them is, becauſe, as I ſee you have taken a great deal of pains to tranſcribe into the margin out of the papers I ſent laſt, it may ſave you or Mr. Nichols a good deal of trouble, if ever there ſhould be occaſion for a ſecond edition. I have not had ability or inclination to read them: but I ſee the letter *R.* often occurs. Curioſity (they ſay) is one of the laſt things which dies in a man: this prompted me to look for five or ſix places, which I find are moſtly omitted here; which I do not wonder at, knowing the difficulty and the diſtraction of ſuch an undertaking. You ſay you *are afraid of me:* you need not; for there is not a more quiet man in the world."

May 23, 1771.

"WITH this you will receive the ſheets on the New Teſtament; in ſome of which, viz. Acts xii, xiii, xxi, 3, &c. I could not forbear ſcribbling

bling ſomething, which perhaps you will not be able to read, owing to the weakneſs of my hand when I wrote it. I think that your undertaking is enough to diſtract even a *younger* man than yourſelf, and one who is perfectly at eaſe both in mind and body. Had I conſidered the difficulty of it ſooner, I ſhould have been againſt it.

"To the queſtion in your laſt, *What have I hope for?* I anſwer, Every thing that is good, if you pleaſe; or, on the other hand, nothing but miſery: both, I am ſure, in your own power and choice. This is true, in ſpite of what all the world can do to the contrary. What ſtuff is this, ſay you, to a man who is upon the rack with the ſtrangury, and whoſe only child refuſes to live with him? The very things, ſay I, looking a little higher, that were *perhaps* intended for your advantage, both in mind and body: or, if they were not intended ſo, may certainly be made ſo by yourſelf. *I don't know that*, ſay you. Why then I can only reply, as they do in the ſchools, *Pergas tuo modo.* "I am ſtrangely diſordered in my mind and head," ſays t'other day Mr. * * * * of Pall-mall. "Shall I bear this, I, who have ſome thouſand pounds a year?" Yes, ſay I, you had better bear it, unleſs you are ſure that you are an independent being, and that you have nothing to account for hereafter. "No," ſays he, "I will not bear it," and clapt a piſtol to his head, and ſo *died like a fool*, and a modern gentleman, who owns no ſuperior, and believes nothing of a future ſtate.

"I have ſent a few pens, all I could find, to be cobbled by you at your leiſure*; for I cannot meet with any like thoſe of your emendation. Theſe will laſt my life. You may bring them with you, if you come after Midſummer."

May 26, 1771.

"WHERE there is no likelihood of *conviction* on either ſide, I think all diſputing is fooliſh: but ἐπάρας could not be otherwiſe in any Greek writer; and ἐπήρας, the participle, would have been as wrong as ἐπάρα in the firſt perſon of the Aoriſt for ἐπῆρα.

* Mr. Markland for many years uſed no pens but what were made by his friend.

"I have ſaid ſomewhere, that a verb or word of a contrary ſignification to the expreſſed, may be fetched from the inexpreſſed; by which I explain that line of Horace, where the moſt *evident* thing is denied,

Nil extra eſt oleâ; nil intra eſt in nuce (wall-nut) *duri:*

where from *duri*, in the latter part of the ſentence, I fetch *mollis*, to the former."

July 7, 1771.

"I do not mention Dr. Heberden's opinion of your complaint with the uſual ſtyle of pity, becauſe I am firmly perſuaded that nothing can befall a man but what is to his *advantage*, if he pleaſes; and more cannot be deſired. This is Reaſon, little conſidered or thought of; but ſtrongly and clearly confirmed by the Book you are employed upon*. Hence, total confinement, mill-poſt legs, and apprehenſion of a ſtone in the kidneys, are of no great weight with one who is firmly under that perſuaſion, and thinks he has good authority for it, that no man is miſerable but through his own fault. Providence and Religion have ordered otherwiſe; though he who thinks differently will have moſt human votes on his ſide, if that will do him any good."

July 18, 1771.

"I HAVE read over the articles marked with *R.* as well as I could, without any fair copy, and by gueſs; and I have ſent them, that there might be no delay on my account; though you ſay in your laſt, 'I am ſorry that I undertook it.' I ſhould ſay ſo too, were you under any *neceſſity* of publiſhing it. But I ſuppoſe you are not, and am very ſorry that you have ſuch an unanſwerable excuſe to plead; a diſorder, to which I believe all *intention* and *application* are hurtful, as perhaps they chiefly, joined to too much ſitting-ſtill, may have been the cauſe of it.

"Your laſt Letter (the firſt part of it) ſurprized me much. I imagined it would have given you (as I am ſure it ought to have done) great pleaſure, to know that by your means I ſhould be enabled to do the greateſt of kindneſſes to a poor widow and three helpleſs children. What muſt be my

* The New Teſtament.

ſurprize,

ſurprize, when, inſtead of giving you pleaſure, I found it had only alarmed your fears and ſuſpicions? My good friend, how could the ſame perſon act in ſo great and ſo mean a manner? To give a man 500 *l.* and to be afraid at that man's laying out ten pounds on a poor woman and three fatherleſs children, much greater objects of humanity and compaſſion than he himſelf? *Courage, mon ami:* I will never hurt either you, or myſelf."

Auguſt 15, 1771.

"YOU aſk what I mean by καζὰ ἄνθρωπον. I anſwer, I do not know. There are ſo many ſignifications of that expreſſion, that it is difficult to ſay which is the *true* one; the *certain* one is, I think, impoſſible. I have noted in my margin ſome places which you may ſee, I ſuppoſe, in any Concordance. See alſo Joſephus, Bell. Jud. vi. 9. 2. and Ariſtid. Serm. Sacr. II. p. 292. Homer. Il. A. 271. καὶ μαχόμην κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐγώ. And qu. whether Εἰ in that place to the Corinthians may not ſignify *licet: although I had fought*, &c. but ſtill that does not explain καζὰ ἄνθρωπον, and is of no conſequence.

"As to 1 Tim. ii. 5, I knew that ἄνθρωπος could not ſignify THE *man*, which made me tranſlate it *one man, mediator between God and men, Chriſt Jeſus*. In the next verſe, I do not underſtand the ſenſe and conſtruction of τὸ μαρτύριον καιροῖς ἰδίοις. If I have tranſlated μεσίτης *the mediator*, I have done wrong."

Nov. 1, 1771.

"I RECEIVED your Letter this morning; and though you ſay I have the pen of a ready writer, yet I muſt beg your forbearance ſome little time, till I can upon conſideration anſwer your Letter.

"I never knew a perſon increaſe in bulk ſo much as he we ſpeak of, who was a long-lived man; though, very likely, he may out-live you and myſelf. Harry Finch uſed to ſay to Armſtrong, that he never knew a fat fellow whoſe life could be depended upon for half an hour *. Recollect how few old fat people you remember."

* See p. 529.

Dec.

Dec. 22, 1771.

"I HAD another reaſon for writing to you, which was, to mention a ſentence in your laſt Letter to me: *I wiſh you would not conjecture too much about Providence. What if Latin and Greek does go out of faſhion? What if all the Royal Family relinquiſh a diſſolute life, and marry among the ſubjects?*

"It would have ſeemed very odd, that an old Chriſtian, in his 79th year, ſhould want ſuch a piece of advice concerning *Providence*. And what follows, concerning *Latin and Greek*, and *the Royal Family*, would have been equally ſurprizing, had you not before in that Letter told me, that 'your head is ſtrangely confuſed.' I hope this will find you in a better ſituation of mind and body."

Feb. 16, 1772.

"I THANK you for your literary prog, which I have not had time even to look into; but will give you my opinion of them when I have read them. In the mean time, I am greatly prejudiced (I ſhould not uſe that word) againſt Mr. Mordecai's opinion, as you repreſent it; knowing that there are many things which I do not know, and which were never deſigned that I ſhould know in this world. I know how *weak*, and how *ſtrong* this argument is.

"I ſhall ſoon want your advice in the form of a will,* of ten lines, which I have drawn up, and will ſend you."

April 19, 1772.

"DR. H. in his Letters to me, has never ſaid a word of your ſtate of health, which I think he would have done had he thought it deſperate; and as to myſelf, I am of opinion, that the gout and the piles are not diſtempers, but remedies."

April 23, 1772.

"SO then our accounts, I find, are not to be made by the rules of Juſtice, but of Mercy. Be it ſo. They are both very good girls, and daughters of the ſame Father.

* See the "Anecdotes," p. 26.

"I was

"I was in hope that your other complaint had joſtled out the ſtone; which I am ſorry to ſee makes his appearance again. One night as I was lying in bed under the greateſt torment with that diſorder (mine was in the kidneys), I ſnatcht up the chamber-pot (I could ſcarce tell why, or what I was doing), as if to make water. After ſtriving ſome time, I did at laſt make about two ſpoonfuls; on which I immediately found myſelf perfectly at eaſe, and in a much more comfortable ſituation than if I had not been in pain at all; whence it appears what a luxurious thing *pain* is. I repeated the experiment ſeveral times afterwards, with the ſame ſucceſs: whence I concluded that this little ſcoundrel of a ſtone had ſtopt up the water-gang in the kidneys, which I opened by ſtriving. I mention this, if it may be of any uſe to you."

Auguſt 13, 1772.

"YOUR caſe is very odd, and ſeems to me ſingular. I ſuppoſe you have already, or, if not, I wiſh you would propoſe it to Dr. Heberden, in the ſtate you have done to me; becauſe, if there be any aſſiſtance in Art, I fancy you may have it thence: or, if not, that part of your ſituation, *without hopes of life, or fear of death*, is a very deſireable one.

"The printing of the notes in the two little quarto's next ſummer is a thing of ſo great uncertainty, both with regard to me and yourſelf, that I ſhall ſay nothing of it at preſent, as there is time enough to think of it: but any thoughts of coming to London, in my preſent circumſtances, are death to, dear Sir, yours ſincerely."

October 4, 1772.

"WHAT I meant by the *ab ipſo* I now underſtand; and from it we may judge what the Librarians did in the Ancients, when a thing was obſcure to them; as I do not doubt have been done (though it cannot perhaps now be proved) in many places of the Scriptures.

"What is ſaid by the *Socinians*, *Arians*, or *Orthodox*, ſeems to me to be very little worth regard, when they are talking of things which they cannot underſtand, and perhaps never were deſigned to be underſtood by *man*

in this ſtate. The Letter of *Ben Mordecai* is moſt excellent to this purpoſe. O ſhameful Creed of Athanaſius!

"From ſeveral circumſtances (which perhaps I do not underſtand, as being ſo much out of the world), I own I am very ſuſpicious of the people of the Feathers-tavern*; and cannot forbear thinking that Rome or Scotland (who, I do not doubt, would unite on ſuch an occaſion) may be concerned in the affair. Οὐκ ἀγνοῶμεν τῶνδε μηχανήματα, as an ambi-dexter would ſay. What *ought* to be done, is very clear and obvious: what *will* be done, very uncertain."

Nov. 27, 1772.

"I HAVE a great opinion of Mr. Lindſey, as of a good and ſincere worthy man; and of the Queriſt as a judicious one. If you aſk my opinion concerning the form of the edition, I anſwer, BY NO MEANS: becauſe you will find inſuperable difficulties before you are got half-way through, though, I confeſs, any thing pleaſes that explains. But, upon conſideration, you will find that the old *John Trott*-way is the ſafeſt: and it is pretty much the ſame thing whatever copy you follow; for you muſt make no conſiderable alteration in the text (though you be ſure it is right) againſt all the copies, or the majority of them; of which very many inſtances might be given; which, *in theſe books*, any blockhead can defend from the conſent of copies, and all the learned men in the world can never prove to be otherwiſe: for, *in this caſe*, 'non probaſti, etiamſi probaveris;' and ſenſe, reaſon, uſe, and criticiſm, are nothing againſt fact and obſtinacy. In this very ſpecimen which you have given there are three or four things, which probably did not come from the Evangeliſt himſelf. But I would not be the man who ſhould ſay ſo. Why? Becauſe St. Paul has taught me a much better private rule, Rom. xiv. 22. Σὺ πίστιν ἔχεις; Κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἔχε, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Are you firmly perſuaded of the truth of any thing? Keep it to yourſelf, before God.* Poor Mr. Lindſey was not at liberty to make uſe of this rule: you and I, private men, are; who need not profeſs what we cannot believe: he, by his office, was obliged to do it, had not his honeſty preponderated. Who can ſay how he would have acted on the ſame occaſion?"

* The application from the Diſſenting Clergy to Parliament, for relief in matters of ſubſcription.

"It

" It ſeems to me impoſſible that our Saviour's *Divinity* can be eluded, except a perſon who is certainty often called Θεὸς, can be without Θειότης. I believe we are quite ignorant of theſe matters, notwithſtanding all our ſyſtems; and when the *Father's* Godhead is ſpoken of, it is called 'ΑΙ'ΔΙΟΣ δύναμις καὶ Θειότης, Rom. i. 20; whereas our Saviour ſays, that " all power *hath been given* to me."

Feb. 7, 1773.

" NO wonder Caſtalio interpreted as he did. He ſaw, when he came to tranſlate, that ὧν ἁψήσομαι * was nonſenſe in any ſhape. But Beza was a Genius, and of the Vulgate's *quibus* he would make ὧν ſignify *in* quibus: and his authority was ſufficient to our great interpreters. So John iii. 13, when he could not tell what to do with ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (and he muſt have been very ſkilful if he could), he contends, that ὁ ὢν ſignifies *qui erat*; as he might better have ſaid, that ὢν ſignifies ὁ ἐσόμενος, *qui futurus eſt*; which would have been equally true in language, and much more to the purpoſe in that place."

April 16, 1773.

" I THANK you for your information concerning the quoter of ὁ ὢν, which was a matter of curioſity; for I was ſure it never could be of conviction, from all the authorities in the world, till I could ſee an inſtance of thoſe words ſignifying *qui erat:* eſpecially in one who diſtinguiſhes (Revelat. i. 8) ὁ ΩΝ, καὶ ὁ ΗΝ, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, the ſame as ἐσόμενος. I ſhould be very glad if you would ſend me (but I believe you cannot) an inſtance of thoſe two words clearly ſignifying *qui erat*; eſpecially when the foregoing are, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς. For if it be ſaid of any perſon, that *he came down from heaven,* there ſeems no great need to ſay in the next words, that *he was in heaven.* Ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον, &c. is right, becauſe it was ſpoken by the Evangeliſt in his *own* perſon, *after* our Saviour's aſcenſion: but ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ is ſpoken by the *Son of Man* himſelf, at that

* Acts xxvi. 16.

very time converſing upon *earth* with Nicodemus, and affirming that at the ſame time *he is in heaven*. How this could be without *two* Human Natures, I do not underſtand. Dr. Whitby's *(according to his Divine Nature)* labours under the ſame difficulty. Eraſmus's and Grotius's notes ſeem to come from perſons who thought themſelves obliged to ſay ſomething upon what they did not underſtand. In the edition of *Conjectures on the New Teſtament* which you ſent me, in the margin, againſt John iii. 13, I find theſe words, 'If Joſ. Scaliger, If. Caſaubon, Grotius, Salmaſius, Bochart, and Bentley, were to give their unanimous opinions, that ὁ ὢν might ſignify *who was*, I ſhould not believe it without an exemplification. It is contrary to the nature of language, which all the opinions in the world cannot alter now. Surely Dr. Cl. could not be impoſed upon by our verſion, τυφλὸς ὤν, *whereas I was blind*, John ix. 25.

"I fancy the note of Eraſmus, which you have ſent, diſcovers the whole affair. It was impoſſible the words ὁ ὢν could be taken in their uſual ſignification here: and therefore Eraſmus gives them a new one; "Participium "verti poteſt per præteritum perfectum, *qui erat* (he ſhould have ſaid *fuit)* "*in cælo*, &c." Beza, who underſtood it no more than Eraſmus did, was glad however of ſuch an authority, and ſo tranſlates it *eſt* vel *erat*. It is no wonder that thoſe who came after, being under the ſame circumſtance of *not-underſtanding*, ſhould follow ſuch great examples. This is not the only inſtance of the kind in the New Teſtament, where a word has been *forced* into a ſignification it never has, for the ſake of an hypotheſis."

October 27, 1773.

"WHEN you aſk me a queſtion in the *Res Nummaria*, you aſk one who knows as little of that matter as if he were of the R. S. I never had the leaſt inclination to ſtudy that part of Antiquity; of which I ſhall give you a ſurpriſing inſtance, when I tell you, that I have *not read our friend's account of the Ancient Coins* *. From ſome ſcraps of it, I perceive a prodigious ſhew of erudition; but whether it be exact or not, I am not a judge."

* Mr. Clarke's, which however he had *begun* to read; at leaſt the quotations in it from the Ancients. See p. 524.

Dec. 3, 1773.

"THE affair of Pompey's reduction of Athens, I believe, you will find in Plutarch's Life of him; for I have no books, nor much memory; and the *Hero* you inquire after is, if I remember, among the *Catalecta Pitiſci.*

"It is pleaſant to obſerve how naturally a man returns to the point whence he ſet out, viz. milk, which is now the chief ſuſtenance to me at 80 years old: not to mention other infirmities of infancy, among which I muſt very poetically mention one, *madidique infantia naſi* *."

Mr. MARKLAND to J. NICHOLS.

June 22, 1774.

"IT would be a great comfort to me to think (for I ſhall be dead long before that time) that this boy John Freeman † (who will be ſeven years old in July 1) will be your apprentice in due time: *hæc cura et cineri ſpiret inuſta meo*, as the poet ſays. I have a very great regard for his mother's induſtry, honeſty, and frugality; inſtances of all which I know."

October 12, 1774.

"DR. BARNARD of Eton has called upon me twice within theſe ſix weeks. Mr. Lindſey's preaching will make no more alteration in religion, than the diſſolution of the parliament will in politics: we are juſt where we were.

"I have breakings-out in my legs, with very troubleſome itchings: I fancy they are ſcorbutic, and in a few days intend to try Maredant's drops, which are ſaid to do wonderful things in that way; but perhaps νεκρὸν ἀναθέλειν ἢ γέροντα ἰατρεύειν, ταυτόν ἐστι."

December 13, 1774.

"IT rejoices me to find that you have laid aſide the deſign of publiſhing the N. T. I think we are both now too old to be engaged in that undertaking; I above 40 years, and you above 30: I ſpeak according to the uſual meaſure of the life of man. And though I know there are many depravations there, and am very well ſatisfied of the truth of ſeveral of the reſtitutions, yet I chuſe to keep them to myſelf, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, as

* Juvenal, Sat. x. 199.

† A grandſon of his landlady at Milton-Court. On Mr. Markland's death, in 1776, the boy was bred up to other purſuits.

being only matters of curioſity chiefly; except one, which perhaps I may mention ſome other time. I never read Dr. Clarke's *Sermon on the Doctrine of the Trinity*. I believe Mr. Lindſey to be a very worthy man; though far from being of his opinion in all things."

Jan. 27, 1775.

"DO not forget me if you meet with any folio edition of the N. T. the paper of which will bear ink: Beza's (I have that) will not. I ſhall not write much upon it (I am too old), and yet I would not have every thing I can ſay loſt. I did not think it reaſonable to take your edition; that is, the meat out of your mouth. As far as I remember, Gregory's Oxford edition would anſwer my purpoſe. Perhaps you are better acquainted with it.

"What will become of us? For I foreſee the American petition will be rejected. I have feared it a long time. I have leſs reaſon to be concerned than you have, being much older; and yet I cannot forbear being uneaſy for poſthumous calamities, which I foreſee will be owing to the weakneſs of ſome, and the wickedneſs of others. The Provoſt of Eton brought his ſon hither, a youth of about eleven years old. I told him, I was afraid he will ſee evil days in England; for that it ſeemed to be ripening apace. You, I believe, will laugh at all this, as appearances are different to different perſons; and yet I think every man in England has reaſon to be uneaſy at ſuch a majority of members of parl—t who will ſell you to the beſt bidder; in which caſe you have only one way (and that a very diſagreeable one) to help yourſelf. We ſeem to be in a very bad ſituation; and worſe, if Sophocles's remark be true, ταῦτα πάλαι ζεύς· which probably is the caſe."

Jan. 29, 1775.

"IT amazes me when I conſider what ſtrange overſights have been made in the N. T. by men of the greateſt learning and ſagacity, in a book that has been read more than any book in the world. What can be the reaſon of it? They would not have done ſo in any other author. Reverence, perhaps, has got the better of common ſenſe. I could ſend you inſtances which would aſtoniſh you.

"Poor America! and poor England!"

Feb.

Feb. 5, 1775.

"Dr. P.'s* wealth, you ſay, is confirmed by good authority. I am ſorry for it, becauſe I think a Chriſtian prieſt, with no children, to die worth 30,000 *l.* has a very unſcriptural look. One news-paper ſays, that he left to twenty fellows of the College, who were his contemporaries, 100 *l.* each. This would have been very pretty and commendable, had it been done a fortnight before he was taken ill: otherwiſe it has the look of playing faſt and looſe, and ſeems to declare that, if he had never died, he never would have done any good with his riches."

Feb. 12, 1775.

"I HAVE long wanted to aſk you a queſtion concerning your note on Rom. ix. 6. You ſay that 'J. Munthe contends, that οὐχ οἷον, or, οὐχ οἷον ΟΤΙ, with an Indicative followed by ἀλλὰ, is agreeable,' &c. There are ſeveral inſtances of οὐχ οἷον—ἀλλὰ, but not one with ὅτι, which word to me makes it quite unintelligible. Beza ſays, that Budæus has ſhewn, by ſeveral inſtances, that τε is often omitted, in this ſenſe. I have no doubt but tricks have been played here, from not underſtanding the ellipſis of οὐ, which ellipſis is ſeen in all the places of Diodorus: Οὐχ ὅιον δὲ ΟΥΚ ἐκπέπ]ωκεν, &c. ἀδ' ΟΙ εἰσὶ—τέκνα ἀλλ', Ἐν Ἰσαὰκ, &c. *Non ſolum verò* non excidit, &c."

Feb. 19, 1775.

"I BELIEVE I mentioned in my laſt, but the word might be blotted ſo as that you could not read it, that οὐ or οὐκ was the ellipſis: οὐχ οἷον δὲ [οὐκ] ἐκπέπ]ωκεν,—ἀδ' οἱ εἰσὶ τέκνα ἀλλ', Ἐν Ἰσαὰκ &c. Look into all the inſtances out of Diodorus, and you will find the ſame ellipſis: οὐχ οἷον [οὐκ] ἐπιζητῆσι &c. οὐχ οἷον [οὐ] φεύγειν βέλοπ]αι &c. οὐχ οἷσι [οὐ] συνεπιλαβέσθαι τινὸς &c. rightly expreſſed in the verſion, though the Latins uſe the ſame ellipſis of *non* exactly in the ſame manner.

"It is eaſy to conceive that ὅτι might firſt come in from ſome reader, who took οὐχ οἷον to ſignify *it is impoſſible*, inſtead of *not only*; as our tranſlators did.

* Dr. Powell, Maſter of St. John's College, Cambridge.

"I am

"I am very well ſatisfied within myſelf with this explication; but perhaps another may not be ſo. It ſeems wonderful that Mr. Munthe ſhould miſs what all his inſtances prove, and not one of OTI."

Nov. 5, 1775.

"IN a former I mentioned Acts ii. 13, in which I thought I had made a new diſcovery; but, upon looking over ſome old papers, I found the following note written in Latin: I do not know how long, but I am ſure near thirty years (at leaſt) ago; and I then recollected that I had mentioned it to a D. D. The note is as follows:

"Acts ii. 13. Ἕτεροι δὲ χλευάζοντες, &c. In his verbis nullus videtur eſſe χλεσασμὸς, neque aliquid *juceti* & ad riſum commendum apti. Expectaſſes magis ut Lucas diceret κακολογοῦντες quàm χλευάζοντες: ſunt enim hæc reverà κακολογία, *maledictum* et conviciam. Accentûs mutatione en tibi horum hominum χαριεσμὸν: ἔλεγον, ὅτι Γλευκῦ, &c. A voce γλεῦκος, *muſtum*, ridiculi cauſſà fingitur, *Perſona* ſeu *Dea*, Γλευκὼ (Gen. -οῦς, -οῦς), ut Θαλλὼ, Αὐξὼ, in jurejurando Athenienſium, apud Pollucem viii. 9. ſegm. 10. et ad hanc formam Ἀεσὼ et Εὐεσὼ, Deæ Politicæ de quibus vide viros eruditos ad Heſychium, Diog. Laërtium et Harpocrationem. ſic Αἰδὼ, Dea Lacedæmoniis habita, Xenophon. Sympoſ. p. m. 91. Δημήτηρ Σιτὼ (ἀ σῖτος, *frumentum*), Siculis culta, Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. 27. Ἰασὼ Ariſtoph. Pluto, Ἡσὼ, *Suada*, Βριμὼ et Βριζὼ, Clem. Alexandr. Protrept. et multa talia.

"The perſon * to whom you made the preſent of Kuſter's Greek Teſtament, folio, not long ago, has often, to my knowledge, thought that there is no book in the world which he would not rather publiſh than the N. T. becauſe it is impoſſible to give an edition which would ſatisfy others and himſelf too. What can be done, ſays he, in caſes where there is no Greek, no ſenſe, contradiction, the negative wanting or abounding, and yet all the copies agreeing? Inſtances of all which, not yet given, are eaſily given, and any *one* of them would bring all the world upon his back! 'But have not all theſe things,' ſay you, 'been taken notice of long ago?' It is wonderful, and almoſt incredible to ſay, *They have not:* and the reaſon is not difficult to thoſe who will conſider the caſe of the great men who have written upon the N. T.

"All this I believe to be true (you perhaps will not); but I have put no name, becauſe of accidents: and I would not give a ſtraw to have every

* Mr. Markland himſelf.

body

body think as I do. A man in Mr. Lindſey's ſituation is obliged to *ſpeak out*; in mine, to *hold his tongue*, if he be not a fool."

April 28, 1776.

"I HAVE of late been diſordered by the gout, and otherwiſe; ſo that I have not been able to attend to any thing; conſequently, not to thank you for Mr. Harmer's notes, which I have read over with a great deal of pleaſure: it would have been much greater, had he taken in more places of the N. T. of which there are very few.

"Mr. Deane has brought with him Dr. Harwood's edition of the Greek Teſtament; his notes on which I am now reading, and will return Mr. Harmer's by the firſt opportunity; perhaps by the carrier on Tueſday. I have juſt now read one note in Dr. Harwood that ſurprizes me, on Luke xi. 35. ῥομφαίαι. This word occurs in Val. Flaccus, lib. vi. ver. 98.

"Æquaque nec ferre brevior, nec *romphæa* ligno."

"It is well known to ſcholars, that Val. Flaccus wrote but ſeven books, and the eighth is only a ſupplement by a modern; and to make a dactyl of *rŏmphæă* is wonderful."

May 12, 1776.

"The perſon *, whoſe note on Luke xi. 35, I ſent you, in his edition, has followed the copy which Beza gave to Cambridge; of which Dr. Mill ſomewhere ſays in his notes, that, of all the copies he ever conſulted, this is the moſt faulty one. Doctors differ. The editor thinks, that, after having been engaged in the ſtudy of the Scriptures for a conſiderable number of years, this Mſ. and the Clermont copy of the Epiſtles, come the neareſt to the originals of any Mſſ. in the known world. *Utri creditis, Quirites?*

"I don't know your opinion in politics: but I often think of that line in Horace †, *delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*: I tranſlate *reges* Scots, and *Achivi* Engliſh."

May 18, 1776.

"THE annotations I ſent you in my laſt, on Luke xi. 35, was miſrepreſented, my old eyes miſtaking a figure of 6 at the end of a line for a figure of 8. The reſt was, as it is there, bad enough;

"Æquaque nec ferre brevior, neque *rŏmphæă* ligno."

"I have not a Valerius Flaccus: Dr. Heberden has."

* Dr. Harwood. † Ep. I. ii. 14.

Extracts from Mr. CLARKE's Letters to Mr. BOWYER.

St. Luke's, 1726.

"I SHOULD be glad to have your account of the medal in Vaillant, becauſe I have ſtill ſome ſuſpicions about that thundering legion. Xiphilin's authority is of no great weight, becauſe he tells us that the legion took its name from this action; and Tertullian lived at a great diſtance, and his Montaniſm is too good an argument of his credulity: I don't at all doubt but that there was ſomething miraculous in the victory, and ſhould have no ſcruple in aſcribing it to the prayers of the Chriſtians, if I was ſure that Antoninus's pillar (as cited by Mr. Richardſon from Caſalius) was fairly repreſented; but the misfortune is, that Mr. Moyle quotes the very ſame pillar (as Baronius has drawn it) as the ſureſt proof that the Chriſtians had nothing to do with the miracle. How is it poſſible to reconcile this difference without conſulting the beſt deſcription of the *Columna Antonini* extant? I wiſh you would do it, who cannot want opportunity. The medal that Mr. Moyle quotes proves nothing. REL. AVG. is an inſcription upon two of M. Aurelius's medals with different reverſes, and probably not both ſtruck upon the ſame occaſion. Ant. Auguſtinus mentions both theſe, but does not apply either of them to this miracle: and though he mentions it in his Dialogues, he does not ſeem to have ſeen any medal that related to it. PIET. AVG. is common, and I believe means much the ſame thing. I thank you for inquiring of Mr. Chiſhull.

"*Biæus* has a pretty good character among the engravers, though I believe few of his medals are very curious."

October 13, 1728.

"ONE of the pleaſures of going into the country is the opportunity I now have of converſing with you: I was ſo taken up with ceremonies in town, that I cannot ſay whether I was more plagued with them, or pleaſed with the Coronation. I am ſorry that I had ſo little time to ſpend with you, when I had ſo much to aſk and talk with you about: I found the paſſage in Dion. It is lib. lx. p. 779. edit. Steph. where he is ſpeaking of

of affairs in Britain. It is read ſo, as I found it quoted. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΙ, ἀλλ' ΑΛΛΟΙΣ *βασιλευσι τεροσαγμένοι*. By *αὐτόνομοι*, he only means that there were no democratical governments in Britain; that is the proper ſenſe: but then the *alii regibus* is ſcarce ſenſe. Does ἄλλος alone ever ſignify *diverſus, varius?* If you read it ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοις, all is right *. The paſſage in Zoſimus I could not readily find, and I had but little time to beſtow upon it, though I wiſh I knew where to find it: he ſays that when the Romans left the Britains, they *καθ' ἑαυτὰς ἐβιώτευον* †."

Auguſt 11, 1729.

"AS to your ſcruples about the diviſion of Britain, I can anſwer them all at once; *i. e.* that I am reſolved to ſay not a ſyllable about it. I can't pleaſe myſelf with it, nor find any authorities that determine the time of it; and as it does not greatly concern my queſtion, I had rather not meddle with it than make nothing of it.

"It is certain that Severus made two provinces of Britain; and after that, all is conjecture.—I believe Dioclefian divided it into three. Firſt, becauſe Lactantius ſays of him, *Provinciæ in fruſta conciſæ, multi præſides, plura officia ſingulis regionibus*, &c.—Secondly, becauſe there were three biſhops from Britain at the Council of Arles 314. That theſe were divided into four before Valentinian, is evident from Sextus Rufus: who was the author of this diviſion is again only matter of conjecture, probably Conſtantine, becauſe it had the name of *Flavia*, and becauſe his three ſucceſſors had very little to do in Britain. In the year 369 Theodoſius added a fifth province, and called it *Valentia*, from the emperor's name. Sextus Rufus's Breviarium was written before this time, becauſe he takes no notice of this *Valentia*; and as *Valentia* was ſo called from an emperor's name, it is probable that *Flavia* was ſo too.

"Now the buſineſs is to find authorities for the intermediate diviſions into three and four provinces.

1. A Mſ. of Sextus Rufus (I am afraid) would be of no uſe, for unleſs there were four provinces in Britain, there could not be eighteen in all, as he reckons them.

* This is Leunclavius' reading. Fabricius propoſed ἀλλ' ἄλλοις. EDIT.

† This paſſage is in Zoſimus, B. vi. p. 376. Ed. Ox. EDIT.

" 2. If there be any thing in *Panvinius's* Commentary, we may ſafely reckon that ſome of the after-writers (eſpecially Cellarius) have taken notice of it. Cellarius's note upon *Maxima Cæſarienſis* is this. ' Vide hanc diviſionem &c. explicat. in lib. provinc. Schenhovii, et in *Geographia noſtra medii ævi.*' Now this *Geographia medii ævi* is what I never heard of before. I have his *Geographia Antiqua*, that does not go ſo low; and I find in Prevoux's Catalogue, *Geographia antiqua et nova*, per Cellarium, 2 vol. 8vo. Jenæ, 1716.—Perhaps the *Geographia media* may be a part of this book. If it be, I ſhould be glad you would ſend it me.

" If this does not give ſome light, I can gueſs only at two places more where it is to be expected: either in *Hiſtoire Romaine*, &c. *par les Peres Catrou & Rouille*, *avec les notes hiſtoriques*, *geographiques*, &c. 12 vol. 4°. Pariſ. 1727; or in *Banduri Numiſm.* Perhaps among the medals of *Dioclefian*, *Conſtantine*, &c. there may be ſome footſteps of this affair. As to your objection from the Council of Rimini 359; the number of biſhops at a council is an argument that there were ſo many provinces in their country at that time, not that there was no more. And perhaps *Maxima Cæſarienſis* after the diviſion lying always ſubject to the inroads of the Picts, no biſhop was fixed in it.—*Sed de his ſatis.*"

Sept. 28.

" I AM glad you are in peace and ſafety, and delivered at your Muſeum in White-Fryars free from all diſputes, either about horſes or dunghils. I was in hopes of having your thoughts about the amuſements at Tunbridge—how you liked the place, and ſpent the evening. I fancied you had a mind to ſee it once, and I ſuppoſe are ſatisfied. But you are ſo divided between Law and Learning, that you don't ſay one word either of the ladies or the waters.—Sir, my wife inſiſts upon it that you ſhould not be ſilent upon ſuch important articles.—As to leaſes (the only query you have now remaining), there are no rules to be given about them, but what ariſe from the farms themſelves. The lawyers are moſt of them acquainted with the forms; the conditions you muſt fix yourſelf, or ſome friend who has ſeen the farm. Perſons who have not ſeen it are capable of giving no directions. As, for inſtance, you muſt determine how many acres of meadow ſhall *never be plowed*—how many of the arable acres ſhall be

plowed

plowed at one time.—As to the wood, the reſervations muſt be ſuch as you think proper; the leſs there is upon the farm, the leſs liberty you ſhould allow, &c.

" I am much obliged for the favour you did me, and deſire you would remember, that you have taken a leaſe of your room at the parſonage for a certain time in September annually; which if you don't perform, remember, *Bowyer verſus Boreham* *—I ſhall have a writ againſt you, and damages.

" I ſhall be glad of ſeeing any attempts of yours as an Antiquary, let the example be from what original you pleaſe in the venerable Society; for I think you may, without vanity, boaſt of many originals. I don't underſtand all your learning in this paper no more than I do Mr. Folkes, whoſe example you quote. You would know a *Noble* from a *Rial*, but by the weight. I anſwer who would [not] indeed; for there was no other difference; the *Noble*, when increaſed to ſuch a proportion in weight, was called a *Rial* ever afterwards.—Mr. Folkes ſuppoſes that King Henry's *Angels* might be known by their near reſemblance to King Edward.—But why might they not be known by the legend *Hen. re* if Henry VII. (as is ſuppoſed) added the number to his name?"

Octob. 15, 1732.

" IN your preſent ſituation I know you muſt have ſo little time to yourſelf, that I ſcruple to rob you of any part of it: but if I ſhould, out of regard to your leiſure hours, intirely excuſe you from this ſort of trouble, I am afraid that I ſhould not ſpend my own ſo agreeably as I could wiſh; the conſequence would be, that I ſhould hear from you much ſeldomer than I do.

" I am glad that little Tom is a part of your weekly amuſement. I much approve the conſtancy of his temper, that won't be inveigled from his nurſe. Nor do I condemn his choice; he muſt, at preſent, have as much taſte for converſing with his nurſe as his father. Our little ones are very well; but I begin to think that boys are not ſo governable as girls, nor ſo quick in their mother-tongue. My wife is very angry with Mr.

* His tenant at Naveſtock.

Bulkeley * for laying you under ſuch ſtrict obligations, and thinks her boy as well worth ſeeing as any ſheet in Thuanus.

" I have not read much in Maſvicius; but have met with many ſhameful errata, and doubt it is very incorrectly printed for ſo fine a book. I knew that I muſt expect the ſame in Kuſter; the author of the *Prolegomena* (if he ſays true) had laid this to his charge. *Omnia Millii errata—et complura alia, eaque fœdiora accedere paſſus eſt.* But, for all that, it is certainly the moſt uſeful Greek Teſtament that we have, or, I believe, are like to have, after all this new editor can do for us.

" I have not read Rapin Thoyras over, and but few places with ſo much care as to examine what he has ſaid, and by what authority. Nor have I, indeed, the proper materials for ſuch a work. I have ſcarce any of the old Engliſh hiſtorians, and without them there is not much to be done. In looking back ſome time ago upon our Saxon antiquities, I had marked ſome places with my pencil, and writ little memorandums in others; but I doubt they are ſcarce worth communicating: if they are, I'm ſure you have a right to expect any thing of that ſort that is in my power. I have ſent you a parcel of them, as far as the end of his two firſt books. The ſecond book is ſo much mixed with the fables of the Welſh hiſtorian, that it is as good as nothing—half romance; but what was capable of being well told, and might amuſe the reader. I wiſh the gentlemen who give us this ſecond edition would throw all their improvements at laſt into one 8° volume, to oblige us who were their friends and humble ſervants in buying the firſt. I would really ſend them a ſheet or two of thanks, if not of notes, upon that account.

" Perhaps you'll ſmile at my offering any thing by way of Welſh etymology. Sure I have reaſon enough to make free with that language, ſince I can make no money of it; nor, what is ſtill worſe, I'm afraid you can ſqueeze nothing out of it, but e-t-y-m-o-l-o-g-y."

Nov. 25, 1732.

" YOU had not waited for a thing of ſo little conſequence as my opinion about church authority, if I had not been in hopes of meeting with ſome of the caſes you referred to. But books are no more to be met with here than pheaſants in Fleet ſtreet. What made me more deſirous to ſee

* The famous bookſeller.

ſome

ſome of the Reports mentioned in *Wood*, p. 500, was becauſe I imagine that you took all there mentioned to be on the ſame ſide the queſtion, *againſt the authority of the church over the laity*. But ſure the caſe is far otherwiſe. *Coke's 12th Report*, and *Rolle's Abridgment*, ſeem to be produced on that ſide; but perhaps theſe two are only one evidence, the caſe in *Rolle's* being very probably copied from that in *Coke*, and from a volume of Reports that does not ſeem to be of equal authority with the firſt *eleven:* but if it were againſt this ſingle authority, you have *Vaughan, Moor, Ventris*, very conſiderable lawyers. So it is that Mr. Wood ſtates his query, and ſo I find theſe authorities alledged in other books, to ſhew that canons legally made and confirmed ſhall bind as much in matters eccleſiaſtical as any ſtature.—But, having none of theſe Reports, this is at beſt only a ſecond-hand opinion, which you may examine at leiſure.

" I think it is univerſally agreed, that before Henry VIII. the clergy in convocation had an authoritative juriſdiction in matters eccleſiaſtical, and might put in uſe any canons that were not contrary to the *prerogative, laws*, or *cuſtoms* of the realm. And to be ſure this was generally the caſe: the number of provincial conſtitutions preſerved are demonſtration enough in this point. And it is moſt likely that the clergy in thoſe days did not always keep within due limits, but broke in often upon ſome of the triple incloſures that were a check upon their authority. The preamble to the 25th of Henry VIII. proves this, that the prerogative eccleſiaſtical had in divers caſes borne hard upon the prerogative royal and the ſubject's liberty. But be that as it will, Henry VIII. intended by that ſtatute to veſt himſelf with a part of the eccleſiaſtical authority, to guard againſt any dangers from the clergy; and this act being declarative of what was law before, can never make the eccleſiaſtical authority leſs by adding it to the royal prerogative. To deny that canons legally eſtabliſhed bind the laity, is denying the royal prerogative in one of the moſt conſiderable branches of it. And we have no other foundation for the greateſt part of our eccleſiaſtical laws, which do in fact bind the laity, where they are not otherwiſe relieved by ſtatute. It is poſſible that the 16th of Charles I. which took away the authority of the High Commiſſion Court, might in ſome meaſure be deſigned to affect church authority in general; but as that ſtatute was repealed by the 13 Charles II. (except what concerns the High Commiſſion Court),

Court), it is manifeſt that eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction muſt be as it was by law before the year 1639.

" This ſeems to be as clear as poſſible, and the 26 of Henry VIII. ſets forth the royal prerogative in this reſpect in terms ample enough.

" As to my notes on Rapin, it is not poſſible I ſhould go on with them; to be for ever groping my way in the dark, would make the taſk ſo unpleaſant that I could never bear it. There is no doing at all without the *Scriptores poſt Bedam*, *Decem Scriptores*, *Florent. Vigorn.* &c. which I cannot row here, and am not inclined to buy upon any motive, eſpecially to pay ſo dear for revenge.

" I am mightily pleaſed to think what little heroes you ſingle out to engage in ſharp encounter, Mr. Pope, Mr. Bowman *, &c. and then tell us, to ſet forth your own atchievements, that one of them is one of the greateſt men in the three kingdoms."

Buxted, Dec. 21.

" Imagining that the few ſhort Queries in your laſt had ſome relation to the worſhipful performance that is now in the preſs, I have ſent you all that I know of them with as much expedition as I could. Biſhop Nicolſon ſuppoſes the author of the Gothic Goſpels to have lived much later than Ulphila, becauſe in that verſion there are ſeveral words that have a *feudal* aſpect, and may probably have ſome relation to thoſe cuſtoms. As in Mark x. 22, (not Matt. as Dr. Wilkins prints it, p. v. Præfat. Ep. Deſ) Luke xviii. 24. *Faihu* is uſed for *goods*, *poſſeſſions*, which is the ſame with the Saxon *Feo*, or *Feoh*, whence the Latin *Feodum* and *Feudum* came. The obſervation is Junius's; but the Biſhop makes uſe of it as an argument for bringing down this verſion to the viiith or ixth century; for that muſt, at leaſt, be the import of *proprius multo ad Willerami Abbatis ſæculum acceſſiſſe dixerim*. How far this conjecture will bear I cannot ſay. The former argument from Schottelius I don't underſtand. Hickes and Nicolſon ſeem to agree that this verſion is properly *Teutonic*, and not *Gothic*: but, with ſubmiſſion to theſe great maſters of the Northern languages, I do not know what they mean by the opinion they are ſo perfectly clear in; *Teutonem aliquem argentei codicis auctorem extitiſſe nullus dubito*, ſays the Biſhop. Do they really mean that the *Runic*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, is the true *Gothic*, and

* See the " Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 69.

that

that the Goths came originally from Scandinavia * ? If they do, it is a point in geography that deſerves a further inquiry.—Surely the *Goths* and *Teutones* were originally the ſame people: the former, who lived more eaſtward, and of courſe nearer to the ſeats of infant ſcience, had their *letters* from the *Greek alphabet*, and their tongue probably from a common mother, the *old Scythian*. The latter, as perhaps the greater part of the Germans, learnt the uſe of letters from the Romans: this ſurely may be true, though both theſe northern languages have many things in common, many words of the ſame original. But ſince your queſtion relates to the antiquity of the *Codex Argenteus*, I cannot forbear tranſcribing two opinions about that point, which, when placed together, muſt make one of them appear very extraordinary. Dr Mill, in his Prolegomena to the N. T. §. 1399, ſays, *Verſio Gothica perantiqua:—Codex ante mille plus minus annos in pergameno aureis et argenteis literis exaratus.* And, §. 1400, adds, *in hac verſione ſecutus eſt interpres exemplar Græcum* PRÆSTANTISSIMUM, *et quidem exacte admodum, ac* ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΔΑΣ: *Et licet in plurimis conſentiat cum Codice Cant. unde ſuſpicio erat ex interpolatis iis fuiſſe quæ in occidente deſcripta fuerunt; ex penitiori tamen inſpectione patebat diverſi omnino generis fuiſſe hoc exemplar, & quidem notæ optimæ.* Thus Mill.—While the gentleman † who wrote the late Prolegomena to an edition of the N. T. that we were to expect in Holland, Amſt. 1730, 4to, ſays, p. 85, *Ex Latino converſum eſſe* [*Codicem*] *prodit*, 1°. *Titulus, incipit Evangelium* SECUNDUM *Marcum, vel* SECUNDUM *Lucam; quæ formula Latinorum eſt, non Græcorum.* 2°. *Vertit porro ut Latini*, &c. 3°. *Habet dein voces et terminationes Latinas, ut* Faſciis, Career, Lucerna, &c. 4°. *Habet denique emendationes, quæ in nullis Græcis reperiuntur, ut Marc.* iii. 21. 5°. *Editio ipſa multis ſcatet mendis, quarum plurimæ ex literarum ſimilitudine, et obſoleta ſcriptura videntur obortæ. Ex quibus omnibus conficitur, iſtam converſionem neque ejus ætatis, neque auctoritatis eſſe, quæ vulgo eidem tribuitur.*—Would not one expect now that a writer, who

* *Runicam* dixi linguam veterem quam alii *Danicam*, alii *Cimbricam*, alii vero *Scandicam* nuncupant, *Runicæ* nomen eſſe ſortitum a RVNIS, hoc eſt, ab antiquiſſimis literis quas ſaxeis ſuis monumentis incidere & quibuſcum codices ſuos veteres Scandiæ populi & ab iis oriundæ gentes, potiſſimum *Iſlandi*, ſcribere ſolebant.—*Iſlandi* eodem fere vetere & genuino ſermone jamdudum uterentur quo ante annos fere 800 coacti ſunt cum patria ſua *Norvegia* ob *Haraldi Pulchricomi* tyrannidem relicta in *Iſlandiam* navigare cæperint." Hickes' Præf. ad Sneldon, p. 1.

Odin brought a new language from the North of Aſia Minor into Germany, Jutland, Iceland, Scandinavia. W. B.

† Wetſtein. See the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 71.

ſets

ſets up for the greateſt exactneſs, and a corrector of Dr. Mill's work, ſhould have given us ſome very juſt and weighty obſervations in favour of an opinion that ſo directly contradicts the Doctor's? But as to the titles, his argument from the *forma Latinorum* has no ſort of foundation; the fact is abſolutely falſe: the Gothic inſcriptions are *Aivangelio thaikh Marku*, or, *thaikh Lukan**.

"This accurate critic did not obſerve the difference between the *Gothic* and *Saxon* titles: the latter are in Latin, *ſecundum Marcum, Lucam*; but the *Gothic*, *thaikh Lukan*, not in the Latin termination. His third reaſon is, that this verſion has Latin words and Latin terminations. It has ſeveral Latin words, and probably ſome Latin terminations (for you will imagine that I have but juſt looked into it, not enough to be poſitive in ſuch queſtions). But that the terminations are generally in the Greek form, might be evident from comparing any one verſe.

Luke II. 2. Συρίας Κυρηνίε.—Surias Kureinaiau.—Syriæ Cyrino.

III. 1. Ποντίε Πιλάτε. Γαλιλαίας. Ιτυραίας. Τραχωνίτιδ&c., &c.
Puntiau Peilatau. Galelaias. Ituraias. Trakauneitidaus. *Goth.*
Pontio Pilato. Galilææ. Iturææ. Trachonitidis.——

Sure theſe have a greater reſemblance of the Greek forms. And as to the words, *faſciis, carcer, lucerna*, &c. the Gothic terminations of them are not Latin, *faſkiam, karkar, lukarn.* And perhaps the words themſelves were originally as much *Greek* as *Latin.* φασκία, παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ταινία. Gloſſæ Cyrilli. λύκη, *lux*, lukarn. And Junius obſerves karkar, *carcer.* Heſychio κάρκαροι ſunt δεσμοὶ, *Vincula.*

Now, is not this a ſpecial fellow to be truſted with adjuſting the authority of Mſſ. and ſettling the Greek text? The two other reaſons are what Mill allows, and yet concludes, that the Codex Argentem was καλὰ πόδας after the Greek. It agrees with our Beza's MS. in ſome things; but why might not both of them be from Greek originals? But too much of this.—As to the queſtion about the Collectors of the Feudal Law, ſee *Duck de Orig. Jur. Civil. cap.* vi. The Feudal Law is divided into Lib. I. II. ... IV. V. The two firſt, which are (ſtrictly ſpeaking) the ancient Feudal Law, were collected and put into that form by *Obertus Ortenſius* and *Gerardus Niger*, *circa* A. D. 1150. The third book never appeared. The fourth was col-

* But the force of Wetſtein's argument lies in *Arſlodeith*, Incipit. W. B.

lected by *Hottoman*, I think; and the fifth by *Cujacius*, as it now ſtands in the edition of the Civil Law. What Duck means, § 12. cap. vii. by *tres alios*, I do not know: unleſs they are, Conſtitutiones Frederici II. Imp. & Extravagantes, which are annexed to the Feudal Laws. All theſe laſt, being collections from others, are not of ſo great authority as the two firſt books.

"I am obliged to you for mentioning the Preface to the Welſh Laws with any circumſtances of advantage: you need not have tranſcribed the notes, I could have truſted you intirely. The leſs you ſay the better; for I have no ambition either to be, or to be thought, an author. As to the editions of Cowel, if the point turns upon Cowel's authority, his own edition is the beſt; but in other caſes, in ſettling the true extent and meaning of old law-terms, the edition of 1727 muſt be the beſt. Our Antiquaries have made great diſcoveries ſince Cowel's time, which are moſt of them taken into the new editions. Mine is not the beſt."

"YOUR friend Mr. Mitchel is now tutor to Sir Edward Ward, near Norwich, with a ſalary of fifty guineas *per annum*, &c. and has now given up all pretenſions to St. Bride's; and when he thinks of *Brides*, it muſt be as incumbent, not a lecturer, unleſs he finds occaſion for both."

"MR. MITCHEL was under ſome concern to think that he had ſo little of your company in town, and was almoſt afraid that you and your copyhold were ſeized by the Lord of the Manor. If you are quite at liberty, why ſhould you not come and ſee, what this city has never ſeen ſince the Reformation, a Biſhop inſtalled in perſon. Our new Biſhop and his brother Bangor ſet out for this place on Thurſday: his Lordſhip will be inſtalled on Saturday, and return the very beginning of the week. This is an excurſion ſo like one of yours, that I cannot but think you would be pleaſed with it, and ſtrike in with them, as it were by accident, on the road.—I have taken care again of a horſe for you, at the White Hart in the Borough. Mr. Stuart, a young gentleman of this town, who is going to St. John's, leaves it there, to be returned by the carrier. If you ſend there on Thurſday you may have it—time enough to be here on Friday-night. This account of the Biſhop's intention is but juſt come to hand, that I could not

give you more notice: but your reſolutions and motions are generally ſo ſudden, that you can have no objection to the propoſal upon that account, and muſt be pleaſed to think that it was an expedition not thought of till a few minutes before it was executed."

April 1, 1736.

"I HAVE heard the hiſtory of St. John's election, but ſo imperfectly that it only raiſes my curioſity. I want to know who the ſix Fellows* were that did Dr. Newcome ſo remarkable a piece of ſervice. I wrote to Mr. Taylor about the election; but whether the Letter miſcarried, or he diſliked the freedom of it, I cannot ſay. I have had no anſwer. There is no talking freely of it to Dr. W. How many people make themſelves ridiculous for want of ſteadineſs! They have made the beſt choice they could, whoever were the authors of it."

July 22, 1736.

"WE are now ſunning ourſelves upon the beach at Brighthelmſton, and obſerving what a tempting figure this iſland muſt have made formerly in the eyes of thoſe gentlemen who were pleaſed to civilize and ſubdue us. The place is really pleaſant; I have ſeen nothing in its way that outdoes it: ſuch a tract of ſea, ſuch regions of corn, and ſuch an extent of fine carpet, that gives your eye the command of it all. But then the miſchief is, that we have little converſation beſides the *clamor nauticus*, which is here a ſort of treble to the plaſhing of the waves againſt the cliffs. My morning buſineſs is, bathing in the ſea, and then buying fiſh; the evening is, riding out for air, viewing the remains of old Saxon camps, and counting the ſhips in the road—and the boats that are trawling. Sometimes we give the imagination leave to expatiate a little—fancy that you are coming down, and that we intend next week to dine one day at Dieppe in Normandy; the price is already fixed, and the wine and lodging there tolerably good. But, though we build theſe caſtles in the air, I aſſure you we live here almoſt under ground. I fancy the architects here uſually take the altitude of the inhabitants, and loſe not an inch between the head and the cieling, and then dropping a ſtep or two below the ſurface, the ſecond ſtory,

* At the back of this Letter Mr. Bowyer has written *ſeven* names, viz. Bp. Barnard, Lowe, Heberden, Green, Fogg, Saliſbury, Wiggans.

is finiſhed—ſomething under twelve feet. I ſuppoſe this was a neceſſary precaution againſt ſtorms, that a man ſhould not be blown out of his bed into New England, Barbary, or God knows where. But as the lodgings are low, they are cheap: we have two parlours, two bed chambers, pantry, &c. for five ſhillings *per* week; and if you really will come down, you need not fear a bed of proper dimenſions. And then the coaſt is ſafe, the cannons all covered with ruſt and graſs, the ſhips moored—no enemy apprehended. Come and ſee,

——— —— *Nec tela timeres*
Gallica, nec Pictum tremeres, nec littore toto
Proſpiceres dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.———

My wife does not forget her good wiſhes and compliments upon this occaſion. How would you ſurprize all your friends in Fleet-ſtreet, to tell them that you were juſt come from France, with a vivacity that every body would believe to be juſt imported from thence!"

"WE are now about taking our leave of that very variable element the ſea. After it has ſmiled upon us for a month, it is at preſent ſo black and angry, that there is no ſeeing or approaching it. It is all either fog or foam, and I truly pity every body who cannot fly from it. We had this morning ſome hopes of entertaining your Society with our diſcoveries upon the beach. The ſea had thrown up a piece of an old coin, grown green with ſalt water; but, inſtead of an Otho's head, it proved only a fragment of Charles I. and I humbly nodded over it, as one of the friends of the mitre. Pray let me know which way your reſearches run at preſent in that Society. We have here a very curious old font*, covered over with hieroglyphicks, repreſenting the two Sacraments, which riſe in very bold but very bad relievo's on each ſide of it."

* This font has been engraved in the Antiquarian Repertory, N° XXVII. XXXIV. EDIT.

Feb. 25, 1737.

"YOU find I came up to town not to viſit you, and went home again to make excuſes about it. What a ſudden alteration the very air of the Court makes in us Country Divines! We ſoon learn to have as ſhort memories as our patrons. I forgot the entire article of altar-pieces, ſpoon, &c. as if I had no concern in them. But if you conſider how many weightier articles, how many points in politicks, preferment, learning, grocery, faſhions, and kitchen-furniture, we come up to town charged with, you will, I hope, look upon a few omiſſions as very pardonable things. I behaved very well, as far as I had taken any minutes in writing; and find it is impoſſible to preſerve any other memorandums, when our heads are ſo very wiſely employed as they are in town."

Feb. 7, 1737.

"I WAS for a few days in great fear of an Archdeaconry; but was very happily delivered from that dignity. Next to the hazards of the preſs, the moſt terrible thing is a ſmall dignity in the church. But if you can diſpoſe of the Welſh Laws, I hope I ſhall then be clear from the apprehenſions of either of them. I don't love to have my name tacked to titles, or title-pages; though I am much obliged to our Biſhop upon that account, who, I believe, thought to do me a real ſervice in it. Mr. Gale muſt excuſe me a little longer, and I ſuppoſe there is no haſte."

Sept. 17, 1737.

"I WAS much obliged to you for your Letter, though it was not ſo expeditious in its motions as the writer, being almoſt a week in its paſſage. Mr. Mitchell really frighted me, when he told me that you were reſolved to ſtick yourſelf upon the outſide of a coach. I imagined that the duſt you would raiſe there could not be ſo great as the danger. Was there no way of having a ſofter and a ſafer ſituation in one of the Ladies laps? For I find by your account that all was ſafe there; no danger within the coach; none of Miſs Woodyer's charms, not ſo much as the tip of her finger.

Vivo pervertere amore
Jam prid.m reſides animos, deſuctaque corda.

" The country in general is very much obliged to you, ſince you have ſo agreeable thoughts of it from ſeeing only this wild part, which, without vanity, is as good a place to be buried in as any. But ſtrangers uſually obſerve the beauties of a ſituation much ſooner than the inhabitants, and always ſet them off to a greater advantage. Whatever you may think of the country, I am afraid what you ſay of it has too much the air of the town; it is almoſt ſo civil as to be ſuſpected.—For my part, I cannot ſay that I like either town or country. Your life in town is too intereſted; ours too indolent: you are never eaſy but in action, and we are diſturbed at the very apprehenſion of it. I think an agreeable life ſhould neither be all buſineſs nor mere amuſement, but ſomething betwixt both: I would not live, like Metabus, *in dumis, interque horrentia luſtra*;—nor ſhould I chuſe to be carried, *per cuncos—plebiſque patrumque*.

Where with like haſte through different ways, *&c.*

But we are in danger of the former extreme. For we country parſons have ſome reſemblance with the pariſh bells—never ſpeak, unleſs three or four country fellows tug hard at us, and then it is only to give notice that ſomebody is married, or dead; has either finiſhed, or is juſt entering upon his ſtate of probation; and in trade, you are like the bells in a tavern, always in motion, and calling *what's to pay?*

" I have here a thouſand compliments to ſend, if I had room for them. Ted is nobody at ſpeeches; but is by your bounty overcome with riches, impatient to diſpoſe of them, and may very likely have a fit of the gripes out of mere gratitude. My wife is much freer of ſpeech, and ſo much obliged to you for Mr. Pope's Letters, that ſhe is never like to be ſilent upon that head. As for myſelf, I am ready to take part of the obligation, and to thank you very much for them, though not ſo much as for your own; not that you are a better writer than Mr. Pope, but that I love your Letters better, becauſe I look upon them as my property, the other as Mr. Pope's."

1738.

1738.

"I WISH I could move with as much eaſe as you do; I would now and then give myſelf the pleaſure of ſeeing you in that whirl of thought and buſineſs which I ſhould find you in at this ſeaſon; to ſee projects, proofs, perſons, riſe, vaniſh, and perpetually ſucceed others, far beyond any *Camera obſcura* that I ever ſaw. But, alas! I ſet up for ſtill-life, and ſhould ſucceed tolerably well, if it was not for a ſet of country ſquires, who are as troubleſome here as authors are in town, and not quite ſo profitable. I had juſt drawn my elbow-chair, with great compoſure, to addreſs myſelf to you; and that very moment a meſſage from Mr. Eyles, about ſome ſtore fiſh, has raiſed ſome apprehenſions that I muſt deal in ſtrong beer and tobacco all the afternoon. I thank you for Warburton's Defence of Pope. I find him an excellent commentator: he proves, that ſelf-love and ſocial are the ſame; for he could not vindicate Mr. Pope without having many glances at his own adverſaries."

Dec. 9, 1739.

"I HAVE been this week at one of the moſt melancholy funerals that ever I attended; Mr. Pelham's two ſons, that you have ſeen an account of in the papers.—Such a ſtroke, from a complaint in all appearance ſeldom dangerous, muſt affect the parents inexpreſſibly. I hope they will make a good uſe of it, and be ſenſible,

That, when obedient Nature knows his will,
A fly, a grapeſtone, or a hair can kill."

Feb.

Feb. 17, 1740.

"AFTER much inquiry here, I have got a ſight of your *Phyſico-aſtronomico-mathematico-calendarico-tydical* Lucubration; and can aſſure you, that none of your brethren began the new year with greater applauſe. Your table of Lunations obliges all the cuſtomhouſe officers, travellers, traders, ſmugglers, upon our coaſt; and even I, who am too indolent or too much a friend to the fair trader for theſe occupations, am glad to know by book when I can ride over Shoreham Ferry, in caſe I ſhould be obliged to it.—But as to your Mathematicks and Riddles, how they came to get poſſeſſion of Almanacks is marvellous, unleſs as a ſort of hieroglyphicks, the one to repreſent clear weather, the other clouded. This gives a ſort of Egyptian air to the performance, and makes it perfectly profound. But, for my part, I wiſh you would give us chronology inſtead of myſtery; and I fancy you would find many of your middling ſort of readers, who are the loweſt claſs of any, of my opinion."

Nov. 22, 1740.

"I AM obliged to you for the Inſcription, though I can as yet hear nothing of the original; nor don't think I ſhall, unleſs I have the honour of ſeeing his Grace of Richmond, who does not think it worth his while to entertain his good borough with ſuch fragments as are not for their taſte."

1740.

"I HAVE ſcarce had time enough to thank you for your laſt Letter ſince my return from Tunbridge Wells. My wife has been taken-up with the ceremony of being welcomed home; and I, of courſe, have had my ſhare of it. You are wiſer in the city, and can let the women receive company without being under any neceſſity of attending it.—I was glad to hear the Ladies commend your country-look; I am ſure they would like you the better for it: the colouring is good, natural, and inimitable; the country complexion is the *rubeus*, which one almoſt wants a word for in Engliſh; it is a ſort of blooming brown, like the face of one of Vandyck's pictures.

"The

" The incloſed paper is an exerciſe that I gave Mr. Hopkins upon Pope's Paſtorals, which is well enough; but, not having the Paſtorals by me, I could not compare them. The only thing that I think wants altering is, that there are two or three references where there ought to be ſometimes but one, becauſe the places follow each other immediately. I only omitted two or three, that I thought leſs pertinent."

1740.

" HOW powerful are your example and perſuaſion! I had given myſelf over, as a perſon very little converſant either in the ancient or modern Claſſicks: the little I once knew in proſe and buſineſs lies extinct and loſt. But your ſheet ſhamed me ſo much, that I immediately ſet myſelf to work as well as I could. I have ſo very few Claſſicks that have tolerable indexes to help out a bad memory, that my ſearches are ſlow, and, what is worſe, often unſucceſsful.—But I hope this ſheet, added to yours, will ſupply you with notes enough for the Windſor Foreſt. You may pick what you think pertinent; but I hope you don't ſuppoſe that Mr. Pope had half thoſe paſſages in his thoughts that bear a reſemblance with them. Poets, like painters, in this reſpect, are furniſhed with a collection of figures, images, drawings, deſcriptions, &c. which are always ready in their heads, without thinking of the original: though I don't ſay but, in ſome paſſages, he muſt be ſuppoſed copying or improving an author before him. I will make what little progreſs my health and buſineſs will allow. I often laugh at the poetical deſcriptions of the country: retirement was always, I believe, a mere imaginary thing.—I cannot think that any body ever was alone a week together. But I can't tempt you into the country, I am afraid, by ſuch an account of it. However, if you will come and ſee, you will have the beſt chance that can be; it will be in the middle of hop-picking, when almoſt every body has the goodneſs to keep at home. I ſhall always be glad to ſee you, and thought to have invited you down upon a piece of your own paper; but that was not ſo proper for the inſide of a Letter."

1741.

April .... 1741.

"I WAS yeſterday ſurprized to hear that my packet, which I ſent you about a month ago, had miſcarried. It contained the Imitations of Virgil in Mr. Pope's Paſtorals: I delivered it to the carrier myſelf, and deſired he would put it in the penny-poſt. My great reaſon for writing this poſt is, to know whether that packet ever came to you or not. And I deſire you would ſend me two lines, the day you receive this, to ſatisfy me in that particular.—For, if you did not receive it, I ſhall have time enough to write the alluſions in the Paſtorals over again, to go up with Mrs. Browne on Thurſday, and ſend my gleanings on the Eſſay on Criticiſm along with them.—Mrs. Browne will be in town on Friday-night.

"If you think of printing ſome of theſe poetical alluſions, I ſhould not chuſe to inſert any thing in proſe, even from the beſt modern authors, how juſt ſoever. I would allow no room either for Temple or Tillotſon, but ſuppoſe Mr. Pope's acquaintance to be only with the Ancients, or Gentlemen of the ſame profeſſion. I think it will make your Collection look much heavier, and leſs inviting, and more like loading than illuſtrating your author. But, if I was Mr. Faulkner, I would note all the variations which Mr. Pope has made in the Dunciad *, and print all the different prolegomena which have appeared before it at different times.—And ſince the firſt edition of Mr. Pope's works, I believe he has retouched, improved, and corrected every part of them; and if he ſhould print all the improvements, the reader would think it not diſagreeable. I have by me a poem of Prior's, as printed in folio by J. Tonſon in the firſt edition, where, I believe, we have no-where four lines together the ſame reading with the laſt edition.

"As to your query what Mr. Pope means by Menander's *Fire*, it will turn only upon the propriety of the word Fire. There was ſomething very ſprightly in Menander's way of writing, which perhaps a poet may be allowed to raiſe into a flame.—Mr. Monnoye, in the Menagiana, vol. III. p. 49, quotes a paſſage from Plutarch's Compariſon of Ariſtophanes and Menander, which ſeems to juſtify Mr. Pope. Αἱ Μενάνδρε κωμωδίαι ἀρθόνων ἀλῶν καὶ ἱερῶν μεμέχθσιν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐκείνης γεγονότων τῆς θαλάττης ἐξ ὧν Ἀφροδίτη

* This was done for the firſt time in Dr. Johnſon's edition of the "Engliſh Poets." EDIT.

γέλοιον.—I wonder that Baſil Kennet ſhould take no notice of this paſſage in his character of Menander."

"I AM glad the papers came to hand, and find that want of accuracy in expreſſions creates you perpetual trouble, and that you are always in danger upon the arrival of the Suffolk or Suſſex mails.—I have ſent nothing but the Eſſay on Criticiſm, and have quoted ſome paſſages of Boileau from Soames' Verſion of his Art of Poetry, which ſeems to be very looſely done: perhaps the original would ſupply you with more alluſions, and even theſe few would undoubtedly be more elegant, as they came from the author himſelf. If you think of printing theſe references, you muſt endeavour to make your collection as complete as you can; and I ſhould think that the *Lutrin*, and perhaps all Boileau's works, ſhould be looked over. Boileau's turn was, like Mr. Pope's, to ſatyr; and they would probably, from arguments of the ſame kind, fall into the ſame ſentiments. I find you are very tender in doing any thing that ſhould diſpleaſe this ſame ſatyriſt, fearing, no doubt, that he ſhould wedge you in a marrow-bone, or preſs you into the ſervice of his hero in the Dunciad.—But my advice about collecting his various readings was to Mr. Faulkner, and not to you: I thought book-ſellers were above the fear of every thing but bad copies.—I believe it would pleaſe the generality of readers; but I would not have them collected with ſo much exactneſs as if they were the remains of an old Claſſic, and not as blemiſhes, but beauties in the author; except perhaps in the Dunciad, which is not ſo much the common place as the common-ſhore of his reſentments, where they run off, and are like to do ſo, for life. I have ſent you two motto's for your collection of notes, which I think cannot offend his nicer ear:

Ἐςὶ δ' ἐ κλοπὴ τὸ τρᾶγμα ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπὸ καλῶν ἠθῶν, ἢ τωλασμάτον, ἢ δημιεργημάτων ἀπόβυπωσις. Long. Sect. 13.

Nec mea tam ſapiens per ſeſe prodita quiſquam
Furta redarguerit, quæ mox manifeſta probabunt
Et nati natorum, et qui naſcentur ab illis.
Vid. Poet. III. v. 257.

"I am

"I am of your opinion as to the paſſage in Sir W. Temple; Mr. Pope's looks like declaring againſt the other ſyſtems, and, in a queſtion of that nature, it is proper to call in authorities. I was too haſty in ſaying that Baſil Kennet had omitted the place in Plutarch about Menander; he refers to it."

"I HAVE ſcarce time to ſay a ſyllable to you, either about Mr. Pope or myſelf; only that I much doubt I ſhall not be expeditious enough for your purpoſe. If you could prevail upon two or three of your friends beſides to take ſingle parts, and collect what paſſages occurred to them, it might be ready ſoon enough for your Iriſh friend. I have, in this paper, in imitation of yourſelf, introduced ſome quotations, with ſhort obſervations, which are deſigned as mere chat. If you intend to print them as the Remarks upon Spenſer, it will be neceſſary to enlarge and add much of that ſort, which you can eaſily do. I doubt I ſhall not do any great matter in the Rape of the Lock, nor in Abelard and Eloiſa, unleſs I read over many of Ovid's Epiſtles—or had a good index to them. Mr. Margeriſon is come to town for prieſt's orders. I wiſh you all the good wiſhes of the approaching ſeaſon."

"YOU ſurprized me very much with Mr. Pope's ſkill in chronology (a talent that poets are allowed to diſregard), when you declare ſo freely that he has ſet us right in it. In his firſt note upon the *Windſor Foreſt*, in the new edition, he ſays it was not publiſhed before 1710. Now I cannot ſay when the *Letter from Italy* was firſt publiſhed; but I knew it was publiſhed in the fifth volume of *Tonſon's* alias Dryden's *Miſcellany*, before any thing of Mr. Pope's had appeared in it; and I have an edition of Mr. Addiſon's Letter pirated by Hills before the year 1710. I much ſuſpect there is ſome poetical Anachroniſm in this affair, and therefore deſire to know how you were ſo eaſily convinced. Mr. Sherwin, of merry and great memory, I knew very well; but his authority for anecdotes is but modern, and not extraordinary, though I don't think he made the hiſtory you mention: he was very intimate with Lord Burlington."

"SOMEBODY has obſerved of *Wit*, that if it does but touch an Iriſh pen it dies; I am of opinion, that the obſervation had been much truer of *ſecrets*, the only things (whatever their qualities are, poiſonous or not) that cannot live in that iſland. I don't queſtion but Mr. Pope has had ſome intimation of your and Mr. Faulkner's deſign, and is reſolved to be beforehand with you. That you may ſeize upon his hints with as much juſtice as he does upon yours, ſeems to be a clear point; but whether it will be prudent or no, is another queſtion. If you print the alluſions you have, you may depend upon't that he will ſeize upon all he likes; and, if your impreſſion is not ſold before his new edition appears, the revenge may be entirely innocent, and affect nobody but yourſelf. Whether you print or not, therefore, is a queſtion that I do not preſume to determine; but, if you do, I have a great deal of advice to offer.

"1. That you print *no further at preſent* than thoſe poems where the alluſions have been pretty carefully collected, not farther than the *Rape of the Lock*; which you might finiſh time enough. The *Lutrin*, the *Diſpenſary*, &c. ſhould be read.

"2. That the title be in this manner: *Remarks on Mr. Pope's Poems, containing his Imitations, Parodies*, &c. *of Ancient and Modern Poets.* Part I. (not forgetting the motto's I mentioned.)

"3. That you have ſome ſuch grave *Advertiſement* as this before the *Remarks*.

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"Mr. Pope, in ſome of his later Poems, particularly in the *Dunciad*, "has obliged the Public by adding the Imitations of the ancient Poets, and "even the more diſtant alluſions to them. I cannot eaſily ſay whether I "was more pleaſed with his taſte or his condeſcenſion. It is certainly the "beſt method of ſhewing how the Ancients may be read to advantage; of "more uſe than a thouſand dry rules upon that ſubject. I wiſh he had "purſued the ſame method, through all his Poems, in the late new edition "of them. Nobody is ſo capable of performing it as himſelf; his ac-"quaintance with the beſt writers of all ages is as indiſputable as his reſent-"ment againſt the dunces of the preſent. And what hints he has taken, "or improvements he has made, from the ancient Poets, would eaſily be

" determined by his own authority. Whatever comes from another hand " can be little more than conjecture; but as I have indulged myſelf in " ſome amuſements this way, I here give them to the reader, in hopes that " this imperfect attempt will prevail upon the Author to do juſtice to him- " ſelf in another edition. If theſe Remarks have ſo much ſucceſs, the " Public will have no reaſon to complain of the performance."

" 4. That you introduce and enlarge the Remarks with proper obſervations in the *Jortinian manner*.

" I think here is advice enough, and deſire that you take only Q. S. as the Doctors direct, and do what you pleaſe with the reſt. I fancy it would put your ſpirits into a ſort of gaiety, to think you were entering the liſts with Mr. Pope, and did not know what might be the conſequences of ſuch engagement."

" I AM glad to hear that you are beginning a new treaty with Mr. Pope: you muſt chuſe ſome proper perſon to negotiate it; much depends upon the ſkill of adjuſting balances, when ſuch nice points as honour, intereſt, reſentment, &c. are to be ſettled. Dr. Mangey loves buſineſs, if not the appearance of it: it is a great chance but he will find ſome way of making your overtures to Mr. Pope, and be pleaſed with it. Your writing to Mr. P. will, in my opinion, be of no uſe till you can get acceſs to him by your miniſter. Mr. Pope is like a ſovereign prince, not to be ſeen at home without the neceſſary forms, nor to be treated with without firſt ſettling the preliminaries. I have no notion of engaging with him, without the greateſt neceſſity; and think that you buy his friendſhip cheap with a whole hecatomb of notes, eſſays, illuſtrations, and the mob of commentators. I much doubt your ſucceſs with this Dutch overture: but ſucceſs in the cabinet is more reputable than in the field; it is a conqueſt of the politer ſort, and conqueſt is the only end of controverſy. The motto's you ſend for, to hang out in your colours, are theſe;

Ἐςὶ δ' ἀ κλοπὴ, &c. (ſee p. 562.)

" If you have not tranſcribed your Collections, you may add this— Eſſay on Criticiſm, ed. 8°. p. 75. l. 16.

So pleas'd, at firſt, the Alpine hills we try.

Quoque magis ſubiere jugo, atque evadere niſi
Erexere gradum, creſcit labor, ardua ſupra
Seſe aperit feſſis, et naſcitur altera moles. Sil. Ital. lib. iii. 528.

The

The glory—and the ſhame.—I don't know where that turn is to be met with; but I warrant in a hundred places in the Ancients. If you look into the indexes of Ovid or Claudian, you cannot well miſs it.—I have no index to either of them."

Auguſt 11, 1742.

"PUBLISHING Biſhop Barlow's pieces was, at this time of day, doing them full as much honour as they deſerved, eſpecially the laſt; for the firſt really ſhews his great ſkill in polite learning. I doubt the medals he has given us are not all authentic, though mine are mere ſuſpicions ariſing from the legends themſelves. Who can think that the *Nicomedians* ſhould diſtinguiſh Albinus in ſuch a manner as δὶς Νεωκόρων?* And, in explaining theſe numerals, I think Dr. Taylor ſeems to eſpouſe the more improbable opinion of the two. The other ſeems well ſupported. This is introducing a new language, or applying it in a very unuſual manner; ſuppoſing ever ſo many of theſe divinities celebrated and adored upon theſe occaſions, one exhibition of theſe games was only one Νεωκορέα (if I may uſe the word). Βις, τρις, &c.† Νεωκόροι can never ſignify *Neocori* of two or three Gods. The Inſcription quoted by Harduin from Gruter, p. 179, ſeems to confirm this:—ἀγωνοθεϱήσαντα δὶς τὸ τε κοινὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων τῶν μεγάλων, Ἀσκληπιείων, Ἰσθμιων, Πυθικῶν, &c. This gentleman, whoever he was, was *bis* ἀγωνοθέτης, though many deities were honoured in that ſolemnity. And cities, upon ſeveral medals, diſtinguiſh themſelves as the *firſt* who were δὶς, or τρὶς νεωκόροι, which could not poſſibly be in the *other ſenſe*; for the Meſſenians were δὶς νεωκόροι as early as Auguſtus. But I have not, ſince I read the Doctor's preface, had time to examine this matter as far as the few books I have would carry it. I don't know very well what you mean, by obſerving that they *appear upon no coins older than the Roman empire.* The queſtion is, when the word νεωκόροι was firſt applied to communities

* Some Antiquaries refer theſe dates to the reign of different Emperors; and where the dates appear more than once in the ſame reign, to the Deity of the place; or where they have been omitted, after appearing once, ſuppoſe it to mean that the temple of the deified Emperor was not finiſhed in his life-time. Vaillant, Sen. Diſſertat. in the Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſ. III. 12mo. 204—227. EDIT.

† Vaillant ſhews that Hadrian, Commodus, and Valerian, ſucceſſively conferred this honour on Nicomedia, Numiſm. Græca, p. 219; but gives no inſtance of it under Albinus. Ib. 78, 79. EDIT.

in

in that ſenſe?—perhaps not long before the Roman times. Theſe new divinities began in Egypt and Aſia, and came thence into Europe, where, to the diſgrace of arts and learning, Athens was the firſt place that adopted them. Vid. Chiſhull, p. 56.—Alexander was ambitious of this honour, and his ſucceſſors enjoyed it *. You have the Σωτήρων Θεῶν upon the coins of the Ptolemys. The Plebiſcitum Sigæorum appoints the ſame honour to Antiochus Soter: he had his Ἱερεύς. Some time between this period and the Roman times Νεωκόρος came to be applied to *Communities*; but when, ſeems uncertain, and perhaps late, and then it is no great wonder that the uſe of it appears on no medals before the Roman. The caſe is, I believe, the ſame as to the inſcriptions; they are all Roman. And it cannot well be thought that in the inſcriptions, where they were not confined for room, they would have ſaid δὶς νεωκόροι γεγενήμεθα, if they really meant that they were then made νεωκόροι δυοῖν Θεῶν.—Beſides, all the marbles that mention the *Numina Auguſtalia* ſpeak of them in the plural number, as the Σωτῆρες Θεοὶ in Egypt; and one would think that the numerals α, β, γ, δ,—could, in this caſe, have no great ſignificance;—but of great force in expreſſing that theſe public ſhews had been ſo often repeated there in the reign of ſuch an Emperor.

"Dr. Byrom's ſolution is the ſame, in effect, as Chryſoſtom's and his followers, Theophylact, &c. though they look upon it to have a reference to the Creed, which there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe; but all that is wanted is only ſome ſimilar paſſage: ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, ὑπὲρ τροσδοκίας τῆς ἀναςάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν, or ὑπὲρ ἀναςάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν. This is the ſenſe which St. Paul's argument manifeſtly requires, and what in ſome form or other is almoſt generally admitted by our commentators. I can do nothing worth notice; but, if I meet with any thing that I think wrong, or that I can ſet right, I would willingly give you notice of it, without deſiring any mark of diſtinction but that of being, dear Sir, &c."

* Vaillant ſhews that the coins of Alexander the Great, with ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ on them, were ſtruck in the reign of Caracalla. Epheſus was the firſt city that took this title, and that not before the time of Nero. Vaillant, ubi ſup. EDIT.

"WE

"WE thank you very much for the favour you have done us, and took care of getting a deputy for you, which was no great difficulty, though almoſt ſix foot high. Since we could not have you in perſon, we reſolved to have you ſufficiently repreſented. It is much eaſier, upon ſuch occaſions, to find proxies than principals; but I would have you more cautious for the future. This was your own doing; a generous offer that you made ſome years ago. We have taxed you at a guinea; for bad cuſtoms ſpread even in the country, and make ſuch offices more expenſive than they ſhould be. Your little nameſake is gone out to nurſe upon a common, where we are in hopes he may ſome time hence be able to run after the geeſe.

"I was for a few days ſo ſick of the ceremonial of the chriſtening, that I had not ſpirits enough to write ſooner, though it was to inform you that the godmother was your old acquaintance, formerly Miſs Browne, now Mrs. Lee, ſiſter to my Lord Chief Juſtice, &c.

"As to ſchemes, I am glad to find that you grow ſick of them. They are all alike, from St. James's to Paternoſter-Row; artful (not to ſay indirect) methods of making the moſt of the Public.—Is there no ſetting out upon different principles? I am not for enlarging the public ſtock of revenues, or learning, ſo much as reforming it. We have enough, if we could but uſe it with more advantage. But your ſchemiſts are men of genius: I muſt leave them, and ſtudy the œconomiſts, if there are any ſuch in the country.

"I find this comment upon the Bible, about once a year, gets the aſcendant. What would you have? You run over Patrick, Lowth, Le Clerc, Critici Sacri, Pool's Synopſis, and then cry you want commentators. The Critici Sacri is a mere lumber-houſe, Pool nothing but patch-work, Patrick dull, Clerc often in his reveries, Calmet I never ſaw. But I ſhould really think that a perſon of tolerable judgement might, from theſe various commentators, make up a Dutch Variorum that would be better than any of them, and fit it to a quarter of an inch of the very ſize you want it."

Dec. 4, 1742.

"I HAVE kept ſilence ſo long, purely to keep my temper; but it is to no purpoſe; for I ſtill find myſelf very much divided between anger and gratitude, and don't know whether I ſhould thank you or blame you moſt. How could you think of endeavouring to make all our good yeomanly neighbours laugh at me and your poor godſon for ſo much finery? Wearing ſilver cloaths in the country would put all the ſquires againſt us: here it would be looked upon as invading one of their privileges, breaking through all badges of diſtinction, and having all the pride that too many of us are already accuſed of. I wiſh you were to ſee poor Will's nurſery, and think what great apprehenſions the very thoughts of ſleeping with ſo much ſilver in the houſe would give the whole family. The whole habitable part of the fabrick is about as big as half your parlour, with an old rotten door on each ſide, to let the rain in on one ſide, the ſnow on the other, and the wind on both; and the poor little fellow has a piece of an old blanket tacked up in the corner, to keep him from being blown away in ſuch a day as this. Yet, I thank God, he is pure hearty, with hands blue as a razor, and almoſt as hard, with a parcel of little Myrmidons round him of the ſame firmneſs and complection, who, if they were to ſee his cloak (which I intend they never ſhall), might be tempted to lay hands upon him, and take his ſpoils.—But, to be ſerious, I am really much obliged to you for your great generoſity, though I muſt deſire to make a ſecret of it to every body but you.

"The weather is really ſo cold, that I am not able, now I have vented my paſſion, to keep myſelf warm:—or perhaps (the more's the pity) gratitude is naturally much cooler than reſentment. While I was pettiſh, I did not find the air ſo piercing; but now I would be grateful, I feel myſelf very cold."

"Mr. Gyles's propoſals are quite above my ſize and taſte, who am, at moſt, but an humble politician. But I have ſome few papers at his ſervice, which fall in with the deſign of his Collection.

"1. A Letter from the City of Bremen to Oliver Cromwell, drawn up by Mr. Oldenburgh, who was employed by that city.

"2. Queries to O. Cromwell, in behalf of the Anabaptiſts.

"3. A warning for all the counties of England.

"Theſe are in Mr. Oldenburgh's hand, and, if not printed (as I fancy they are not), ſhew a good deal of the ſpirit and oppreſſion of thoſe times. Mr. Oldenburgh was (you know) many years ſecretary to the Royal Society, had been tutor for ſome time to Mr. Boyle, and was originally of Bremen, where his grandfather Oldenburgh was dean of St. Stephen's *."

"IT is ſo long ſince you were in Suſſex, that you ſeem intirely to have forgot where we live, or what ſort of folks we are. We are as diſtant almoſt from the mechanical as the liberal arts, and it is as eaſy to find an orator as a bookbinder among us. In ſuch a ſituation, you may be ſure, the appearance of Lyſias in ſheets gave us ſome diſorder :—a country taylor could never have taken meaſure of him, who are commonly our ableſt artiſts. In ſhort, there was nothing to be done, without returning him back again to London, and deſiring that he may make his next viſit in a more elegant and ceremonious manner, *bound and lettered*; and then, if you would let me know his *price*, which among orators is ſeldom a ſecret, you ſhall intirely have done with him. I did not, indeed, to my great preſent mortification, ſay a word to you about binding, &c. but imagine you will hereafter remember us upon that article without ſaying a word of it.

"I am pleaſed to ſee you have all the anxiety of an editor, by putting your epitaph in a ſort of inquiſition. Correcting marbles, indeed, requires more exactneſs than any other writings; and it is ſome amuſement to ſit after dinner with your legs acroſs, and your eye upon the cieling †, *critico trutinantem verba labello*; and ſometimes with an air of mere indifference, like Patience on a monument—ſmiling on thoſe below you. I think Mr. Maittaire's edition ‡ is very well—like ſimples drawn from a cold-ſtill, clear, but taſteleſs."

Sept. 20, 1744.

"YOUR Letter has given me a good deal of pleaſure, and I would have you do by the preſs as Shakſpeare did by the ſtage, ſupport it yourſelf. Mr. Tunſtall might take-in theſe Remarks at the end of his new work ||. It is the beſt thing he can do. If an author would with a good

* See more of Mr. Oldenburgh in Wood's Ath. Ox. II. Faſti 144. and Gent. Mag. LI. 629. EDIT.

† A poſture very uſual with Mr. Bowyer. EDIT.

‡ Of the Arundelian Marbles. EDIT. || His Obſervations, &c. 1744.

grace

grace give up ſome of his own ſentiments and miſtakes, it would do him more honour than correcting a thouſand in his adverſary. I am not able to judge of all theſe Remarks, for want of the Epiſtles themſelves. But to follow your order—P. 89 and 109, are certainly right. P. 37, I doubt about. The reaſon which Tully gives Atticus for not ſending the Oration, I ſhould think, with Mr. Tunſtall, is becauſe he *never writ it*; and what follows, *quia abſciram*, is the reaſon of his *not writing it*, not of his not *ſending* it: but I ſhould think that wants a correction; it is a very harſh expreſſion any way. As to tearing it, what was it written upon, that he ſhould chuſe to *tear* it, as the eaſieſt way of deſtroying it? P. 130, Mr. Tunſtall is ſurely much miſtaken, and in a point of ſome importance. It is not ſenſe to ſay, *Tum ii dare ſolebant* IIII, *ſi ſibi S. C. caveretur*. Was it ſo common to paſs an act of indemnity for almoſt 50 *l. per cent.*? Or, if it was, had theſe very gentlemen had many opportunities of diſpoſing of their money with ſo much advantage and ſecurity? Without ſuppoſing this, *dare ſolebant* is not ſenſe, and therefore has greater difficulties to get over than either Manutius or Grævius's authority. It may be true, in general, that when money was *lent* expreſsly againſt *the Gabinian law*, without any act of indemnity, it was *lent* IIII *centeſimis*; but the *ſolebant* can never do, *ſi tibi S. C. caveretur*. *Syngrapha, quæ eſſet jure, ut cæteræ, & in qua, nihil juris præcipui*, is plainly putting it upon the ſame foot with other bonds; but I don't underſtand his explication. P. 146, ſeems, as you ſay, a dubious paſſage, and of no great moment. Both of you underſtand Pompey alike; the reflection he makes is the ſame, whatever was the occaſion of it. The turn of Antony's ſpeech, if it could be known, would moſt likely ſettle this difference, *i. e.* whether he intended to *terrify* or *amuſe the Senate:* if the firſt, Mr. Tunſtall is right; if the laſt, Dr. Middleton."

"I HAD the pleaſure of a fine journey home, and diverted myſelf on the road with your *Charlatanereia* *, till I grew quite tired of it. It is a book entirely in the German taſte, written without any true humour, and crouded with little facts of no moment. It would be difficult to tranſlate †;

* *Joan. Burch. Menckenii* "De Charlatanereia eruditorum declamationes duæ, cum notis variorum: accedit Seb. Stadelii Epiſtola de circumforanea literatorum vanitate. Amſtelod. 1716." 12mo. The author was profeſſor of Hiſtory at Leipſic, and hiſtoriographer to the King of Poland, and died in 1732. EDIT.

† It was however tranſlated very well into French in 1721, with critical Remarks. EDIT.

and, when tranſlated, nobody would mind it but a few perſons, who could read it as well in Latin. Harry Mitchel would be the propereſt perſon to write notes upon it, who was brought up with a maſter of that turn, who made every thing important. If a boy aſked leave to go out, he would anſwer in King Cambyſes' vein,

You may go out; but then remember, Sir,
That you come in again.

"It however put me in mind of another project, which, I am ſure, if you would undertake it, would anſwer; and that is, a pamphlet upon the *Quackery of Patriots*. If one could, from the top-pamphlets which have been written theſe laſt thirty years, furniſh out a view of the different ſchemes of miniſters, anti-miniſters, patriots, politicians, craftſmen, and pretenders of all ſorts, we ſhould have ſuch a jumble of Swift, Steele, Hare, Hoadly, &c. as would very much divert an honeſt Engliſhman, and might perhaps eaſe us a little of that itch of politicks which we are ſo much inclined to."

January 22.

"I AM obliged to you for your laſt favour, which both puzzled and pleaſed me very much. I could not gueſs by the direction whence it came, and as the contents opened they looked ſo emblematical, I could not tell what to think of them. A collar of brawn, with a white veſtment over it, ſeemed as if you intended it for an hieroglyphic of a country parſon, and ſeveral of us were literally, ſymbolically, and agreeably entertained with it. The brawn has already done the buſineſs you deſigned it, graced the table, and pleaſed the company; and I hope the little alb will do the ſame very ſoon, ſhew away to all our ſatisfaction. I had no thoughts of altering either my ſtyle or expreſſion, when I addreſſed myſelf to you laſt: if I did, it was by mere accident. My wife, whoſe ſecretary I then was, deſired to diſpoſe of her cock and hen-turkey to the widower and widow: the allotments were of courſe ſuitable to their different ſexes; and if I miſplaced a letter in the direction, as perhaps I did, it was by writing your name ſo ſoon after Mrs. Browne's. You criticks will eaſily excuſe and correct ſuch miſtakes. It was night, *dormitante librario*; and you may ſay, *dele meo periculo (repugnantibus licet clericis, criticis, miſſ. & mulieribus) literam ſibilantem.*

"I have

"I have enquired in the country for Le Clerc's Hammond to no purpoſe. You may almoſt as ſoon get a living in the country as borrow any book one wants from one of the incumbents. I have often had thoughts of buying it; and muſt beg of you to give Mr. Whiſton, or whom you pleaſe, orders to ſend it me. What you ſay of Wolſius is ſurpriſing: it grieves me when I hear of men of ſo much learning, and ſo little ſenſe. It is well he believes the Bible, otherwiſe he would believe every thing elſe.

"The Rector of Maresfield deſires to have the pleaſure of delivering this in perſon, who is much delighted with your deſign upon the Greek Teſtament. He is a man of taſte, though he reads Greek in the country, and in town keeps up a very odd ſort of acquaintance with courtiers and ſtall-men. What will be the iſſue of this ſtrange medley, I cannot gueſs: I wiſh he is not in danger of miſ-ſpending both his time and his money; though perhaps it is downright management, and what he lays out in viſiting his new friends he ſaves again in purchaſing his old ones. I hope he will profit equally by both, and then he will go to town to ſome purpoſe."

Auguſt 15.

"OUR gentlemen are now reconnoitering the county againſt the next election; each party is as buſy as if the parliament was riſing. Our friend the dean of Battle headed a conſiderable number of gentlemen at Lewes horſe-races: he repreſented the abbot of Battle, and as ſuch was allowed the ancient privilege and precedence of the mitre. We toil much about trifles; puffing intereſts, as bookſellers do authors, and perhaps to as little purpoſe. I hope you will ſtand fair with both ſides, and have the Votes, whoever has the Speaker. We are violently attacked with exciſe and grenadiers; but I hope that you will give a new turn to our converſation very ſoon."

Feb. 25.

"WHY did you not keep Inett as long as you had any inclination to look into it? It is at your ſervice whenever you pleaſe, and I believe will be a book to your taſte, though there is a ſort of caution and diffidence in his way of writing, that you may think a little below the dignity of a great author. But, in tracing matters of fact through ſuch dark periods, it

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is dangerous to be too poſitive; though I think he is got upon the right plan, and has a ſufficient foundation for what he aſſerts in the Preface of his ſecond Volume, § II.—Such queſtions cannot ſafely be decided by diſtant authorities; charters, letters, grants, &c. are often falſe or ſuſpicious evidence. The ſafeſt way is to rely upon facts, which, in matters of authority and government, can ſeldom deceive us.—Dr. Inett was ſenſible that the Council of Cealchythe muſt give ſome countenance to the pretenſions of the Biſhops of Rome; but finds ſo many objections againſt the *preſent ſet of canons*, the *manner of ſubſcribing* them, the *names of the ſubſcribers*, &c. that he lays no great ſtreſs upon it. I think Mr. Johnſon's account of it a little inconſiſtent: he ſuppoſes the eccleſiaſticks had not the trouble of *debating any ſingle point*, and yet admits the character the Saxon Chronicle gives of his Council, that it was *litigioſa Synodus*, which does not look like ſo blind a ſubmiſſion. It looks all like a fetch of Offa's, and will turn out rather in favour of the Regal than Papal Supremacy. I am afraid that your new Letter from the Cottonian Library, from Honorius to Honorius, does ſcarce deſerve the place that is given it. How comes Bede to ſay nothing of it, who is very particular about the Letters of P. Honorius? And is not *Eccleſiarum Britanniæ* a very ſuſpicious appellation? In Bede's time the *Brittones* were the old inhabitants, who had then ſhewn no ſubmiſſion to the Church of Rome in any particular. Our Councils don't want a compiler ſo much as a critic. The zeal of the Norman Church has thrown in ſuch a variety of inſtruments and expreſſions in favour of the Papal Authority, that it is difficult to clear the ground, and Dr Wilkins was not a hand proper for it.—But, as I have not ſeen this Letter, I can ſay very little to it.

"Mr. Warburton's book is but juſt arrived in this country; and, I believe, had ſcarce found its way ſo ſoon, if it had not been for the uncommon zeal of a young preacher at our Viſitation: he took it into his head to cenſure the performance, and was much too angry—placing him with *Sextus Empiricus* and *Spinoza* among the Ancients. Who would have thought of ſuch gentlemen meeting together, unleſs it was in the Myſteries?—We ſuffer equally by the extremes of too much or too little zeal; having ſo many nice criticks to obſerve the conduct of clergy-writers, that are equally offended with a Dutch phlegm or a Spaniſh fire. For my part, I wonder what has given ſo much offence in this book; or why it is they are ſo angry

angry with a writer who, in all appearance, means no harm. It is true, he is fond of new tracks, and, like a briſk adventurer, ſtrikes out for freſh diſcoveries. Where is the hurt of this? Some things may ſucceed well; and if he fails, the loſs is his own venture. Though I do not approve of many paſſages, as to his arguments, concluſions, critique, expreſſion, references, &c. yet I ſee nothing worth being angry or alarmed at; and am often pleaſed with things new to me, and arguments well managed. I do not underſtand what they mean by a *moral ſenſe*; but, as others do, it may be of uſe. And, ſurely, the firſt book may paſs without cenſure; and I agree with you, that there are many things well done in it. The next book is a little more enterpriſing, which I have not yet gone through.—But here I find myſelf often obliged to him. Why we had that long ſtory of the Myſteries I know not; but the Puppet-ſhow in Virgil is very pretty, and he has made the whole alluſion very conſiſtent: though by the ſame rule that Virgil's ſixth book is a repreſentation of the *Myſteries*, Homer's eleventh Odyſſey ſhould be ſo likewiſe, and then you would have *ancient* and *modern Myſteries*, and between both might diſcover many great improvements in *ancient Legiſlation*. He is, indeed, too much inclined to favour the wiſdom of the ancient Legiſlators: with him the magiſtrates were all ſages, and the people dupes.

"As to critique, it generally gives way to hypotheſis: his ſcheme is the point in view, not the correctneſs of his authorities; otherwiſe his *Princeps*, his *Hierophanta*, &c. the Preface to *Zaleucus' Laws*, the ἐπιφάτεια in his Sermon, had never paſſed off ſo readily. Whoever can ſuppoſe that preface *Zelcucus's*, may ſuppoſe Mr. Pope's preface to Homer Caxton's. And his quoting Jerom for a ſhe-myſtagogue, when the paſſage ſays *æternâ debilitate caſtus*, is as ſurpriſing, p. 193, *k*. This was well corrected in the Grub-ſtreet. And where does ἐγκράτεια ſignify keeping a due temper in diſputes, or ſearches after knowledge?

"The little prejudice of raiſing the Egyptian Antiquities above the Jewiſh has been the foible of ſeveral great men; nor is that any excuſe for idle prepoſſeſſion: Moſes ſtands upon a level, at leaſt, with any ancient writer; is as good an authority for ancient cuſtoms, and may juſtly claim a precedence, when the diſpute lies between him and authors many centuries after him; which makes it ſomething myſterious why the writing upon

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two tables of ſtone might not paſs for an original, without ſuppoſing it an Egyptian cuſtom, as he does p. 196. And, to make his myſteries agree with the order obſerved by Virgil, he is a little inclined to new-model his morality; making ſuicides, and thoſe who give a looſe to exorbitant paſſions, rather *miſerable than wicked*, p. 205: and yet making the Fathers guilty of *depraving* and *vitiating* the Chriſtian Religion, for adopting the *terms and phraſes* (for I think he has carried his proofs no further) of the Myſteries. Theſe terms were in uſe, were in themſelves innocent, and would perhaps more naturally affect the ſuperſtitious Heathens. But is there any great hurt in this? Might he not as well charge our Liturgy, as borrowing from Baal, "O Baal, hear us," *mutatis mutandis?* I will allow that there was too much indulgence among the ancient Chriſtians in this particular; but as many of the Fathers had been formerly friends to the Myſteries, I cannot wonder at ſome indulgence, much leſs think it ſo extremely criminal. But, after all, I have as much inclination to indulge Mr. W. as they had the old phraſeology, and can imagine the deſign of both to be very excuſable. It is plain Mr. W. is no enemy to paradoxes: his very ſcheme is a proof of it; a medium to prove the Divine Legation of Moſes never thought of before. I take the plain caſe to be this:—the legiſlation of Moſes all along ſuppoſes a *future ſtate*; it is taken for granted. There was, perhaps, in his opinion, no occaſion to inſiſt on it particularly. The very burying of Joſeph would, among Heathens, have been thought proof enough of it; but our Saviour's anſwer to the Sadducees puts it paſt doubt. Upon this ſuppoſition, therefore, the proof of a Divine Legation is brought to a nearer iſſue, by his miracles, by his promiſes of temporal rewards and puniſhments; which no legiſlator but a perſon ſent by divine authority would have ventured to have promiſed in the manner he has done.

"The Mſ. ſermon you enquire after I never heard of till now: Bp. Bull has a ſermon upon that ſubject; but, being deſigned probably for a popular auditory, his proofs are not ranged in ſuch method as the argument ſeems to require.

"You talk of re-printing the Hiſtory of England in Queſtion and Anſwer.—There are ſome ſad blunders in it; but I had lent out mine, and could not recover it till lately. If the book is not too far advanced, I could ſend you ſome of the miſtakes. I have ſent all the books I have of

yours which I remember at preſent, and with them Mr. Hotchkis' ſcheme for putting the Greek verbs on a ſheet; which perhaps would now take, ſince you are reducing grammatical ſcience to ſhort ſyſtems."

Feb. 4, 1742.

"I AM afraid that I may be under ſome ſuſpicion of not behaving with either decency or gratitude, which, as bad as the world is, would be making a worſe figure than ordinary. I own my caſe has but an ill appearance; but you, who ſee further than appearances, will conſider how difficult it is to practiſe a whole ſyſtem of virtues at once. I have been exerciſing thoſe that are not ſo agreeable, patience, ſelf-denial, &c. For I think this is the firſt day (except the Sundays and the Faſts) that I have been without ſome neighbourly viſitors, ſeveral of whom I have had the pleaſure of entertaining at your expence, which I am much obliged to you for. This flow of company has been owing to the fineneſs of the ſeaſon; for the Wild never was ſo pleaſant in winter ſince I knew it. We have a brown carpet flouriſhed every where with ſhrubs and foreſt-trees, and almoſt without either duſt or dirt upon it: our woods, waters, puddles, are all paſſable: we are ſporting upon the ice after all ſorts of game; and, in ſhort, if you were to ſee us, you would take us to be almoſt perfect Ruſſians. And I would not have you think the reſemblance ſo deſpicable; for I hope the poor, like the people of Moſcow, have not felt much greater inconvenience than uſual from the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. But if there comes a ſnow, or the froſt ſhould be of a long continuance, it would, for want of employment, affect them very much; which, I am ſorry to hear, has made the circumſtances of the poor in London ſo very melancholy.—How eaſy is it for Providence to make the moſt natural cauſes become real calamities! We are not without our apprehenſions, if the price of corn ſhould by this means be raiſed exceſſively. I doubt our poor families would not find ſuch generous contributors to ſupport them. Pray let me know how far the ſad accounts we have from town are true, which I hope are a good deal magnified. But I ſhall tire you with talking about the weather; for every body talks here of nothing elſe."

Chicheſter.

"YOU will be ſupriſed when I tell you, that in this venerable Epiſcopal See I am altogether as much at a loſs for books as at Buxted, eſpecially in the Belles Lettres. But you have lately been diverting yourſelf with the Roman Legions, reviewing, quartering, &c. and can tell me what the σπείρη Ἰταλικὴ was, and when it was firſt ſtationed in Paleſtine. I ſhould be obliged to you for an anſwer as ſoon as you can, to ſave me the trouble of fruitleſs ſearches here."

"THE account of your adventures is always very agreeable to me, and ſerves, as the preſent turn is, either for moralizing or amuſement. I was pleaſed to find you the ſame in all elements—in the ſaddle, or on the quarter-deck; and that you loſe a bonnet, or ſtrain a thumb, with equal ſerenity. Perhaps Pennoyre * will tell you, that the horſe was no more to blame than the veſſel; and that if you had kept your hand tight, and your head ſteady, all had been ſafe: but, for my part, I ſhould have thought this the harder compoſition; to keep the body always in the ſame balance, is a thing I have no notion of: but you have ſhewn, on this occaſion, what a Welſhman has moſt reaſon to admire, that you can keep your mind ſo, and are the ſame man, whether the horſe or hat falls."

"AS to Mr. Whiſton's requeſt, I cannot come into it at preſent. Dr. Wotton was under engagements to his bookſellers about Mr. Boyle's Life, and I think myſelf not at liberty to part with theſe papers without their conſent. For my part, I have no ambition to become an author, and eſpecially upon theſe ſubjects: the examining *coſmical qualities*, and weighing of *igneous corpuſcles*, are things I have no great taſte for; though I have a great value for Mr. Boyle's memory, as a true Philoſopher and Chriſtian. I have never looked over theſe papers, and ſo cannot ſay what they are; but that is what I determine to do, before I could come to any reſolution whether I would part with them or no. Several of them are loſt, as I find by

* Thomas Pennoyre, Eſq; of the Hyde, Herefordſhire; an old fellow-collegian of Mr. Bowyer's at St. John's, and an intimate acquaintance through life. He poſſeſſed a plentiful fortune, was a great lover of field-ſports, and, after having ſerved high ſheriff of his county, died at an advanced age in 1783. EDIT.

miſſing

miſſing two numbers in different bundles, and eſpecially the Memoirs of the Family, which I have heard Dr. Wotton often lament *."

"A MAN that lives under too ſevere rules is a ſlave, and he that lives by none is a ſavage. My humble ſervice to honeſt Vere †, to whom I appeal for the truth of this doctrine: he has ſeen very different revolutions in his rules of life, and is the better able to judge of them. I am glad to hear that his Lenten penance is over, and hope the Doctor will give him a plenary abſolution. It is half a cure to be content with ſome ſhare of infirmities. For my part, I am ſcarce ever well; but let me ſit ſtill, and I am pretty well ſatisfied."

"I CAN only ſend you all the beſt wiſhes of the ſeaſon, and my moſt ſincere thanks for the favours you have done me, with all the indulgence, not to ſay partiality, of a friend. But ſtill I differ with you in ſome things, am diffident in others, and as to the preſs am a mere infidel. *Quis leget hæc?* was ſaid by the old ſatyriſt, and may be ſaid in this caſe without any ſatire at all. Not your own Antiquarian Society, not even the learned Philip Carteret Webb himſelf, will give themſelves the trouble of ſuch a ſcrutiny. Writing for your own amuſement is only loſing your time, and at the worſt but trifling; but printing for a few other people's amuſement is loſing your money, a ridiculous if not a dangerous thing. For my part, I am not unwilling that any body ſhould ſee that I have not a hundred pounds to hazard upon ſuch experiments. And then, as to tranſlating the paſſages you ſpeak of, had I not better leave a good many of them out, and make them only mere references? Is there not too much parade in ſo many quotations? For I am not vain enough to deſire to be thought a ſcholar; my buſy and laborious life, in a very different track, did not leave me leiſure for ſuch purſuits. It is enough for me to ſay, what Bp. Atterbury ſaid with more humility, I ſometimes know where Learning is, and how to make uſe of it when I want it."

* See the "Anecdotes," p. 510. Dr. Birch publiſhed a Life of Mr. Boyle in 1744, 8vo. EDIT.

† Mr. Vere Foſter; another old acquaintance at St. John's; of whom ſee the "Anecdotes," pp. 29. 512.

Feb. 21.

"YOUR queries, by mere accident, filled my head with a ſtrong inclination to review the Saxon coins, or rather the accounts we have of them. I thought I ſaw ſome openings, and at preſent I muſt follow them; though perhaps, when I am a little more tired, I may give over the purſuit, and let all my diſcoveries go out at thoſe openings where the works of many a wiſe man make their exit. In the mean time, if I ſhould give you more trouble than either you expect or deſire, you muſt thank yourſelf for it. For you ſeem to be (in the preſent faſhionable way of talking among the Philoſophers) an Electric *per ſe*, and have a ſtrange power of raiſing flames, or attracting trifles, juſt as different objects approach you; and whether you are exciting flames in the preſent caſe, or drawing ſtraws, is to me perfectly indifferent; it ſerves to amuſe, and I am ſo much a philoſopher as to expect no more.

"But my ſcheme is this: I make the Saxon *penny* to be the *quinarius* of the Lower Empire; their *hælfling* of courſe the *ſeſtertius*; their *feorthling* two *aſſes*—and *ſtyca*, one *as*. The weight of the Saxon *penny* and *quinarius* is only about three grains difference: a leſs difference than there was between the *denarius* and *drachma*, which went currently for each other; and the Saxon money having much leſs alloy than the Roman, brings their value ſtill nearer.—The Saxon *ſhilling* was the Roman *miliarenſis*; the Norman *ſhilling* the *tremiſſis* of the Romans, and exactly the ſame weight as their gold *tremiſſis*:—and thence came the way of reckoning twenty ſhillings to the pound, the proportion between gold and ſilver being then as 12 to 1; and conſequently 20 of theſe *ſolidi*, or *tremiſſes*, were equal to a pound of ſilver, *i. e.* 20 of them were an ounce of gold, and ſo equal to 12 ounces of ſilver. The Saxon *ſcillinga* and Norman *ſolidus* very different things. The Saxons, as appears by the pennies yet remaining, coined at firſt 220 out of their pound then *fifty ſhillings*; made the pound, and five pence the ſhillings. Afterwards, as money grew ſcarcer, they coined 60 ſhillings out of the pound, and 240 pence, and then four pence made the ſhilling. This was after the depredations of the Danes, towards the concluſion of their government, the penny weighing 22½ Troy grains, and exactly as the Norman penny did. *Thrymſa* is plainly three pence.—*Scætta* has an

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uncertain ſignification, and appears to me to ſignify the quarter of any coin, as different perſons made uſe of it. Among the Kentiſh Saxons $\frac{1}{4}$ of a penny;—afterwards, among the Weſt Saxons, a quarter of a ſhilling, or a penny, which it ſignified among the Goths. The Saxon pound was equal to the Athenian pound, their way of reckoning the ſame by *pounds* and *talents*, &c. Mr. Folkes has given us the weight in the ſecond page of his table. It differs ſo little from the Athenian pound as given by Dr. Arbuthnot, that it muſt be originally the ſame.

"Here you have my ſcheme, and you ſee that Dr. Hickes and I take very different ways. To explain the Northern Antiquities, he always went further North: that may ſerve to illuſtrate, but never can explain; it is like going down the ſtream to ſeek the fountain-head, and in tracing the progreſs of learning to begin with the Goths, &c.

"But you muſt expect that I have ſome difficulties in this affair. All is not ſo clear as I would have it, though it is ſo clear as to make me believe it. I want books, and wiſh to have the queries anſwered that they occaſion; for multiplying books is certainly multiplying difficulties. But at preſent, my little Oracle, reſolve me only three or four.

"Mr. Camden, in his Remains, p. 200, ſays, the word *ſcilling* comes from the Latin *ſcillingas*, and quotes L. 21, § *Filium*. Nothing plagues one more than the different ways of quoting the Civil Law. I can find no ſuch place, and know no ſuch word. Qu. Is not that a miſtake of the preſs for *ſicilicus*, from whence ſhilling moſt probably comes?

"Gothofred, in his notes ad Cod. lib. xii. f. 49, ſays, that Valentinian leſſened the weight of the Roman libra, and that this leſſer *pound* was called *libra occidua*. I beg you would find me that place, and tell me what he ſays. This explains *pound ſterling*; i. e. there was in uſe a leſſer pound, called the *pound weſterling*, and therefore they called their larger pound the *pound eſterling*. This explains the two *ora's*, that puzzle Spelman, Somner, Hickes, and all of them, ſo effectually. I doubt Sirmondus and Gothofred have not paſſed the Wild; at leaſt, I do not know where to find them."

March

March 6, 1743.

"IF you ever ſee Mr. Tanner, or correſpond with him, I ſhould be glad to know a little more of the Order of Tiron, mentioned p. 718, and Preface, p. xvi. Becauſe in an Indenture, dated 1372, between Edward III. and John of Gaunt, about the exchange of lands in Suſſex, &c. mention is made of Withyham Priory, which ſeems to have been of this order. The words are, *Prioratus de Withyham, qui eſt Cella Abbatiæ Sancti Martini de Meremeſt* (or *Meremoſt*) *Turonen. Turonen.* ſeems here to ſpecify the order this cell was of, and is not Turonen. of *Tours*. And ſhould not this Reform be called the Order of Tours rather than Tiron, unleſs they are both the ſame? And, in ſhort, is not this ſtory of *Martin of Tours* conquering the Hundred of Kemaes merely a Welſh legend? The Welſh hiſtory mentions no ſettlements in Wales before *Robert Fitzhaimon* and his knights. But their heads were uſually full of heroes; and from a ſaint, or reformer of an order, they have raiſed a conqueror of a country. I know Camden tells this ſtory; but he tells it from Welſh Antiquaries, and they have no great weight with me. I do not deny but that, among the Flemings who ſettled in Pembrokeſhire in Will. Rufus and Henry I.'s time, there was one Martin, or Fitz-Martin, who might make St. Dogmael's a cell to the abbey of St. Martin of Tours, and this might occaſion this error about Martin of Tours: but we muſt learn from the French Antiquaries of what Order the Abbey of St. Martin's at Tours was, and this would clear up the difficulty about the *Order of Tiron* *.—The true St. Martin †, from a ſoldier became a ſaint; a proper perſon for ſuch votaries as built St. Dogmael's to apply to."

May 7, 1743.

"I LITTLE thought of making you the firſt viſit; but ſo it is: if the mountain won't come to Mahomet, Mahomet may go, &c. My buſineſs is as extraordinary as my viſit will be unexpected; nothing leſs than being a pluraliſt, and ſuch a pluraliſt as I believe you approve of: I have been drawn in by many perſuaſions, without a ſingle motive that looked like intereſt. But explaining before-hand looks as if the thing wanted an

* The moſt conſiderable of the three monaſteries founded by St. Martin was that called *Majus Monaſterium*, corruptly *Marmoutier*, in the ſuburbs of Tours, of the Benedictine order. See Alien Priores, II. 131. 140.

† Whoſe legend may be ſeen in Gent. Mag. vol. LIII. p. 460.

apology.

pology. You ſhall know the reſt at leiſure. My preſent requeſt is, that, if you can take me lodgings near you, that I might not have far to go in the evenings, you would be ſo good as to do it for me. You may perhaps think of taking them at Knightſbridge; but I aſſure you that I make no ſuch ſallies; but am a meek quiet thing, that can ſleep any where, ſay little, and care to move leſs."

March 28, 1747.

"I THANK you for the demonſtration you ſent me; for I think we may very juſtly call it demonſtration. I ſhould have wandered about in the region of probability, and been content with it. I believe fractions are not regarded in ſuch computations; I have found it ſo in ſome of them. The paſſage from Gothofred ſeems to be as much as I want: I have nothing to do with his opinion, or Gronovius's. Is it not a fair proof that the Roman *pound* is there called *libra occidua?* It is a ſort of joke upon Marcellinus, a fallen pope, a *libra occidua*, a kind of pun; but ſuch alluſions are uſually made in expreſſions that are familiar, and to things that are well known. Beſides, this paſſage has a further uſe: Greaves ſays, that no author mentions how much the weight of any coin ſhould be till Valentinian's time, Cod. L. x. f. 70, where 72 *ſolidi* are ordered to be ſtruck out of the pound of gold. This implies that the ſame proportion was obſerved in Conſtantine's time, and confirms the conjecture of Pancirolus mentioned by Greaves, p. 107; and agrees very well with the weight of the *aurei* from Conſtantine downwards, as long as the Weſtern Empire laſted; the *tremiſſis* of which would weigh 24$\frac{1}{3}$ Troy grains; which agrees again with Greaves's account."

Nov. .... 1749.

"I WAS extremely ſorry to hear of poor Dr. Cartwright's * death; he was one of my oldeſt acquaintance: I have known him above forty years, and did not expect that he would have gone off ſo ſuddenly, becauſe I had a very chearful Letter from him about a fortnight ago. He told me, that he was very buſy in fitting up his houſe and gardens at Hornſey, becauſe the town did not agree with him. He was a very worthy man. He had, out of pure gratitude, attended upon the Bp. of London till he was quite tired, and almoſt as ſoon as he had got his liberty loſt his life.

* Dean of Coleheſter; prebendary of St. Paul's; rector of St. Chriſtopher's, London, and of Hornſey, Middleſex. He died Nov. 8, 1749.

"I am

"I am glad your Greek Teſtament is not given up. I ſhould look upon you as a traditor—eſpecially as Markland ſays he will very readily correct the whole; which I think is a great matter, to read it after you!

"Our Biſhop is a better ſort of man than moſt of the mitred order. He is indeed aukward, abſent, &c. but then he has no ambition, no deſire to pleaſe, and is privately munificent, when the world thinks him parſimonious. He has given more to this church than all the Biſhops put together for almoſt a century; and we are going to have our old ruinous chapel turned into a library, by his benefaction in a great meaſure."

From Mr. E. Clarke.

Bury, Dec. 5, 1753.

"YOU ſee, Sir, that no change of climate makes me ever forget my friends and benefactors: *ceu Romæ, ceu forſ ita juſſere exul*, I have ſtill White-Friars in view. I ſtill do not forget to thank you for your bill of exchange upon Thurlbourn, who very graciouſly admitted it; and alſo the Biſhop's pamphlet. I have enquired, as you deſired me, about Mr. Baker's Will; but find it a long one, and fear you would not be at the expence of having a copy taken of it. Would you have me ſend you Warren's Hierocles? How does our Heylin go on? Do you think of touching up Faber? I want to know your conjectures about that venerable relick of old lead, which I put into your hands as we came from Hamlet. I believe I forgot to tell you, that my father had a very fair Denarius ſent him this ſummer by the Biſhop, who had it from Mr. Fuller, who had it from my Lord Northampton, whoſe workmen found it in the walls of Pevenſey-caſtle. This account reſembles the traducee of Agamemnon's ſceptre; but however it confirms the antiquity of that caſtle, and of Roman invaſions of this iſland. Dr. Aſhton left his Mſſ. to Mr. Keller of Jeſus: the Biſhop of Ely has adviſed him to aſk leave of the Biſhop of London to inſcribe Tertullian's Apology, which the Doctor left, to his Lordſhip. It will make about a four or five ſhilling book. Aſhton deſtroyed all his ſermons; for the Biſhop of London enquired after ſome he had heard preached, which were not found. Our Fellows have made importations of books from Italy and Hamburgh; ſuch as the Muſæum Florentinum, Scipio Maffei's works, Corſini's pieces, Reimer's Dion Caſſius, &c. &c. The chief of Corſini's are Faſti Attici, Index Notar. Græc. in Sertorius's

rius's manner, in which there is a fine comment on the Sandwich marble. Mr. Symonds *, whoſe Dialogue you read, is deſirous of your acquaintance; which I hope you will not diſappoint him in. He will certainly print: you can have no objection to an author. He will be in town this month, and I have deſired him to call upon you; and you'll oblige me in liſting *tui gregis hunc, et fortem crede, bonumque.*"

Aug. 15, 1754.

"I AM extremely glad Mr. * * * * is at length ſettled in a way of life to his ſatisfaction. It may probably do very well; but I don't know enough of him to judge either of his inclinations or behaviour. It requires (as the world goes) no great talents; and is commonly ſafe and innocent, though not advantageous. *A la Haye* has been thought a good way to form politicians. I don't know how it may ſucceed with divines; but they have ſomething to learn every where: and a part of learning, which is often too much neglected, and never taught in the univerſities, might be picked up there; I mean, a familiar acquaintance with the things of common life. Every clergyman ſhould have a little of this ſort of knowledge, and be able to talk occaſionally with the ſquire upon field-ſports, the farmer on his ſeaſons, and the citizens on trade. There is no doing well without it."

"I HAVE ſcarce been at liberty to think of my own affairs, ſince I had the pleaſure of your Letter. Triſles, that are not my own, take up much of my time. I am now to look over all our old Regiſters to ſearch for the Endowments of Vicarages. Dr. Ducarel, the Archbiſhop's Librarian, is going to print a Repertory, or Direction to Incumbents, where to find theſe endowments, if they are diſpoſed to have recourſe to them, and to prevent any fruitleſs ſearches after ſuch as cannot, moſt probably, be diſcovered. The Archbiſhop has, very politely, ſent me the *Articles of Enquiry* for the parochial Viſitations, printed at his expence, and carriage paid. From what hand they come, I know not. Who is his printer, or bookſeller? Perhaps you can inform me, who ſeem to know every thing."

* John Symonds, Eſq. now LL.D. and profeſſor of Modern Hiſtory in the Univerſity of Cambridge.

March 15, 1757.

"I WAS glad to ſee a Letter from you, though it was a little like the Tabernacle in the Wilderneſs, covered with a cloud. I am ſorry that you meet with any ill-treatment from ſuch perſons as have been ſo much obliged to you. But theſe are but the common allotments, and you muſt expect your ſhare of them. As to evil tongues, mind them not: they are no enchantments. Tell them, as Banquo did the witches, "I neither court "nor fear your favour or your hate." Or come down to us, and talk off ſome of this gloom. We live in a freer air, and in much tranquillity. A ride or two on the ſide of our hills are better than five pages in Seneca and Sir Roger L'Eſtrange. I mind books juſt as you do news-papers in town: they are part of the amuſement for the day, when I have nothing elſe to do, and don't care a ſtraw what becomes of them to-morrow, or how ſoon they are forgotten. But I am ſorry this is the caſe with Mr. Markland: he has not ſo many ways of trifling as I have, nor ſo many of being teazed as you. Either of theſe will prevent an utter ſtagnation of ſpirits; and I want no more than juſt to bruſh the duck-weed off the lake, which I doubt will grow upon him in that entire unactive ſolitude. Mr. Byng was executed yeſterday, about twelve o'clock, on board the Monarch in the Harbour. The ſhip was extremely crowded with ſpectators, and all the reſt that were near."

Nov. 21, 1758.

"I WAS much obliged to you for your Letter, and am a little aſhamed that I have not thanked you for it before. I ſee your attention is turned at preſent to a more entertaining controverſy, though perhaps as difficult to ſettle as a text in St. Paul. I have but juſt ſeen Mr. Hooke's Obſervations. Sure, in ſuch a long diſſertation, he has made every thing as plain as poſſible. What is it that creates all theſe difficulties? The ways of filling up the vacancies in the Roman ſenate were different, by the honour of an elective magiſtracy, by being placed on the conſul's or cenſor's roll, and by the vote of the ſenate itſelf. But did it require the whole extent of 250 large quarto pages to ſhew this? As to the queſtion you aſk, "How "did the Romans preſerve the diſtinction of Patrician and Plebeian fami-"lies,"

" lies," I cannot conceive that it could be done any other way than by a ſort of traditionary preſcription. Who were the ſons of the firſt ſenators, was, at the time of their birth, very evident; and ſo on, in a continual ſucceſſion, *i. e.* theſe were the deſcendants of perſons, who, in the age before us, were allowed to be Patricians. I have an inſtance at preſent juſt before me. Our Biſhop's family is ſaid to be a younger branch of Lord Aſhburnham's; but a branch that was ſhot off from it 300 years ago. I don't ſuppoſe that this point is at preſent capable of being directly proved by any evidence: but every age has admitted this a real fact, which I think is proof enough here, and might have been ſtronger at Rome, where perhaps theſe pretenſions in the courſe of 300 years had been called to a popular ſcrutiny. Is this your point? and would not ſuch a traditionary evidence be ſufficient to prove it?"

Oct. 23, 1764.

" AS I had no great expectations from the Dean of Exeter's papers, I ſate down to them with more indifference than they deſerved: for he has read much upon the ſubject, and with a particular attention to the Saxon nummulary eſtimates. I found nothing in his obſervations upon the third chapter (i. e. the ſhilling) that gave me any trouble; though he could not be perſuaded that there ever was ſuch a coin; or that it was reduced from five to four pence, and yet he admitted the very premiſſes that made this reduction very evident; viz. that the Saxon pound conſiſted of two hundred and forty pence; and that there were ſixty ſhillings in the pound. However, I think myſelf much obliged to him for going over even the references in this chapter ſo minutely, and giving his ſentiments ſo freely. It is the only way to clear up ſuch obſcure queſtions.

" But in the next chapter (the Mark) I found myſelf much more obliged to him. I had fallen in with the common opinion, that the *mark* and *mancus* were ſynonymous terms, and uſed for the ſame coin; and thought that the eight half marks in Alfred's laws and four mancuſes immediately following were the ſame eſtimates. But I am inclined to think, as the Dean of Exeter does, that the *mark* was never uſed among the Saxons, but for a nummulary weight, or a terminus: that applying it to their

coins was an error *. The only ſcruple that remains with me, is the frequent mention of marks in Alfred's will: the verſion is very ancient, and he allows, that *marcus* there muſt mean coins, and not weights. But, however, as the other opinion is in all appearance right, *dedo manus*—I come in to it, and thank him for it. This makes no alteration in the value of the *mancus*, nor is the leaſt objection againſt the utterance of thoſe coins. But if the *mark* is only a nummulary weight, the conſequence is, that the *oras* connected with it are only the leſſer diviſions of the ſame weight, and muſt be conſidered (whatever was the origin of the ſame) in that light only. This will of neceſſity occaſion the whole fourth chapter to be caſt into a new form. What air and exerciſe may bring me to is uncertain. But it will certainly be much againſt the grain *antiquo me includere ludo. Non eadem eſt mens, non ætas. Trebati, quid faciam præſcribe.*"

Feb. 16, 1765.

" THE papers, I have now ſent to you, will ſhew you, that the Dean of Exeter has favoured me with a great many remarks upon theſe Saxon matters, more than I think it neceſſary to trouble you with. This letter is intended as a reply to what I am chiefly concerned in, and I beg you would read it over. It is ſubmitted to your deciſion, like a bill in chancery, which you may diſmiſs, or determine upon the points in queſtion at your leiſure. I hope you will be able to read it, though it is copied by my daughter; for writing is not ſo agreeable to me as it uſed to be; my hand tires, and eſpecially when I am tired of the ſubject. The Dean has read a great deal of this middle-age learning, weighed almoſt all the coins in England, ſent to Paris for the weight of thoſe in the French King's library, and dealt much in Daniſh antiquaries, &c. but his ſentiments don't ſeem to be ſo clearly digeſted as might be expected. His reading ſeems rather to puzzle, than explain a queſtion. But you'll ſee what I have offered in anſwer to his objections, and will let me know what you think of

* " Carried away by the current of theſe great authorities, I had followed implicitly, and continued in the ſame miſtake, if it had not been for the friendly admonition of the very worthy Dean of Exeter. He convinced me that it was an error, and will, I hope, excuſe the liberty I take in making this public acknowledgment. All that can be ſaid in favour of that univerſally prevailing opinion is, that it was of long ſtanding, and by this preſcription had acquired an indiſputed poſſeſſion, which by Dr. Milles's more acute and deciſive examination muſt be given up at laſt." CLARKE, on Coins, p. 307.

it,

it, whether it is ſatisfactory or not. The thoughts of new modeling the whole fourth chapter diſtreſſes me much.

" I find that you are the only perſon at laſt diſpoſed to aſſiſt poor Mr. Wright: he ſeems to be almoſt tired out; I could not have thought that a ſcarf had been ſuch a difficulty. Mr. Geriſon ſeems to be, what he ſays you are, all ſpirits."

March 19, 1765.

" SINCE you aſſume ſome of the privileges of the peerage, and can confer ſcarfs upon your friends, you muſt expect that numbers of the clergy both young and old will make their court to you. I am ſure I think myſelf obliged to thank you for the favour you have done poor Mr. Wright, for I do not know that he could have been accommodated any other way: all his other friends wanted either intereſt or inclination; and it is really hard, that the incumbents of livings under value muſt be obliged to diſpenſe. The law ſays, that livings muſt be eight pounds or upwards in the *king's books*. Theſe are no longer in the king's books; they are diſcharged, they pay no firſt fruits; and in point of equity, as they are no longer in the king's books, one would think they ſhould be diſcharged from this *onus*, as well as the other. But the obſervation in old Dean Colet's *Clerum* will be always true—*Superſtitioſa eſt obſervatio legum iſtarum quæ* LUCROSÆ *ſunt, poſthabitis iis quæ ad emendationem morum ſpectant.*

" I hope you received the copy of the letter to the Dean of Exeter which I ſent by the coach, and that you will at leiſure give me *your opinion* how far my anſwer is ſatisfactory or not; and then you may do what you pleaſe with it. The chief points in diſpute are, the *incrementum*, the *ſolidus of four pence*, the *thrymſa*, and the *reduction of the mancus*. The mark I give up—but think it a horrid thing to have a whole chapter to new model, and write all over again:—though I am much obliged to the Dean of Exeter; for to prevent you from running into any miſtakes is being very much your friend."

July 3, 1765.

" I AM much obliged to you for giving me leave to employ ſo much of your time, and exerciſe your patience ſo often upon theſe trifling amuſements. But, if I am incorrigible, you muſt excuſe me: I do not know how

to part with a liberty, that makes me ſuch advantageous returns. I aſſure you that I profit much by your ſentiments, as they teach me how to correct or explain my own. But, though I treſpaſs ſo much upon your time and patience, I cannot forbear telling you, that you ſometimes, though undeſignedly, pay me in kind. Your converſation with the Dean of Exeter, though I was much pleaſed with what you ſaid, has produced terrible effects. I have juſt now received a letter of ſixty pages, which was very kindly intended to ſave me the trouble of any further reſearches upon this dark ſubject. You had pleaſed him much in ſaying, that he *knockt my project at head*, and this I dare ſay encouraged him to give it the *coup de grace*. You ſhall judge by the beginning of his letter. He ſays, "The "buſineſs of Proſelytiſm is of a bewitching nature; there is a ſort of com- "pliment paid to our reaſon in every conqueſt of this kind: you are not "to wonder, therefore, if I endeavour to work further converſions," &c. But to be obliged to be armed upon all occaſions, and take the field, whenever theſe conquerors take a pleaſure in attacking you, is juſt like living in the neighbourhood of old Rome, and be forced either to ſubmit, fight, or fly. Theſe are a ſort of ſlaviſh conditions, and I wiſh I could get quit of them; but that is at preſent not in my power: I muſt bear with them, *Hoc mihi exedendum eſt*. All the lamentations in the world won't make it leſs. He has got ſome ſtrange fancies in his head, about Daniſh weights, Daniſh pennies, &c. He has read much upon the ſubject, and ſome of his obſervations are not without their uſe.

"But the chief buſineſs of this letter was to tell you, that I have juſt got my liberty; and, if you have a mind to make a viſit at Dorking, and my company is not diſagreeable to Mr. Markland, I would meet you there for two nights and a day. What diſguſt Mr. Markland has taken I know not, and it puzzles me a little to think that there ſhould be ſo much candour with ſo much credulity. For I can truly ſay, though ſaying it generally ſignifies very little, that I have done nothing that ought to offend him or any body: but there is ſome pleaſure in ſaying it, becauſe it is true, if there be any ſuch thing as truth--

Si qua eſt quæ reſtet adhuc mortalibus uſquam
Intemerata fides.

Under this ſeal, you will give me leave to aſſure you that I am, dear Sir, your moſt obliged and obedient, W. CLARKE."

Jan.

Jan. 31, 1726-7 *.

"WHEN I wrote to you laſt †, I was full of ſuſpicions about Mr. Richardſon's argument from Antoninus's pillar.—I am now inclined to believe, that neither the pillar nor the medals of Antoninus can decide that queſtion; for, as to the croſſes, the more I think of them, the leſs I like them, and am ſurpriſed that Mr. Richardſon ſhould make uſe of ſuch an evidence. It is my opinion, that there are either no croſſes upon the pillar itſelf, or, if there are, that they are the work of later ages: it is certain that there are none upon the famous arch of Conſtantine; and what place could have been properer, where could we more reaſonably expect to meet with them, than upon that arch, if they had been uſed at that time? And though we meet with croſſes upon the medals of that Emperor, they might have been ſtruck at the latter end of his reign. It is therefore moſt probable that the croſs was never uſed upon any part of the Roman arms, till the fourth century, after Conſtantine had placed it in the Labarum. Till his time it was continued as the ſevereſt method of execution, ſuch as was practiſed towards ſlaves or traitors. Severus put the heads of Niger and Albinus upon croſſes; and can we therefore ſuppoſe that a pillar erected by the Roman ſenate in a former reign ſhould have ſuch marks of ignominy upon it, or that they ſhould be allowed a place upon the Roman ſhields? Lipſius (de Cruce) obſerves that Conſtantine, near the end of his reign, commanded the puniſhment of the croſs to be laid aſide;—and at the ſame period, I ſhould think, the uſe of it as a mark of honour or diſtinction was firſt introduced among the Romans. He ordered it to be engraved upon the ſoldiers' arms, ſtamped upon his medals, fixed upon the Labarum, &c. And to this was the great veneration that it has met with in ſucceeding ages chiefly owing.

"As to the reign of Marcus (the period we are ſpeaking of), I queſtion very much whether the Chriſtians themſelves ever made uſe of any croſſes at that time which were either engraved or painted. Tertullian, though he ſpeaks often of the ſign of the croſs, ſays nothing of material croſſes, *i. e.* ſuch as were either carved, engraved, or painted, &c. to wear about

* This and the few following extracts from Mr. Clarke's Letters ſhould have been placed earlier in order of time: but, very few of the letters having any date of the year to them, it was not eaſy to arrange the ſeries. The preſent letter is partly ſo, and that which follows it were diſcovered too late to be printed in their proper places.

† See above, p. 544.

them:

them: the *votivæ cruces*, which the proconſul of Africa made, were for the old Roman uſe. I do not well underſtand the paſſage in the 16th chapter of his Apology; but he ſeems to mention it there rather as a ſcandal thrown upon them than a thing actually made uſe of in that age. But I have no books for ſuch enquiries, and therefore leave it to you. Our ſpeculations in this country turn upon very different points. We might perhaps be able to ſettle the antiquity of hops, and we are aſſured that the laſt year's duty upon them came to above 100,000 *l.* ſterling. Dr. Wotton is ſtill very ill: his phyſician gives him hopes yet; but, I am afraid, without reaſon. His dropſy (of the *anaſarca* kind) continues as violent as ever; I wiſh he may be able to live this ſpring. He talks of ſending you a commiſſion to buy ſome books; but I hope he is not in earneſt. My humble ſervice to Mr. Williams, and I am glad to ſee the third book * ſo near a concluſion.—It rejoices the Doctor very much, though he now is under ſome apprehenſions that he ſhall not ſee it publiſhed. I thought to tell you what medals I could furniſh you with, and what I want: I have duplicates of *Veſpaſian*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Antoninus*, *Fauſtina*, *Commodus*, *Severus*, *Caracalla*, *Elagabalus*, *Alexander Poſthumus*.—I want *Julius*, *Otho*, or to change any of the firſt ſix for fairer; *Pertinax*, *Did. Julianus*, *Peſcennius*, *Albinus*, *Diadumenianus*, *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, *Pupienus*, *Herennius Etruſcus*, *Hoſtilianus*, *Trebonianus Gallus*, *Æmilianus*, *Gallienus*, one of the *Gordians*, and from *Poſthumus* to *Conſtantine*."

Feb. 19, 1736-7.

"BETWIXT buſineſs and diſorder, my concern for others, and my own complaints, I have not had ſo much leiſure as to enter upon the Roman Art of War; or to tell you, what requires no art, that I am very much obliged to you for your laſt preſents, your new book, and your deceaſed brother. We have had a very unkindly ſort of ſmall-pox break out in the pariſh, which has all the terrors here of a fire in London. My neighbours look upon it almoſt as a paſtoral duty to nurſe them upon ſuch occaſions; and by viſiting, and changing my cloaths often, I fell into one of my little feveriſh diſorders, which often attend me.

* Of the Laws of Howel Dha.

"I find

"I find you are ſtill purſuing your reſearches for another lecture to the Society *; but I can ſay very little upon the ſubject: it is of great compaſs, and the ſeveral changes and improvements muſt be deduced hiſtorically, or it will never turn out to your ſatisfaction.

"Reineſius' two obſervations, ad Cl. vi. 123, and Cl. viii. 58, are a little (or, as you might have ſaid, not a little) inconſiſtent. He ſuppoſes in *one* that the *alæ* took their numbers from the legions they belonged to, and yet will not admit of *alæ* xxii; though it is certain that there were often ſo many, often more, legions than that number. The two armies of Pompey and Cæſar (as you mention) had nineteen legions; and we cannot ſuppoſe that all the troops in the Roman empire were drawn together in theſe two bodies. Tacitus † mentions xxii legions. The Notitia, which one would imagine ſhould give the moſt perfect account of the Roman armies, mentions, I believe, almoſt 150 legions; for I have not had patience to count them up all; as they were in the Notitia ſtationed at different places, they muſt of neceſſity be different legions ‡.

2. As to *ala legionis:* the place which Pitiſcus refers to in the *Itinerary* cannot well be read any other way. It is, page 56 (of Schottus's edition, with Surita's notes) *Durnomagum* LEG. VII. ALA. *Buruncum* LEG. V. ALA. *Noveſium* LEG. V. ALA. *Geldubam* LEG. IX. ALA. *Calonem* LEG. IX. ALA. Now we cannot well read *Legio* VII. and *ala*, becauſe, in the four laſt *places*, the *ala legionis* was divided into two parts, and quartered part at one and part at the other place §. I am therefore inclined to believe (as I did at firſt) that, the Roman legions being quartered upon the different limits of the Roman empire, near or with each legion or legions was a body of horſe, by way of *ala* to them. They had *ſolita ſibi hiberna*, as Tacitus calls them, and, being quartered uſually together, were called promiſcuouſly, either *alæ legionis* of ſuch a legion, or from the place they were quartered in, as *ala Pannonica*, &c. or from the people they were compoſed of, as *ala Gallorum veterana*, &c. or from the chief reviſer of the *ala*, as *ala Theodoſiana*, &c. The Notitia mentions about 80 or 100 different *alæ*.

* See above, p. 133. & ſeq.

† Hiſt. I. 18. 55. II. 100. III. 22. IV. 24.—In denariis ap. Fulv. Urſ. ad xxv continuato uſque numero aſſurgunt, eodemque interrupto ad XXXIII.

‡ Plures legiones; plures I. plures II. III. IV. VII. XX. quod a viris aliquibus doctis & eruditione claris ἐπερῳώμενον, graviſſima illis errandi cauſa & πρῶτον ψεῦδος extitiſſe viſum eſt.

§ See Weſſeling's edition of the Itinerary, p. 255. EDIT.

How many are in the Itinerary I cannot ſay, becauſe there wants a military index, and indeed better indexes in general, which perhaps the new Dutch edition is ſupplied with. I think it is Schelius's opinion, that *ala* comprehends both the auxiliary *horſe and foot* in the writers of the old republic. That in the time of the Cæſars *ala κατ' ἐξοχήν* means the horſe. See the notes ad Suet. Tib. c. 31. Cæſar himſelf (as you obſerve) keeps this latter diſtinction: *ala κατ' ἐξοχήν* with him is the horſe; the *ala* horſe and foot is *cornu*. Now ſhould not Livy, who is a later writer, obſerve the ſame way of ſpeaking? You ſay, that what the Greeks call *κέρα*, he [Livy] calls ſometimes *ala*, ſometimes *cornu*. That muſt be wrong, and not ſoldier-like. The inſtance you give is lib. XXVII. c. 19. It is not clear enough for me to determine by. In other places he ſeems to obſerve Cæſar's diſtinction, as lib. X. 29. "Fabius in dextro *cornu*,—cunctando extracterat diem; deinde ——— præfectis equitum juſſis ad latus Samnitium circumducere *alas*." Here is plain difference between *ala* and *cornu*. Speaking of both again a little lower, the ſame general of the right wing commands *Campanorum alam, quingentos fere equites, excedere acie* — Again, the *ala* is part of the *cornu*; when you mean the foot of the *cornu*, it may be neceſſary to ſay, *alarii pedites*. So Tacitus, in the place we were about, *Pannonicæ & Mœſicæ alæ perrupere hoſtem*. Hiſt. III. c. 2. That could be only horſe—So Surita in his Com. p. 422. *Alaribus legionum equitatum deſignari certum eſt*.

"I ſtill ſay, that it does not appear to me that *Pannonicæ legiones* were *ex civibus conſcriptæ*, much leſs the *ala Pannonica*. The emperors ſure were not ſo ſcrupulous as to admit only citizens in their legions. Indeed the liberties of the Roman city were then much enlarged when Tacitus mentions theſe legions. It is in a ſpeech of Antonius's to carry off the German forces in favour of Veſpaſian. He obſerves what advantages Vitellius would have by their delays. Among the reſt, "juxta *Gallias Hiſpaniaſque*, utrimque *viros*, equos, tributa." Now *viri* in that light would make one believe that they were to be uſed in the legions. And Spain had not the *jus Latii* till Veſpaſian's time. Upon the whole, I cannot come into your opinion of an *ala* of *ſocii*, *cives*. The few inſcriptions that mention *Eques Legionis* can perhaps be reduced to no certain period. Why therefore ſhould we not think that *eques legionis* is only *eques alæ legionis* and *eques Romanus in leg.* i. e. eques alæ legionis, qui *civis Romanus*, by way of

of honour? The Lapidaries were not the moſt correct writers. This anſwers the whole with the leaſt difficulty, in my judgement. If I ſuppoſed the *legiones Pannonicæ* raiſed in Pannonia, it was an idle ſuppoſition; their name was from their ſervice and ſtation.

"Robertellus's obſervation is not worth mentioning.

"I thank you for the catalogues. If I thought that Calmet's Antiquities, &c. was a tranſlation of *all* Calmet's Diſſertations on the Bible, which are in number about 110, I ſhould be glad of it. If it be only a part of them, I have nothing to ſay.

"I am ſurprized that Dr. Mangey ſhould reject the former emendation. But it convinces you, how fond people are of their own productions: he could not think of deſtroying his ἄθεον note. Philo is to me a ſort of Monkiſh performance, which I ſhould never have thought of publiſhing. Whether *domo* anagyratium is or is not Latin, is more than I can ſay; one would think he ſhould not ſtand by it unleſs he knew how to defend it.

"From your enquiries into theſe military matters, I have picked out a peaceable etymology, to add to Skinner — *Iſles*, thoſe parts of a church which ſtand of each ſide the middle ſpace, as the *croſs-iſles*, the *ſide-iſles*. a Græco ἴλη, Lat. *ala*, Fr. Gall. *aile*, Noſtrum, *iſle*, the wing of a building, though now uſed only of churches. As to Capellus, I take his Commentarii and Critica Sacra to be the ſame book; but I had rather ſtay for better information, and will not reſolve till I know more."

Mr. PENOYRE * to Mr. BOWYER.

DEAR BOWYER, *Moor, October* 9, 1767.

"I AM really thankful for your letter, and joyful at an hue and cry after any Laws that may help to conſodder an old friendſhip. I know not how or why interrupted. But to the Welſh Laws †: I dare ſay I have four or five books of Welſh Laws, but I know not where to find them directly: but they ſhall be ſent, and I wiſh I could frank them, as I fear they will not pay carriage this century. There is one **** **** has a bound book, purloined from the Regiſter of St. David's, who promiſed to diſpoſe of ſome to the ſubſcribers. I remember I paid you for as many as were delivered. So much for the Welſh Laws. I much like Mr. Clarke's labour and learning, if he or you like it; but it is all lumber, and a load too heavy for my head and ſhoulders.

I am ſorry for your memento: we are all a-going; but I know not how to adviſe you. If I could be of any ſervice, you may command my aſſiſtance. I really pity your ſituation. Clarke and Markland are at too great a diſtance for the purpoſes of friendſhip, and they are almoſt helpleſs.

You envy my ſtrength and powers: I praiſe, and am thankful; and when I tell you the ſport of this day, you will ſay I ought; for, be it known to you, that I this day went a-hunting after breakfaſt, ſtarted my hare, and killed her by dinner. I went home, and ordered the hounds to try for a freſh hare: they ſoon ſtarted; I rejoined them, killed that alſo; ſo home I came, to pay this acknowledgement, and to let you know that nothing but exerciſe will procure health.

Pray ſend for your ſon. You may command all that is in the power of a friend, that loves you and him, as he is your ſon, and the darling of the woman that doated on you in the opinion of your friend and real ſervant, THO. PENOYRE.

P. S. Take my advice, or leave it: I know you hold it cheap, but it may not be the worſe for uſe. Adieu; I adjourn to my ſolo pipe, and *made-here-a* wine.

* See above, p. 578; where, for *The Hyde*, read *The Moor*. This ſingle letter is inſerted as characteriſtic of the pleaſantry and philanthropy of the worthy writer.

† By printing which, Mr. Bowyer had loſt money.

LETTERS

Letters from Mr. Ambrose Bonwicke * to his Father; tranſcribed by his grateful Scholar W. Bowyer.

E Muſeo meo Joannenſi, Oct. 9, 1669.

" IMPROBUS merito et perfrictæ frontis tibi videri poſſim (vir Reverendiſſime) quod uſque adeo negligentem me preſtiti, ut de venia pene ſit deſperandum: quippe qui contra juſſum tuum perinde ac meum promiſſum hanc epiſtolam huc uſque diſtinui. Cum tamen bonitatem tuam et miram in tuos clementiam mente pertracto, rurſus ſcintilla quædam ſpei affulget, te etiam hoc mihi condonaturum. Expectavi equidem ut de Curione tuo non nihil reſcriberem, ne literis uſquequaque importunis aures tuas interpellarem. At cum per hoc temporis intervallum nullum potuerim invenire, non auſus ſum diutius differre, ne, dum moleſtiæ crimen effugero, contumax prorſus audirem. Mire nobis arridet Oxonium, nec quidem eſt quod diſpliceat præterquam tui præſentiâ monitiſque tuis auro contra pretioſiſſimis carendum quod eſt; quæ nunc demum maximè ſuſpicio et exoſculor, cum amplius uti non liceat; atque ſpero etiam nunc monita tua per literas cariſſimas ut ſolitus es imperties, et ſic quæ negat mihi locorum intercapedo, indulgeat tabellarius. Expectes forſitan, nec injuria, memet ipſum mire eruditum atque oratorem tanta Academia dignum in hac Epiſtola exhiberem; at cum tecum ſerio cogitaveris, expectabis potius ſtylum noſtrum non tam doctum quam barbarum, nec tam Ciceronem ſapere quam Dialecticos et Sophiſtas. Vix poſſum non effutire quidditates, entitates, formalitates, et id genus barbariem. Parcas igitur ſiquid invenuſtum occurrat, ac etiam ſi non auſim adhuc tibi promittere in me plus eruditionis quam dudum: vereor ne tantundem in his literis deprehendas. Attamen firmiſſime aſſeverabo, nullibi majorem invenies obſervantiam, imo ne tantam. Atque hoc unum præſtitit Oxonium, nempe reddidit me (ſi fieri poſſit) tuæ reverentiæ ſemper amantiſſimum, nunc amantiorem. Tutor noſter præclariſſimus deque Philoſophia optime meritus magiſter Dickenſon † tuis verbis per me ſalutatus te viciſſim meis reſalutat, cujus auſpiciis nullus dubito quin ambages logicas et Ariſtotelis labyrinthos tandem veluti filo ductus penitus exquiram. Precor denique ut amicis meis omnibus plurimam ſalutem annunciâris, præſertim

* See the " Anecdotes," pp. 12. 506.

† Q. Edmund Dickenſon of Merton, phyſician and chymiſt, who reſided at Oxford till 1684, when he removed to London to ſucceed Dr. Willis. He wrote his " Delphi Phœnicizantes, Ox. 1655," 12°; and died 1707.

D. D. Georgio Freeman et Ambr. Brown ſuſceptoribus meis longè colendiſſimis; ut et toti tuæ Familiæ, non exceptâ matre meâ chariſſimâ, cui verum (Pater Reverendiſſime) per omnia tempora locoſque diligenter me proſtabo,

Filium et Famulum obſervantiſſimum,

AMB. BONWICK.

E Coll. Joan. pridie Circumciſionis, 1669.

" EGO, Reverende Domine, poſt diuturnum plus ſatis ſilentium, cum nil poſſim majus et nil equidem minus, hanc Epiſtolam ſtrenulæ vices ad te mitto; gratulaturam (ut ſpero) cum annum tibi fauſtè inchoatum, tum valetudinem recuperatam, quam ex literis Matris accepi non eſſe prorſus adamantinam. Nec, opinor, recuſares hoc chartaceum xeniolum ſi votorum ſuorum eſſet compos. Quamvis enim munera nulla polliceatur, nec aurea, nec argentea, vovet tamen longe meliora, nempe pancraticam valetudinem, omnemque ſimul felicitatem. Certe probare nunquam potui illorum induſtriam, vel avaritiam potius, qui paſſim amicis ſtrenas mittunt ut apophoræta recipiant; veruntamen ego (ut facilè ſuſpiceris) eorum more aliquid remittendum expecto. Non ignoro quam improbum ſit tot et tanta ab eo expectare, de quo nihil unquam ſum promeritus: ſed quo non adigit mortales verè duriſſimum telum neceſſitas? Eo in loco ſunt res meæ, ut ni protinus ad manum ſit penſio trimeſtris poſſim coram latrone cantare. Scio non exiguum eſſe quod peto, neque me fugit quam nulla ſint mea in te officia, quorum fiducia rem tantam auſim abs te petere, præſertim cùm tot tantiſque nominibus jam pridem obſtrictus tibi nondum ullâ ex parte retulerim gratiam. At ſi dignaberis beneficiorum cumulo hoc etiam ſuperaddere, conabor omnibus nervis vel pluſquam omnibus ne te unquam hujus capitis educati pœniteat. Quàm officioſe meo nomine ſalutabis familiam illam ſemper colendiſſimam, cui quondam heu! præfuit vir ampliſſimus D. Edvardus Nicholas; cujus etſi mortui apud me nunquam intermoritura eſt memoria. Vota ſuperſunt (vir Reverendiſſime) quibus dixi confertam eſſe hanc ſtrenulam, ut optatiſſimâ valetudine, longiſſimis annis, et omnibus felicitatibus perpetuo beare dignetur Deus Opt. Max. Quod ut fiat animitus ſupplicat,

Tuæ proſperitatis ſtudioſiſſimus,

AMB. BONWICKE.

D. Braſier B. D. e noſtro Coll. te plurimum ſalvere juſſit, ut et contubernales mei.

Oxon.

Patri ſuo chariſſimo et unice colendo Amb. Bonwicke S. P. D.

Oxon. Feb. 3, 1669-70.

" GRATÆ profecto (Reverende Domine) fuerunt Literæ tuæ, gratiſſimi vero nummi, quos nudiuſtertius abs tabellario accepi. Inter illos autem præcipuè gratulor xenioli noſtri præmio (vix equidem ſpectatu digni, nedum muneratu) utpote quod teſtatur videri tibi nonnihil tibi meruiſſe noſtras lineolas. Mirum quiddam narras de noſtro quondam amico Griffith, nec credibile niſi veſtra teſtante Reverentia. Fruſtratus eſt ſane expectationes noſtras, uti et veſtras qui putâſti alium deperîſſe puellam : at forſan tantas deſperans nuptias, has viles ambit, ne prorſus omni fraudaretur uxore. Veſtes noſtræ undique fatentur vetuſtatem, et ſubter togam geſtiunt latere, lucem averſantes ne ſuam indicarent raritatem, nec diutius multo dominum tegent cum ipſæ dudum nudæ fuerunt. Facile locum cedent ſucceſſoribus, ſi modo mittas quæ ſuccedant, veruntamen eatenus evigilabunt. Tutor noſter una cum D. Maryfield jun. tibi ſalutem plurimam, ego autem matri chariſſimæ, fratribus, ſororibus, &c. Vale.

Si habeas Ariſtophanem, rogo vehementer ut mittas.

Patri ſuo æternum colendo Amb. Bonwicke S. P. D.

Ex Ædibus Joan. Aug. 18, 1670.

" PERLEGI oppidò quam libens Literas, quas ad me nuperrimè dediſti, et quia tuæ ſunt et quia literatæ. Gaudeo etiam me nactum eſſe non modo Patrem ſed etiam Monitorem amantiſſimum. Neſcio quomodo in noviſſimis illis omiſi verbum *mittere*, quod interſeras poſt benedictiones, aut ſi mavis ad finem periodi. Quem majorem eſſe judicas, ego certe nullum credidi hiatum; ſic enim ſi nondum ſit interpunctari vellem iſtam ſententiam, *Crudelis ille Puer abiitne?* meo reſpondit abiit &c. ſcil. interrogationi meæ *abiitne?* ſubaudito *Pater*. Ne autem obſcura ſint nimis aliis legentibus, addantur (ſi placeat) *mihi interroganti*, et illud meo . . . quam poſſit curioſè convertatur. Bibliothecâ Joannēnſi donatus ſum, ideoque M. Strerii datur copia; ſin ingenti huic cumulo plura adhuc beneficia tibi viſum ſit addere, rogo ut mittas Famiani Stradæ Proluſiones Academicas, et Tacitum cum obſervationibus Boxhorni, Amſtelodami impreſ-

ſum

ſum 1661. Fratri Henrico jamdudum ſcripſi, et tua priuſquam nota præſtiti mandata, etiamque præſtabo. D. D. Smitheus et Rhodes tuam ſalutem iterum remunerantur. Si quæ in poſteris fuerint errata (ſummam tamen ne fierent adhibebo curam) ardenter cupio quod (ut feciſti) corrigere dignaberis: tanto majorem tibi habiturus quotidie gratiam, quantò ab erroribus me, vel ſæpius, vel liberius, vel poſtremò etiam ſeverius vindicaveris. Non eſt quod timeat elegantia tua omnium politiſſima indigniſſimam noſtram limam: Heu fruſtrà expectamus ullo modo poſſe ἀδιπελαργεῖν. Vale.

Cuicunque debitam meo nomine reddes ſalutem. Credunt D. D. Meryfield ſen. et jun. cum D. Rhodes juramentum quod oblitus es hoc eſſe, viz. " Non promovere indignos, aut retardare dignos."

AMBROSIUS BONWICUS Patri ſuo Reverendiſſimo S. P. D.

Sept. 1, 1670.

" SOLEBAT Epiſtola tua ſemper ſuo nomine redire tam grata, ut receptâ ſatis ſuperque contentus chartulâ nihil ultra deſiderarem. Nunc autem veſtrorum nomine xeniolorum, quæ omnia fideliter reddidit, tam mihi jucunda rediit ut ejus pæne præſentiam non requirerem, niſi quod verba tua auro contra pretioſiſſima ſemper æſtimavero. Dedi ad te Literas (ni fallor) Aug. 18, quas miror nondum ad Mychelham appuliſſe; quod tamen tardæ adeo adveniant ſoli tabellario imputandum eſt. Ad beneficium quod attinet ſacerdotale D. Smitheo tuis verbis totum enarravi, qui tibi quàm plurimas juſſit impertiri gratias, plures quoque propediem ſuis verbis redditurus eſt, et non dignum putet quod ambiret. Domino Baylie etiam communicaſſem, niſi procul a Collegio abfuiſſet. Pridem eſt cum ad chariſſimum Præceptorem D. D. Goad literas vel importunas dediſſe conſtitui, etſi illis quia importunis ſepius malis avibus inceptis ſupersedendum cenſui; nunc verò cum de fraterculis habeo quod ſcribam, epiſtolium huc uſque libenter detentum, libentiùs brevi demittam, ut de eâdem fideliâ duos parietes (quod aiunt) poſſim dealbare. Rogo ut apud omnes illos noviſſimos benefactores mihi ſis epiſtolæ vice. Vale. Pergratiſſimum equidem facies ſi cum libris quos modo petii Apuleium miſeris. Iterum vale.

AMBROSIUS

AMBROSIUS BONWICKE Patri ſuo S. D.

In Muſeolo noſtro, vigiliis D. Thomæ, vigilans ſcripſi, 1670.

" NEQUE deſidiæ meæ, neque occupationum culpa omnino eſt, licet harum quoque nonnulla ſit, quod ad Epiſtolam ſuperiorem non reſcripſi hactenus; ſed tuæ potius facilitatis jam uſque adeo natæ, ut ob eam protinus ego licere in te mihi omnia exiſtimaverim. Qui ſi nomen indulgentis retinere ſtudes, quod uti jamdudum feciſti tuum, nec iraſci ſilentio noſtro potes ullo modo, nec debes. Quicquid enim habui novi ſcripſi totum; ſed vero totum nihil erat. At tandem aliquando habeo quod ſcriberem, nimirum de comitiis in honorem celſiſſimi Principis Auriaci; niſi quod dominus Warren narrationis vicem apud vos optime ſuppleverit. Breviter tamen dicam, nihil in iſtis abſolutiſſimis defuit, præterquam præſentiâ tuâ, regali iſtâ (abſit verbo invidia) mihi longe optatior. Heu! quam vellem (Pater merito ſuſpiciende) te inter cæteros iſtos nobiles, togâ oſtro perfuſâ veſtitum ſediſſe, et S. S. T. Doctorem evaſiſſe. Quantâ injuriâ non datur eſſe. . . . . .

Nullibi dole (Deo favente) nec caput ne calcem, niſi togam dolere poſſim, ſiquidem mea infirmiſſima eſt. Matri chariſſimæ, aviæ, &c. multam ex me ſalutem dicito. Dominus Rhodeus quam illi tuis verbis dixi ſalutem, libenter accepit, teque viciſſim per meas literas ſalvere juſſit. Vale.

AMB. BONWICKE Patri ſuo S. D.

Ex Ædib. Joan. x cal. Junii, 1671.

" TANDEM aliquando (Reverendiſſime) ſilentium plus ſatis induratum vici, quod ſi non aliis certe importunis literis interpellavi. Adeo nihil novum habeo quod ſcribam, ut niſi de veteri noſtrâ ac uſitatiſſimâ indigentiâ benignitatem tuam certiorem facerem, hic expliceret epiſtola. Tametſi ad matrem potius dirigenda eſt petitio: cum non tam librorum inopia laboro, quam induſiorum et id genus veſtium effœminatarum. At malo brevem mittere epiſtolam, quàm hujuſmodi tui indigenis refertam. Circa electionis tempus ſi non antea videbis fortean Præſidentem noſtrum digniſſimum, forſan etiam quod ſpero impetrabis, ſingulis Ambroſ.

. . . . . commenda, et brevitati noſtræ per inſulſitatem tamen moleſtæ nimis ac prolixæ fac precor ignoſcas. Vale.

AMB. BONWICKE Patri ſuo S. D.

Oxon. XVI cal. Nov. 1671.

" OCTAVO idus menſis hujuſce literas ad te dedi cum libro chartaceo ad dnum Gueſt *: nondum autem vel tantillum de alterutris accepi. In iſtis ad te (quod plerumque fit) nummulos aliquos petii quibus admodum opus eſt in auditorio hoc noſtro. Rogo igitur iterum iterumque munificentia tua nonnullos ſaltem ad paupertatem meam mittendos curat. Neque tu abſurdum ineptumve putes; ſi quo magis debeo, magis etiam debere me poſtulo. Mos hic videlicet debitoribus; cum ſint maxime obruti ære alieno, tum pecunias maxime mutuantur. Vale.

A. B. Patri ſuo S. D. Michaelham.

Oxon. ipſis cal. Febr. 1671-2.

" NONDUM vel per tranſennam aſpexi nummos quos in noviſſimis illis te miſſurum pollicitus es; quamvis ſummam adhibuerim diligentiam in tabellionibus utriſque perquirendis. Dies compluſculos etiam de induſtria expectavi; et nihil omnino, ne lineolam quidem accepi. Mittas (obſecro) quam citiſſime aliquid ſaltem vel argenteum vel papyraceum, etſi prius malim; tibique tuum Ambroſium longè omnium devinctiſſimum devincire pergas. Literas (credo) meas de cauſa. . . . . Gueſto noſtro ac tuo accepiſti. Algentes digiti plura nolunt. Vale.

A. B. Patri ſuo S. D.

Ex Ædib. Joann. 19 cal. Febr. 1671-2.

" HESTERNA nocte oſtendebat mihi literas tuas dnus Richardus de Warrennâ †, quibus cauſam ulterius apud eccleſiam Nudigatenſem demorandi domini Gueſti nomine petis. Rogavit etiam ut quam primum ſcriberem, quò te certiorem facerem dominum Præſidentem cum reliquis ſuis ſociis Decemviris, quicquid petiſti Curioni tuo lubentes permiſiſſe: ſe vero Reverentiæ famulum eſſe omnium deditiſſimum. Hæc una cum ſalute à me quàm plurimâ domino Gueſto imperties. Quod amplius ſcribam.

* John Gueſt, M. A. † Richard Warren, afterwards LL. D.

bam nihil novum occurrit (omnia enim noviſſimis ad te abſolvi) præterquam quod dominus Vicecancellarius mandata ſua de Batellis (ut cum noſtratibus barbarè loquar) hac ipſa anni tempeſtate ſolvendis heri iterabat. Vale.

A. B. Patri ſuo S. D.

Oxon. 7 idus Martias, 1671-2.

" LITERÆ tuæ mihi ſemper gratiſſimæ videntur; forſan etiam meæ tibi gratæ viderentur, niſi quod ſemper importunæ aliquid petant, eo vero nomine quidni placeant, cum inde præcipue liquat quam nullus ſim, abſque tua benevolentia, de quâ totus pendeo. His igitur (ut mos obtinuit) pecuniolam aliquam emendico; tenemur enim omnes Scholares ſub Baccalaureo aliquo in hac Quadrageſima determinante, bis pro formâ reſpondere; hoc autem fieri nequit abſque triginta ſolidis vel minimum viginti. Semel jam reſpondi, quapropter decem ſolidos ab amico mutuo accepi, eâ lege ut quam citiſſimè ſolverem. Mittas igitur (obſecro) viginti ſaltem, utinam triginta, ne diutius ſim in ullo ære præterquam tuo. Tutor meus non optima uſus eſt valetudine hos dies; cujus nomine ſalutem tibi aſcribo. Vale.

A. B. Patri ſuo S. D.

Oxon. 6 cal. Apr. 1672.

" CITIUS ſcripſerim (mi pater) ſi conveniendi domini Præſidentis copia mihi citius data fuiſſet, a Londino enim non ante diem heſternum reverſus eſt. Cum primum ſe in Collegium noſtrum recepit, preſto fuimus, literaſque tuas communicavimus. Ad dominum Gueſtium quod attinet, jubet ut nihil curet, ipſe Vicecancellarius curabit. De domino Drouno quod ſcribis hominem Curione tuo magis elegantem magiſque generoſum (ut ait) in Tutorem filiorum ejus deſtinaturus eſt. Nummos noviſſimos die Lunæ tabellarius reddidit. Amoris tui indicia quàm certiſſima, cujus nomine non minus quam ſuo a nobis æſtimantur. Dominus Levinz * Medicinæ Doctor noſter Vicepræſes colendiſſimus, quem abſente Præſidente domini Gueſti gratiâ adii, tibi ſalutem animitus exoptet. Dominus Rhodes †, cui ſalutem impertiris, apud Roffam cancellarii (opinor) vicem

* Richard Levinz, M. D. afterwards preſident. See p. 607.

† John Rhodes, B.LL.

ſupplens, ab ædibus ſuis procul abeſt, adeo ut ſalutem illi precari poſſim, referre non poſſim. Matrem, avam, ſorores, cum fraterculo, meis verbis ſalvere jubebis. Vale, et me ut facis ama.

AMB. BONVICUS Patri ſuo S. D.

Oxon. 4 cal. Maias, 1672.

" MISI ad te literas circa quartum idus Aprilis, quibus pecuniam aliquam pro exercitiis præſtandis maximopere petii; a te vero ne literulam accepi. Rogavi etiam fratrem Johannem ut mihi alterius vice epiſtolæ foret, nec illud impetravi. Examen magiſtrorum jam ſubii pecuniâ mutuò acceptâ. Aliud exercitium die craſtino præſtaturus ſum, reſponſurus ſcil. pro forma in Parviſo (ut loquuntur) adhuc neſcio quid faciam. Spero tamen ut aliquis ex amicis pecuniam accommodavit, quod certe non alio pacto faciat, niſi ut quam citiſſime ſolvam. Poſtremis etiam Tutoris Minervel cum anicularum ſtipendiis petii, et nummos pro batellis ſolvendis, pro exercitiis præſtitis et præſtandis, et nomine ubique liberando, tribus ad minimum minis mihi uſus eſt. Vale.

AMBROSIUS BONVICUS GRIFFITHO ſuo S. D. Londinum.

Oxonii, 4 calend. Novembris, 1672.

" ITANE fidem liberas, mi Griffithe? Num neceſſe eſt, ut ipſe prior te provocem in arenam hanc epiſtolarem? Expectabam diutiùs quam par erat, ut telo laceſſerer, retorquendo paratus: at at nullus appares, negotio aliquo luſui huic longè anteferendo impeditus. Quin accingeris, non enim patiar ut ulla quam libet importuna negotia te ab amplexibus meis detineant. Amplectar autem, ſi nos iterum viſas curru iſto chartaceo, quo facilè potes, advectus: at qui ſemel tam malo hoſpitio acceptus eſt, non temerè iteratò adveniet. Num igitur hoſpitium terreat? literas tuas intimo ſinu reponam, cubiculo tibi proprio: quod quàm indignum ſit, etſi minimè ignorem; ſuo tamen olim non deſpectus habitum eſſe, cùm ego tibi tuque mihi invicem a ſecretioribus ſuimus. Literæ tuæ tandem ſaltem aliquando in ſinum hunc apertum tanquam nidum ſuum advolent, et in domini uſum occupent: fovendo ac exoſculando faciam ut adventûs illas non pœniteat. Livius ille tuus etiam nobis in manibus eſt, nondum autem vel duos libros totos perlegi: te tamen præeuntem ſequar quamvis

non paſſibus æquis. Patri ac lectiſſimæ ſorori ſalutem à me (ſi ita viſum fuerit) quàm humillimè imperties; nec non D. Olivero noſtro Herringo. Vale.

AMBROSIUS BONVICUS JOANNI BONVICO Patri, S. P. D.

Oxonii, 4 nonas Novembris, 1672.

" LITERAS heri, nummos hodie accepi, utraque pergratiſſima; quòd te valere, ac Ambroſium tuum amare, certiorem me fecerunt: quorum neſcieram utrum majori gaudio affecerunt, niſi te valere omnium interfuiſſet pœnè, Ambroſium autem iſtum amare meâ tantùm. Quæſtioni tuæ de computo nihil ferè habeo quod reſpondeam, præterquam quòd libenter crediderim te voluiſſe ſubſidium illud trimeſtre primum futurum ad feſtum D. Michaelis, cùm niſi triginta ſolidos in diſceſſu dediſti, qui dimidio abſumpti fuerunt ante adventum noſtrum ad Oxonium. Legibus autem tuis poſthac iis Arithmetices magis ſubſerviam: quamvis exlex illa neceſſitas nullas omnino agnoſcat. In Pindaricis meis (nec mirum) errorem invenis, at error iſte perquam exiguus eſt; nolo ad licentiam illam poeticam Θεὸν ἀπὸ μηχανῆς recurrere, quamvis non neceſſe ſit verſus ſcribenti perplexâ adeo curâ verba inveſtigare, æquè ac ei qui proſam ſcribat: dico me vocabulum illud *ſlain* eodem ſenſu accepiſſe, quo accipi ſolet *cæſus* apud Latinos, ac etiam *occiſus* apud Terentium, nam occidere aliquem pugnis nihil aliud ſignificat quam durius verberare. Non igitur intellexi Satanam necatum eſſe, ſed graviter vulneratum, et hunc eſſe ſenſum illius verſûs proximus oſtendit; prævidi enim quid poſſet objici. D. Harvæus noſter tibi ſalutem precatur. Chariſſimæ matri plurimam a me ſalutem. Vale.

AMBROSIUS BONVICUS JOANNI GRIFFITHO meo, S. D. Londinum.

Oxonii, ædib. Joannenſib. Nonis Novembris, propter conjurationem illam ſulphuream dudum famoſis, 1672.

" MANUM paululùm cohibeas, telis jam penè obruis; quomodo duo hæc, eaque acutiſſima ſuſtineam, qui vel ſimplici impar ſim? At vulnerare pergas; tela iſta neſcio quâ dulcedine delinita, vel pungendo placent. Dicis in prioribus, Diſtichon quoddam tibi nuper legenti occurriſſe; volo ut proximis authorem illum indigites, ac ubi gentium occurrit; patria nempe

nempe ejus nos adhuc latet; nec mirum eſt ſi obſcurum videatur, cum ipſum tenebrarum dominum præ ſe ferat authorem: nolo autem te ad illum ipſum rejicere, quod amico cuidam noſtro ſenſum verſuum roganti fecit ſacerdos neſcio quis; cum diu eſt quòd ſiluerunt ejus oracula: at dicam ipſe quod ſentio. Solet catus ille (ut in pleriſque Pythonum reſponſis videre eſt) ſuam de futuris ignorantiam, aut verborum ambagibus, aut ſenſu aliquo bifronti (ut ita loquar) aut etiam inexplicabili, obtegere: quidni hic idem faciat? Dicit Balæus ſcriptor quidam gentilis in principio centuriarum ſuarum Scriptorum Anglicanorum, hoc reſponſum eſſe mali Genii ad exorciſtam quendam Romanum, cujus quæſtionem non ponit: mihi autem videtur, ſi quis verſûs iſtius poſterioris ſenſus ſit, hunc eſſe, nimirum Romam ſubitò motibus inverſum iri ac confuſum; Amor etenim eſt Roma inverſa. Veriſimilius autem eſt authorem non omnino ad ſenſum reſpexiſſe, ſed ad fabricam ſolam, quæ equidem mira eſt; ſit nempe recurſus per eadem elementa, quod retrò legens invenies. Iſtiuſmodi etiam ſunt verſus iſti,

Si bene te tua laus taxat ſua laute tenebis:
O ut ares animo nomina ſera tuo.

In quibus quàm perplexus ſit ſenſus vides. Livium patrem illum hiſtoriæ (ut jure vocatur) paululum de manibus poſui, donec ordo et methodus, quam ſecundùm Alſtedium inſtitui, repoſcat. Incepturus ſcil. à ſcriptoribus univerſalis hiſtoriæ, quales ſunt Raulæus noſter, qui primas, nec injuriâ, teneret, niſi linguâ vernaculâ ſcripſiſſet. Cluverus deinde, Petavius, Boxhornius, à Chriſto nato, et ejuſmodi: poſtea deveniam ad particulares hiſtorias, ac imprimis, ſacram; dein politicam, naturalem, &c. Tu verò quod libitum fuerit facias, modò ames. Vale.

Ambrosius Bonvicus Patri ſuo, S. P. D. Michelhamium.

Ex Ædibus Johannis, nonis Januarii, 1672-3.

" PIACULUM eſſet, ſi annum hunc juvenem adoleſcere paterer te inſalutato: a cujus ſalute, matris chariſſimæ, fratrum ac ſororum, mei denique ipſius ſalus pendeat. Cum igitur à feſto infantuli Jeſu incipiat, faxit Deus ut ejus ſuavitatis et ſerenitatis quodammodo totus participet, ſit paciſicus, innocens et ſubridens; pueri adinſtar, pueri Jeſu. Faxit etiam ut quo propiores ſepulchro, eo cœlo propiores accedamus. Audiviſti (opinor)

nor) jampridem Præſidentem noſtrum digniſſimum ad Epiſcopatum Bathonienſem Wellenſemque electum eſſe: proximo menſe Lambethæ conſecrabitur; ubi (ſi placuerit) eum viſas, et Dominum Bernardum noſtrum concionantem audias, qui (ut fertur) beneficio donatus eſt in agro veſtro Suthrienſi, haud ita procul à Croyden. Dš. Dr. Levinz, omnium pene noſtrûm ſuffragiis, Præſidenti ſubſtituetur: quapropter ſi fert occaſio, eum tibi mihique modo aliquo devincias: etſi nullus dubito, quin et tibi et mihi jamdudum ſit devinctiſſimus. Tempus imminet quo Baccalaureatus Artium mihi ſuſcipiendus eſt, qui tantis impenſis (ut ita dicam) emendus eſt, ut neſcio an plus gaudii an doloris et tædii ſecum attulerit. Quis nempe gradum iſtum lætè aſcenderet, cui via munienda eſt parentum quadam depreſſione? Quiſquis autem pauperes facit, deprimit; illud verò neceſſe eſt faciam, cùm e cumulo admodum modico decem libras (quibus opus fuerit) detraham. Togæ autem et pileo emendis, aliquciſque ſumptibus majoribus, decem libræ (quod Dominus Gibbonius * noſter expertus affirmat) vix ac ne vix quidem ſufficiant. Ad Quadrageſimam inſtantem, aut citiùs ſi fieri potuerit, nummos paratos eſſe vellem, modo nemini veſtratum (quod vix ſperare poſſim) tanta ſumma inviſa foret: mallem enim humi ſemper jacere, quàm aſſurgere ut meliùs livore petar. Cures (obſecro) ut hæc ſumma ſit ultima à vobis petenda, quod facies, ſi locum aliquem inveſtigas, ubi peregriner, donec ad Magiſtratum Artium †, ac ideo ad ſtatum meliorem in Collegio revertar. D. Dickenſonus ‡ ſalutem tibi precatur. Valc.

Ornatiſſimo, Doctiſſimo, Sanctiſſimoque viro D. Petro Mews, LL. Doctori, Bathonienſi Wellenſique Epiſcopo, &c.

"UT ſolent plerique, qui aſtra et cœleſtia contemplantur, editiora quærere loca, unde in curſus et influxus eorum propiùs introſpiciant: ſic ego (vir Reverendiſſime) velim ut gradu iſto me ſubleves, quo melius virtutes tuas cœleſtes prorſus ac divinas ſuſpiciam et adorem. Qui humi jacet terrena ſola cogitat, ſordida ac vilia rerum genera; ad cœlum ægrè reſpicit, et quæcunque ſublimiori loco collocantur: fac igitur aſſurgam, quò dignior ſim qui te ſuſpiciam, ac in quem tu invicem reſpicias. Ego

* William Gibbons, afterwards M. D.
† Mr. Bonwicke ſucceeded M. A. March 18, 1675; B. D. June 17, 1708.
‡ Brian Dickenſon, M. A.

vel

vel imum gradum abſque ope tuâ difficillime ſcandam, tu jam totam ſcalam quam citiſſime emenſus es, ſummo illo faſtigio potitus, non ut a terris quibus faves remotior, ſed ut regi et cœlo quibus inſervis propior habites. Utinam eò altitudinis tandem aliquando ipſe progrediar unde pedes tuo humiliter exoſculer; paternitati enim tuæ obſequium illud, (præfiſcinè autem loquor) et D. Petri cathedra majori jure debentur, quàm ſenecioni illi, cujus alter ſaltem pes jam pridem à Charontis peculio fuerit: niſi pedes illius eo nomine exoſculandi ſunt quo cineres et reliquiæ defunctorum. Collegium heu noſtrum jam jam relicturus es, et præfecturâ iſtâ diſceſſurus, ut cum Carolo tuo regnique primoribus in ſupremo illo ſenatu majori populo jura des: ante diſceſſum autem obſecro, famulum tuum fideliſſimum emancipes, et pileo (quod ſolent) dones: ſic libertate mancipiam fiam, et adamantinis iſtis beneficiorum vinculis, plus tibi devinciar,

Paternitatis tuæ longe obſequentiſſimus,

Sic ſubſcr.

Amb. Bonwicke.

Ambrosius Bonvicus Johanni Goado Præceptori colendiſſimo, S. P. D.

E Coll. D. Joan. Oxon. 4 idus Februarii, 1673-4.

" QUOD in literis ad te ſcribendis tam parcus ſim et infrequens; id imprimis cauſæ eſt, quòd nec quæ ſcribam habeam, nec das quibus reſpondeam: malim autem negligens videri quam revera moleſtus eſſe. Non nempe ſum ignarus, quam uſque ad nauſeam, hujuſmodi nugis quotidie oneraris; cum ſcilicet proxime diſtent literæ pleræque noſtræ, ab exercitationibus puerilibus. Et tibi foret prorſus deſperandum, ſi eadem patereris a nobis poſt adventum noſtrum ad academiam, quæ toties a pueris paſſus fueris. Quæ cum ita ſint videar forſan commodo tuo, pariter ac noſtro conſuluiſſe, ſi a te impetravero, ut a Benjamine fratre et nugis ejus quotidianis te ipſum liberares; id è re tuâ fuerit: utque ad Collegium noſtrum eum mittendum curares; hoc è meâ fratriſque noſtri, patris autem præſertim, qui liberos ſuos ægrè alit, adeoque academiam filiis ſuis toto animo exoptat. Tantus eſt illius in te amor, quantus fratrum ſolet eſſe, aut ſi quis major uſpiam ſit, aut vehementior: nec dubito quin amore amori reſpondeas, ea eſt tua humanitas omnibus perſpecta, mihi autem imprimis, qui meam humanitatem (meâ autem culpâ per exiguam eam

eam esse agnosco, quamvis aliqua sit, id agnoscere) tibi soli totam debeo. Te id quod exoptamus posse crederem: quippe qui fratrem ad studia excitare, ac justa meritum, vel (si id pueri indigentia et tua erga eum benevolentia postulet) supra meritum gradum ei assignare possis: nisi probe scirem, te id quod possis in re nostrâ velle. Sunt forsan aliqui è discipulis tuis qui collegio huic adscisci merito suo plus quàm frater debeant; exoptent autem minùs, ac minùs indigeant. Tu, quod visum fuerit, facias; non potes nobis non gratum facere: cùm aut ad collegium Benjaminem mittas necesse est, aut tutelæ tuæ academiam contra optatissimæ reserves. Vale.

Ambrosius Bonvicus D. Johanni Goad, Præceptori etiam nunc suo, salutem et fausta omnia supra id quod dici possit, ex animo vovet. Londinum.

Oxonii, pridie Idus Martii, anno 1673-4.

"LITERIS tuis plane mellitissimis, nec tamen acumine suo destitutis, torporem et timorem omnem mihi excussisti: ita ut non temperem mihimet ipsi, quin statim aliquid regeram. En vero quid tibi comitas tua peperit, molestum scilicet otii tui interpellatorem, cui nunquam os obstruas, nisi cùm proprium aperias. Nolo nempe tepescceret unquam amor iste quo in memet ac meos omnes flagrare videris; cujus item testes locupletes literas tuas asservaturus sum: ei potius frigidam suffundam, et chartis importunis extinguam propemodum, quò vehementius ardeat. Non expecto ut singulis responderes, novi non quantillum otii tibi ludus ille literarius relinquat, in quanta autem studia id, quantulumcunque sit, insumas, scio. Quàm te cœlis tuis et astronomicis recreare, ac animum scholasticis defatigatum, studiis severioribus reficere soleas, haud sumus ignari. Si bis vel ter provocatus tandem responderis, voti compos ero: nec tibi temporis fiet magna jactura, quippe qui lineolâ aliquâ extemporaneâ salutis tuæ ac amoris erga me indicio mihimet abunde satisfacias. De Benjamine nostro (nolo nempe meum esse, nisi tuus pariter sit) quicquid fiet, aliquo nomine nobis id gratum fore dixi; cùm vero scholares tuos scite admodum alitibus assimiles, feliciores esse videntur, si felicitatem norint suam, qui caveâ inclusi cibis præparatis vescuntur, quàm qui libertatem nescio quam sibi fingentes, perrupto ostiolo avolant, et multo cum labore et periculo per sylvas et avia vagabundi tenuem sibi victum conquirunt. Vale, ac Ambrosium tuum amare perseverа.

Ornatiſſimo viro D. Rudstat &c.

" LÆTA, rogamus, fronte excipias, vir clariſſime, nænias iſtas quas ad Caroli funus Martyris perinde ac Regis nomine illuſtris, liberalitate tuâ conducti, præficarum more, unà cum lachrymis effudimus. Quàm minimè verò fictus erat dolor ex ipſo orationis habitu ineleganti ac incompoſito colligere potes: ornatum omnem reſpuit, ac calamiſtris abjectis, lugentium ritu, effuſâ comâ incedit. Sempiternam hanc calamitatem, heu nimiùm vel injuſſi deploraremus: cùm verò id tu pariter ac pietas jubes, quis dolendi finis erit, quis modus, niſi cum probe noverimus luctum hunc noſtrum ſolennem tibi haud omnino diſplicuiſſe. Excipias igitur tum lacrymas, tum nænias quas per os atque oculos noſtros Carolo tuo largitus es: ſi quomodo peccent alterutræ, id canalium fit culpâ, per quos tranſeundo aliquid ſaltem vel legitimæ menſuræ vel decoris amiſerunt. Tantæ nempe provinciæ, quanta eſt Carolum juſtè et ex præceptis tuis lugere, omnino impar erat famulus tuus humillimus,

Ame. Bonwicke.

A. B. Patri ſuo S. P. D. Michelhamium.

Pridie calendas Octobris, 1672.

" LITERIS meis noviſſimis ad decimum calendas Octobris datis veniam a te obnixè rogavi, his autem ob veniam impetratam gratias agere velim, indulgentiâ enim fretus veſtrâ nihil non auſim ſperare. Quo magis autem gratabundi animi ſpecimen dem, en tibi verſiculos aliquos, Anglicanos iſtos ac inelegantes, quamvis utrumque hoc ſua cauſa flagitet; Michelhamium enim veſtrum (cui ſanctum Michaelem tutelarem præpoſuimus) linguam vult vernaculam, inuſitatum autem carminum genus inelegantiam. Quales quales autem ſint, hos verſus benigno (precor) accipias animo; et Tutelatori iſti tu invicem tutelam præbeas. Quod de Angelis tanquam de corporeis quibuſdam ſubſtantiis locutus ſim, licentiæ poeticæ tribuas: etſi nec valeat quiſquam vel proſâ oratione ſpirituum operationes et modos operationum rectè deſcribere. Habes (ni fallor) in iſto carmine, plus ſatis furoris illius poetici quam Pindarici requirunt. Erroribus omnibus cujuſcunque generis ignoſcere, tuum erit, et indulgentiæ etiam tuæ Ambroſium jam tandem tuiſſimum amore (quod ſoles) proſequi. Inſtitutum meum ſecutus jam Prudentii Cathemerinon ſingulis pœne diebus volvo. Vale.

Tri-

Poſtridie Sancti Michaelis 1672.

Trimeſtris illius ſubſidii quod liberalius promiſiſti, ſpero ut memineris; ad feſtum hoc ſancti Michaelis pergratum venerit. Veſtratibus omnibus me commendatum habeas, matri præcipuè cum digniſſimo Domino Vallo.

JOHANNI BONVICO Patri meo ſalutem dico Micelhamium.

Ex Ædib. Joan. Octob. 26, 1672.

" QUANQUAM ad binas meas jam ſiluiſti, tertiis tamen etiam laceſſam; non enim eſt cur in ſilentio iſto tuo perſtares, niſi (quod Deus Opt. avertat) ipſe penetraveris ad loca ſilentii: ſi enim nummos argenteos nolis mittere, at ſaltem aurea tua verba ne mihi invideas. Duriùs victitârim his deſtitutus quàm illis. Forſan autem nondum alterutræ ad Michelhamium veſtrum pervenere, his igitur ultimis cunctantes illas propellam ac proritabo; ſic tandem ad te juſto agmine venient, ac ſilentium tuum oppugnabunt, eoque expugnato, manubias aliquot (ſpero) domum referent: aut, ſi malis, eas obſidum loco teneas, ac e tuâ gente ad me aliquas invicem eures mittendas, at pecuniâ oneratas, quinquaginta circiter ſolidis, ſtipendio illo, quod convenit. Ob quam pecuniam non ad diem miſſam, en quæ bella facta ſint, quæ acies inſtructæ, tantæ ſcilicet, quantæ vel cœlum facilè expugnare queant, precum nimirum et petitionum validæ cohortes. Norunt benè quoties vicerint, quoties te captivum duxerint; jam quoque eandem ſibi victoriam ſpoponderunt, eundem triumphum, nempe de hoſte toties debellato, ut mirum tandem videatur, illum ulteriùs poſſe reſiſtere. Nondum (opinor) ad Triarios res venit, nec opus eſt ut lacrymis ſalis illis extremis utar: ſatis me egenum loquitur ſtylus iſte pauper et jejunus. Vale.

AMBROSIUS BONVICUS Patri ſuo ſalutem.

" PERGRATÆ mihi fuerunt literæ tuæ, idque multiplici nomine; quà nunciæ pecuniæ adventuræ, et patruelis recens nati; quà monitrices; quà denique criſtâ gentili obſignatæ fuerint. Nihil in iis inſipidum, nihil amarum guſtavi, præter maternas lachrymulas. Hæ gaudia noſtra temperaverunt, ne ſupra modum fierent: quis enim (precor) poſſet non affligi, non dejici, cùm dignoſceret ſe matri indulgentiſſimæ cauſam extitiſſe non unici doloris, nec ſemel tantùm lachrymandi? quaſi indies cum ætate filiorum curæ ſuccreſcerent, nec jam viri victum abſque ope parentum quæritaremus; in hoc unico mandatis tuis pænè non obtemperarem. Dii boni

avertant ut in ære etiam fratrum ſim, qui vel tantillo parentum nunquam ero ſolvendo. Adultus ego potius abjiciendus ſum quàm teneriores illi: obnixè igitur rogo ut nihil poſthac è fratrum aut ſororum peculio mihi prodigo inſumas; ſatius enim eſt carere quàm lacrymis affluere: fruſtra autem exceptas ut Oxonii ſim Cantabrigienſis, aut hodie vivam ut olim vixerunt: jubeàs igitur ut aliò tranſeam, et victum (quod frater Johannes facit) per me quæritem; nolim nempe doctus fieri fratrum Benjaminis et Jacobi diſpendio. Quinquaginta ſolidos a fratre accepi 5^to^ nonas hujuſce menſis, quorum quadraginta et quod excurrit expendi; nondum tamen integrum nomen liberavi.

Ornatiſſimo, Doctiſſimo, Spectantiſſimóque viro D. Petro Mews * LL. Doctori, hujuſce Collegii Præſidenti, nec non Academiæ Oxon. Vice-Cancellario Reverendiſſimo.

BRUMA ferox noſtris properat ſuccedere terris:
Et jam deciduis imbribus omne madet.
En nobis cœlum largitur idonea ſomnis
Tempora, dum ſopit flebile murmur aquæ.
Sol procul aufugiens concedit regna ſorori:
Et procul exiguum nox fugat atra diem.
Cynthia condonat gratam ſine fine quietem:
Et non vult refugo reddere ſceptra fratri.
Tempore brumali indulget ſibi turba ſororum:
Indulget pariter vatibus illa ſuis.
Quod viſum eſt ſuperis, hoc te donare rogamus:
Subſcribas igitur, nunc precor (Alme,) Deis.

Sic ſubſ. Amb. Bonwicke.

* Peter Mews, born at Purſe Candle in the county of Dorſet, educated at Merchant Taylors ſchool in London, admitted of St. John's college Oxford 1637, B. A. 1641, M. A. 1645, afterwards fellow, from which and the univerſity he was ejected by the parliament viſitors 1648, for having taken up arms for the king. At the Reſtoration he was appointed archdeacon of Huntingdon, LL. D. king's chaplain, and vicar of St. Mary's, Reading, 1662 canon of Windſor and of St. David's, and 1665 archdeacon of Berks. In 1667 he was elected preſident of St. John's college, and in 1669, 1670, and 1672 vicechancellor of the univerſity, 1670 he was appointed dean of Rocheſter, 1672 biſhop of Bath and Wells, and 1684 biſhop of Wincheſter. In 1685 he appeared in actual ſervice againſt the duke of Monmouth, for which James II. rewarded him with a rich medal. When that king withdrew into France, he took the oaths to king William; and dying 1706, Nov. 6, in his 89th year, was buried in his cathedral. See more of him in Atterbury's "Epiſtolary Correſpondence," vol. III. p. 210.

In obitum Ornatiſſimi, Doctiſſimi Spectatiſſimique viri, Dñi JOHANNIS ASGILL, Artium Magiſtri, nec non hujuſce Collegii digniſſimi Socii.

PAUPER ego tumulo vellem ſuperaddere florem,
Sancte, tuo; at gemitu flos perit ille meo.
Dum tibi cum reliquis lugubria carmina fundo;
Diſcordat placido vox gemebunda melo.
Dum tacitè ſcribo quæ præ mœrore ſilebam;
En facta eſt lachrymis multa litura meis.
Sancte, precor, parcas, quòd non benè condita fundo:
Nam quæ conveniunt luctibus, iſta cano.
Triſte tuam mortem plorat nunc undique cœlum,
Merſaque demiſſo terra ſub imbre natat.
Suppeditant nobis ſuperi pia flumina aquarum;
Indutus pullam Sol latet ipſe togam:
Et negat huic miſero ſqualentia lumina mundo;
Cum Phaëthon periit, ſic doluiſſe puto.
Ipſe tuum nimiùm præbebas, Sirie, lumen:
Ah! fruſtra fontis jam tegit ora rubor.
Novimus æſtivæ lethalia lumina ſtellæ,
Novimus immeritò te tenuiſſe polum.
En quid feciſti? Sanctus ſuper æthera ſplendet,
Sub pedibuſque tuam calcitrat ipſe facem.
Vidimus excelſo moderantem hunc amphitheatro
Qualem ipſum cœlo credimus eſſe Jovem.
Exiguum hoc noſtrum eſt, nec te, ſanctiſſime, dignum:
Te cupiunt ſummi magna theatra Poli.
Illinc aſpicias vani ſpectacula mundi;
Quanto cœleſti eſt gloria noſtra minor.
Ens, ſpes, et ratio ſtudiorum in funere tantùm:
Hæc ſumma, ut ſubitam detur habere necem.
Siccine Doctrinæ tranſibit gloria et artis?
Incaſſùm literas me didiciſſe piget.
Ite, leves Muſæ; valeatis Apollinis artes:
Vatibus ah! veſtris quantula dona datis?
Fallor, magna putant Divæ; nam fratribus illis
Mortem pro ſummo munere Juno dedit.

Sic ſubſ. AMB. BONWICKE.

Ecloga

Ecloga congratulans D. D. Levinz, Præſidenti nuper electo.

TITYRE, quid triſtis recubas ſub tegmine taxi;
Nec ludos noſtros, neque dulcia carmina curas?
Ti. Ingratos fregi calamos, et ſerta, Menalca;
Delicias quondam Domini: triviſſe labellum
Pœnitet, et pictis caput hoc cinxiſſe corollis.
Quid faciam infelix? Poſtquam Melibœus abire
Suſtinuit, mihi nec placcant umbracula ſole,
Ferventi, viridi molles nec gramine ſomni.
Ille levi docuit modulari carmen avenâ:
Albaque gramineis intexere lilia ſertis.
Illum noſtra juvet, quamvis ſit ruſtica, Muſa.
Me. Ille pedo noſtrum donavit cum grege Daphnin:
Daphnin rura canunt, nec Daphnide doctior ullus
Aut calamos inflare leves, aut dicere verſus.
Cernis ut in pratis ſaliant armenta gregeſque,
Læta magis nec erant, dum ſe Melibœus agebat.
Ti. Ergo iterum dulci liceat cantare cicutâ?
Et capiti frondi miſtos circundare flores?
Me. Talia vult Daphnis: vidi hunc per prata jubentem,
Ludite ut antè levi calamo, circumdate fronti
Baccatas hederas: Paſtoribus otia dantur.
Ti. Ergo ſimul Daphnin cantemus et ore et avenâ:
Daphnin ad aſtra feramus; amet ſic nos quoque Daphnis.
Me. Quod quercus parvas inter procera myricas,
Lilia quod preſſas ſunt inter graminis herbas,
Quod Phillis reliquas inter formoſa puellas:
Hoc juvenes inter paſtores Daphnis habetur.
Ti. Sis bonus, o felixque tuis; en quatuor aras;
Ecce duas tibi, Daphni; duaſque tibi, Melibœe:
Hic mihi Pan fuerit; ſed tu diceris Apollo.
Me. Ipſe dabo calathis plenis tibi Daphni quotannis
Pallentes violas et purpureos hyacinthos.
Ti. Ipſe ego pruna, nuces, et ſuave rubentia poma
Dona feram, propriâ redimitaque ſingula fronde.

Me.

Me. Ipſe agrum et ſylvam Daphnim reſonare docebo:
Me cantu nimio donec vox rauca relinquet.
Ti. Ipſe quidem tenui Daphnin modulabor avenâ:
Stridenti miſerè rimâ dum fracta dehiſcet.

Τῷ Θεῷ μόνῳ δοξα.

Angelus GABRIEL annunciat nativitatem D. JOHANNIS.

DUM tu, ſancte Senex, fumantis nubila thuris
Exhalans, tenebras ad cœlum mittis odoras:
Angelus aſcitam diſpellit lumine noctem
Et circumfuſo ſuffimen vincit odore.
Palleſcunt flammæ, tremulique aſcendere fumi
Horrent, thuribulum retro volvuntur in ipſum.
Talia mirantem ſic Nuntius occupat ales:
Quid timeas, quidque oſſa ſenilia concutit horror?
Non ego lethiferi dicam contagia morbi;
Bellaque Idumæis pluſquam civilia campis.
Læta fero, Grandæve, novo jam vere vireſces;
Atque tui cineres poterunt emittere prolem;
Tradet Eliza ſuam vitam moritura Johanni.
Sic quæ funereis tumulantur tritica ſulcis,
Non niſi cùm periere ſolent producere fructum.
Ille modò tremulus altari immotus adhæret,
Suſpiciens thuris ſcandantem nube miniſtrum:
Sic ſtupet, ut potuit fieri ſine crimine mutus.

Viſitatio B. MARIÆ.

QUO fers, dura nimis, pedem tenellum;
Per ſentes rigidos, adeſa ſaxa,
Et quantum eſt ſpatii moleſtioris?
Neſcis baſia ruſticana montis
Queris plantam niveam uſque ſuaviatur:
Neſcis quid rigida audeant vepreta;

Plantarum

Plantarum: quoties rubent cruore;
Ut quæque haſtula purpurâ ſuperbit.
Greſſu præpete tendit ad Johannem,
Infantem, tenerum, lèvem, puſillum;
Cujus dulciculus dies ocellus
Nondum viderat, abditus tenebris:
Dum clauſtris uteri latet parentis.
Felix ſancte puer, beate papæ!
Quem Jeſus placidè priùs ſalutat,
Dulces lumine quàm ſalutat auras.

In obitum Duciſſæ Eboracensis.

VIDERAT ægrotum, ac ideò magis ægra, maritum;
Et Parcam alterutri conſtituiſſe necem.
Fit pia rixa, mori pro conjuge certat uterquè:
Illa ſuo morbo nititur, ille ſuo.
Illa, nova Alceſte, ſubitò ſe devovet umbris;
Et redimit magnum, magna Duciſſa, Ducem.
Vidimus infeſtam crebro tibi vulnere mortem,
Dum petiit matrem per puerile latus.
Tu tamen ignavæ ridens ludibria Parcæ,
Suppeditas natos, pignora chara, novos.
Invida Mors, limis quæ jecit tela, fuiſſe
Irrita ſuccenſens, callidiora jacit.
In tua corda viro latitantia dirigit ictus:
Fœminaque ægroto conjuge cæſa perit.
I pia ad Elyſios, umbriſque fruare tenellis
Natorum, his campi vix ſine matre placent.
At pater hic maneas, ſobolem foveaſque relictam:
Quæ niſi tu vivas, jam moritura jacet.
Vive, Jacobe, diu, lytro tua vita redempta eſt:
Conjugis ut vivas tempore, vive tuo.

Sic ſubſ. Bonwicke.

Malefccit

Malefecit L. ALBINUS, qui depoſitis uxore et liberis Virgines Veſtales in plauſtrum recepit.

QUID fera religio miſero genitore requiris?
Quidve patrem jubeas depoſuiſſe prolem?
Religio hoc ſuadet, pietas prohibere videtur,
Illa ſuum calcar ſubdit, et illa ſuum.
Queis dederit vitam, vitam pater auferet illis?
Quam thalamo fovit, reddet et hanc tumulo?
Quid non relligio poterit ſuadere malorum?
Sic cecidit ſacris Iphigenia focis.
Quid dubitas? Albine, tuos miſer accipe natos,
Sic ſobolem credam bis genuiſſe patrem.
Sic ſubſc. WM. GIBBONS.

In Conjurationem Sulphuream.

HUC, huc Erinnys impiorum ultrix Dea;
Ac his flagellas impiis dignas para:
Fruſtra flagranti territas illos face;
Eſt ignis illis luſus et ſulphur jocus;
Si pœna nulla eſt major, emitte inferis:
Crudeliores inferos faciant ſibi.
Pœnam ſceleſtus quiſque patiatur ſuam;
Sit quiſque Dæmon alteri, ut dignum luant.
Vidit nefandum Jupiter quondam ſcelus,
In ſe Gigantum bella metuebat nova.
Horrebat Ætnam, fortis Enceladi ſpecus;
Ne captus illis occidat flammis polus,
Mittatque quo nunc premitur in ſuperos onus.
Non ſat, triſulcum fulminis telum putat;
Ipſi Gigantes igne majori tonant,
Majora mittunt fulmina et magis horrida:
Quæ vel ſacratæ Cynthio Daphne nocent,
Et cincta lauro tempora imprimis petunt.
Divi vafrorum proditis gaudent dolis.

Tellure natis rurſus evictis ovant:
Divi inferis, Diis inferi grates agunt.
Sic ſubſc. AMB. BONWICKE.

In obitum Sereniſſimæ MARIÆ Reginæ.

SANCTA Maria, vale; hunc mœſti cantabimus omnes
Pro cantu veteri, Sancta Maria, vale.
Tu quoque nunc valeas, etenim pars nulla relicta eſt;
Conjuge defunctâ, Carole, totus obis.
Sic quam non potuit mœror, non improbus hoſtis,
Non tua mors potuit vincere; vicit amor.
Uxor amans ſequitur te tandem morte maritum;
Pro thalamo, tumulo, te fruitura viro.
Sic modò quæ fuerat lethali ſubdita buſto
Fiat in Elyſio tæda jugalis agro.
Undique odoratos tumulo jam ſpargite flores:
Spargite puniceis lilia mixta roſis.
Hæc benè conveniunt, ſiquidem dum vixit uterque,
Vidimus Angliacis Lilia juncta Roſis.
Sic ſubſc. AMB. BONWICKE.

In obitum Sereniſſimæ Reginæ.

QUIS novus hic rumor noſtras allabitur oras?
Quid fert a Gallis nuncia fama mali?
Murmurat illa ſuæ, noſtræ quoque fata Mariæ:
Dum tacitè mœſtis tarda vagatur agris.
Heu! tandem moritur, quæ poſt mala tanta ſuperſtes,
Viderat à nato ſceptra paterna regi.
Per varios caſus, per tot diſcrimina rerum,
Tendit in Elyſium, Carole Dive, tuum.
Gallia plus ſolito jactans ſua ſacra, ſuperbit;
Quòd ſit relliquiis aucta, Maria, tuis.
Sic viſum eſt ſuperis, ut quæ te duxit in auras
Hæc eadem tumulo terra benigna tegat.
Sic ſubſc. AMB. BONWICKE.

In

In obitum Illuſtriſſimi Ducis ALBEMARLE.

SIC tandem emeritus gratâ potiare quiete;
Otia vix feſſo parca benigna ſacit.
Pax rediviva viget, Batavi ceſſere Britannis:
Cuncta rident, tua mors ſola querenda manet.
Ædibus expulſi dudum redîêre Britanni:
(Nam ſua cum Carolo patria pulſa fuit.)
Poſt reditum Caroli lætis nil defuit Anglis;
Nec tibi reſtabant munere digna tui.
Perfida magnanimum ſimul ac mors vidit inermem
Transfixit timidâ pectora nuda manu.
Sic qui contempſit ferrum, quem bella fovebant,
Hunc pax confeſtim deſidioſa necat.
Si cupis, o miles, poſthac evadere mortem;
Ad quæ confugias, munera Martis habes.

Sic ſubſc. AMB. BONWICKE.

CUM ſpirante tuos ſculpſiſſet marmore vultus
Atque ſuo poſuit ſedula turba ſoro.
Haud fore defuncto mœſtum regi monimentum
Credebam, aut animæ debita juſta tuæ.
Vivaci optabam Carolum ſuperare ſenectâ
Marmora, vel quæ ſint marmore dura magis.
Heu lapis extincti eſt factus jam principis hæres:
Quem colet ut genium, barbara turba, loci.

JACOBUS FORTRISE Armiger, è Coll. Div. Jo. BAPT'.

LETTERS * between Mr. AMBROSE BONWICKE and RICHARD BLECHYNDEN †, B. D. of St. John's College, Oxford, concerning the Oaths.

" My dear Friend, *Aug.* 8, 1691.

" I AM heartily ſorry for the Merchant Taylors rigorous proceeding againſt you. The letter of the ſtatute does not reach you, ſchool-maſters being not particularly mentioned; nor, as I conceive, are they included under officers civil, and the general *all that took the former oaths* is afterwards reſtrained.

" But it is unaccountable to me, that any honeſt man ſhould refuſe the oaths out of conſcience: out of generoſity and honour they might, ſtrugling for their depoſed prince, provided his reſtauration were for the public good. But I cannot ſee any conſcience in the point. Let me entreat you to ſuppoſe yourſelf in any of the frontier towns on the continent that often change their prince, or in that of Catalonia that changed him laſt month: would you make any ſcruple, if you intended to continue there, to take together with your fellow-ſubjects a new oath to your new prince? I believe you would not. Parity of reaſon will lead you then to take our oaths to our new king; for you are under his power likewiſe, and under his government. As to the ways he came by them, it matters not. It is to the poſſeſſor of them that a man in prudence may, nay, for his own, his wife, and childrens ſake, ought to pay ſubjection, and what a man may and ought to do, he may lawfully ſwear he will do. Whatever evaſions and differences may be found to elude the force of this common argument, I know you can eaſily anſwer them if you pleaſe. For I dare ſay there is no force in them, as ſhall be made appear when you ſhall open your mind freely to me, and perhaps I may be able to give you more ſatisfaction in writing, than I can do by diſcourſe.

" This you ſee is wrote careleſly, but my next ſhall be with more diligence, if by your ſcruples and difficulties you ſhall fix the ſubject.

* Referred to in the " Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 14, note *.

† He preached a ſermon, in Lambeth chapel, July 1685, on the conſecration of Dr. Thomas White, biſhop of Peterborough.

" It may ſeem a great folly to think to ſatisfy you after ſo many elaborate pieces wrote by great men to no purpoſe as to you; but *omnia vincit amor*, at leaſt thinks ſhe can pardon this freedom from your old friend, that cannot but be concerned for you, ſince he wiſhes your happineſs and proſperity as entirely as his own. My ſervice to your lady.

R. Blenchyden.

Pray let your brother Henry know I have received my " Anglia Saera."

The biſhop elect of Bath and Wells has often declared to me a kindneſs for you, and perhaps can do you the greateſt kindneſs amongſt your adverſaries.

Dr. Rudſton * will be buried on Thurſday next at St. Albans. He died of a fever here in the college on Wedneſday laſt.

Mr. Tothill has deſired a recommendation to ſucceed you.

* Q. John Rudſton, of St. John's college Oxford, who in 1685 compounded for a doctor of laws degrees. Wood, Faſt. Ox. II. 227.

On the wall of the ſouth aile of St. Peter's church at St. Albans is this epitaph to him:

" Hic inter patrios cineres requieſcit
Johannes Rudston, LL. D.
Ex antiqua & honeſta admodum familia
Hoc in oppido natus,
Studiis liberalioribus Oxoniæ innutritus,
In academiæ curia aſſeſſor,
Ad altiora in jure civili munera promovendus
Niſi amicorum votis obſtitiſſet invida mors
Aug. 5, 1691, ætatis ſuæ 35.
Vir egregiis animi dotibus præditus,
Ad maxima quæque capeſſenda idoneus;
Leniores virtutes,
Quæ virum bonum prope attingunt,
Præcipue coluit; his ornatus,
Summorum familiaritate optatiſſime uſus eſt,
Et æqualium ſuaviſſime.
In amicis juvandis,
Studio, conſilio, opera, conſtans, ſincerus, indefeſſus;
Ceteris ſatisfecit omnibus, ſibi ipſi nunquam.
Quæ tam eximia merita
Ut aliis exemplo eſſent,
Monumentum hoc inſcribi curavit
Johannes Michel armig.
Familiæ Rudstonianæ
Ex utroque patente conſanguineus."

" Dear

" Dear Mr. B. *Aug.* 11, 1691.

" I thank you for your kind concern for me, and ſince you are pleaſed to take the trouble, we will fairly diſpute the point. I ſuppoſe then firſt that king James had a right to my allegiance, and that ſecured by an oath; and unleſs he has given away this right or forfeited it, it is ſtill in him. Now to me it does not appear that he has done either, therefore I dare not give it to another, which I ſuppoſe is the deſign of the new oaths. It muſt be remembred too that I have ſolemnly ſworn to defend this right; and therefore the forfeiture (which I ſuppoſe is the thing you will ſtick to) ought to be plainly proved, or elſe my oath will make me timorous of adding perjury to the wrong. You ſee, therefore, how my conſcience is concerned; and I think the obligation of an oath of allegiance ſo great, that if I were a ſubject of the king of Spain, in one of the frontier towns, and that town were taken by the French, I ought to quit all, and even life itſelf, rather than ſwear allegiance to the French king without the conſent of the king of Spain my maſter. The condition indeed is hard, but I have no remedy for it: I ought not to have entered into the obligation, if I had not deſigned to have kept it. Suppoſe a company of reparees ſhould meet you upon the road, and threaten you with immediate death unleſs you ſwear over again the old oath of allegiance to king James: I know you would not make ſo cheap of oaths as to take it, for then the Government might make you ſwear again, and the reparees again to the end of the chapter. Therefore you muſt die, and there the caſe would be full as hard as that of the frontier towns. That the practice is otherwiſe there, I readily believe, and therefore either the neighbouring kings have given conſent, or the inhabitants have no great ſenſe of an oath. For certainly there is ſuch a thing as right, and after a town has been taken and retaken forty times, a conſidering man will ſay this town of right belongs to ſuch a king, though it be in the poſſeſſion of another, the inhabitants are his ſubjects and owe allegiance to none but him."

Dear Sir, *Aug.* 15, 1691.

" MY anſwer to yours ſhall be double. And firſt I will give you what prevailed with me.

1ſt, He that has no longer a right to the government has no longer a right to my allegiance. A right to the government in an hereditary monarchy

narchy is founded, beſides the perſon's birth, in his qualifications for government (this is plain from fools and madmen being excluded, though next of kin); and a right to the Engliſh government, beſides the perſon's birth is founded in his qualifications for the Engliſh government. For he that cannot diſcharge the duties of it can have no right to it, and he that has not the proper qualifications for it cannot diſcharge the duties of it. It is true there is no law that ſpeaks of, or enumerates the qualifications: nor is there any particular law that excludes fools and madmen. Right reaſon muſt interpoſe, and with conditions ſhe convincingly ſuggeſts muſt be regarded as much as if in plain words expreſt. Means muſt be ſuited to their ends.

" Now it ſeems to me plain that king James has ſhewn, that he neither has the qualifications for government, nor for this of the Engliſh. He that regards not his word, nor his oath paſſed in the moſt ſolemn manner, and that in relation to his government cannot be believed either by his ſubjects or others, and he that cannot be believed, cannot be truſted; and government is the greateſt truſt both from God and man. He promiſed often and ſwore too to obſerve our laws, and yet even the ſword muſt be put into the Papiſts' (our moſt dangerous enemies) hands, and others of them into our courts of judicature and into our colleges againſt all law: and to what violence things were running is notorious. Let it not be ſaid that his power of diſpenſing enabled him to do all this. For all men underſtand by a diſpenſing power ſuch a power as is for the good of the community. And he that ſhall apply it to the 200th part of a nation, to the danger, prejudice, and great diſſatisfaction of the reſt, does not govern, but grows factious, and declares himſelf a profeſſed enemy of all the reſt. And this may be a ſecond argument of his incapacity for government. For he that will not purſue the ends of government and the public good, according to the direction of the laws is likely to do much more hurt than fools or madmen that are ignorant of them. And I think thoſe that are likely to do moſt hurt to the government are moſt unfit for the management of it, and conſequently have no right to it. Obſerve that theſe breaches of his promiſes and his oath are not in *little matters, and ſuch as relate to ſome few perſons*, but the matters are of the *greateſt conſequence* to almoſt the whole body of his people. As for his right to the Engliſh government it is ſtill more plain he has none to it. As he that cannot or will not purſue the ends

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of government in general is unfit for government; ſo he that either cannot or will not purſue the ends of the Engliſh government is unfit to have the adminiſtration of it, and ſo can have no right to it. The ends of the Engliſh government are the preſervation of the rights of the king and people as ſettled by cuſtom or laws. Now I think it is plain to you and all the world that king James would not preſerve the rights of the crown in oppoſition to the pope's pretenſions, I might almoſt ſay he could not, conſidering how he was rid and managed by his prieſts. As for the rights of the people, his ſtanding, and in a great meaſure Popiſh army, his Popiſh fellows, his popiſh judges, his extorting our charters out of our hands, his aſſuming a diſpenſing power whenever he pleaſed, his unfair method and violence, I ſpeak it knowingly, in packing of a parliament, his *Jeſuit* in the council (not to mention his obedience in all things without reſerve in Scotland) do all loudly proclaim his intentions to preſerve the rights and liberties of the ſubject, do they not? Do not ſay he ſaw his error. He would do better after: he would be bounded by the laws for the future. For what aſſurance could he give us he would do ſo? Could he promiſe, could he ſwear more ſolemnly than he had done? Would any prudent man truſt five pounds in the hands of another that had lived thirty years all his manhood in a deep diſſimulation, and in the breach of his promiſes and his oaths? And will any ſober man ſay we may truſt the lives, the eſtates, and the religion of millions in the hands of ſuch an one? I, who eſteem the love of my country the higheſt principle next to the love of God, cannot but abhor the thoughts of it. And I can call God to witneſs, that it was this, and no ſelfiſh principle (for life and all the things of it have been a burden to me for theſe many years), that made me ſo early eſpouſe the Prince's cauſe.

"What I have ſaid may prove a *forfeiture*, if you had rather I ſhould call it by that name. And I think it plain that the kings of England may forfeit. There is nothing more certain than that ours is a limited monarchy; and it is impoſſible (conſidering the paſſions of human nature) that the limitations ſhould be preſerved, as they have been for this thouſand years, if tyrannical princes may not be reſiſted and depoſed. I value not the act of parliament as to this point in the 13 of Car. II. made out of exceſs of joy and court compliance upon the return of the king, and

perhaps

perhaps puſhed on by the Papiſts underhand, who it is known had a great influence then on our affairs: I value not, I ſay, their declaring the *unlawfulneſs for both houſes*, &c. nor their declaring it *always unlawful to* &c.; ſince it is plain our monarchy is limited, and muſt be preſerved; and ſince I know the Engliſh hiſtory, and particularly the charters of king John and Henry the Firſt, that declared the contrary, the lawfulneſs of reſiſting, in caſe they did not obſerve the charters then ratified. There are abundance of paſſages of this nature *pro* and *con* to be met withall; and therefore the beſt direction to an honeſt mind in ſuch high points is to fix one's eye on the nature of the monarchy, and the public welfare (which is the end of all limitations); and theſe, in difficult and controverted points, will beſt interpret to us the right of prince or people, and the oaths relating to either; and will teach us, whatſoever ſenſe of the public oaths tends to the ſubverſion of the government, or to the deſtruction of the community, is not their true meaning, and therefore they are erroneouſly applied to ſuch emergences. As for the ſenſe that you and others have taken them in, 1ſt, It is an hard matter exactly to remember that: 2dly, Be that what it will, we ought to keep them in that ſenſe which a rational man, from the conſideration of the words and all circumſtances, will conclude to have been the meaning of the impoſer; otherwiſe, whilſt we pretend the moſt ſcrupulouſly to obſerve them, we violate them.

" But there is a ſecond anſwer which I ſhall give you, and I like it the better becauſe I find it moſt generally received. It is this, that a full poſſeſſion of the power, eſpecially when recognized by the grandees, and main body of the people, gives him that has it a title to the obedience and fidelity, or, if you will, allegiance of all within his territories; at leaſt that they are guilty of no ſin that promiſe fidelity to him. For that which has been the practice of all ſorts of people in all conquered towns and countries, and uncenſured by moraliſts and divines, that have been the moſt unintereſted in the cauſe, I dare not condemn as ſinful: and I queſtion whether you yourſelf, if one of the inhabitants of *Mons* were with you now dying and deſirous to receive the ſacrament, would dare to refuſe it to him, if otherwiſe an upright man, till he had repented of his new oaths; ſo far is this matter from being manifeſt to you yourſelf. As for your opinion of conquered towns and countries, you have I dare ſay few companions, for you except not thoſe conqueſts where the war was juſt, which is

allowed by all writers to give a good title to the conqueror; and if he has a juſt title to the towns and countries he poſſeſſes, he muſt have ſo to the obedience of the inhabitants that he governs and protects, and then the allegiance to the former prince muſt ceaſe, and conſequently the oath relating to it, which with you would be ſtill binding in this caſe alſo. But to return.

"That a full poſſeſſion of the power gives a title to allegiance, is agreeable to ſcripture, and the practice of the Jews and primitive Chriſtians too, there being no famous inſtance of either biſhops or others that did not ſubmit to prines regnant whatever was their title. On this principle all the empires of the world are founded. And if a ſubmiſſion on ſuch account is ſinful, it is ſtrange that there ſhould be nothing in ſcripture, nor in any conſiderable caſuiſt, tranſmitted down to us, condemning ſuch an univerſal ſinful practice. And our laws do plainly prove what I contend for, that allegiance is due to the poſſeſſor, witneſs that of *Henry* the Seventh, and antecedent to that, the year books of *Edward* the Fourth, a *de jure* king, and the opinion of my lord *Coke* again and again, and judge *Hales* (both in times, when nothing of intereſt or *partium ſtudium* could ſway them) is to the ſame purpoſe. They ſay that there is no treaſon againſt a diſpoſſeſſed king, and that treaſon is only againſt the king *de facto*. If ſo, I am ſure allegiance muſt be due to the latter, and none to the former. For treaſon is a breach of one's due fidelity or allegiance, and indictments for treaſon run thus, for committing this crime *contra debitum fidei et ligeantiæ ſuæ, et contra naturalem ligeantiam domino regi debitam.* There is no breach of allegiance then, ſay *Coke* and *Hales*, to king *James*, but there may be if allegiance be due to him. There is a breach, ſay they, of allegiance againſt king *William:* but that cannot be unleſs allegiance be due to him. And ſo all obligations to king *James* muſt ceaſe. The reaſon of the law and this their opinion muſt be this, that allegiance is always due to him that protects. And could we but imagine ourſelves at the firſt forming a government, or a recompoſing of a ſhattered one, we ſhould always find men ſubmitting and adhering to a perſon in a capacity of diſcharging the forementioned duties of protection and government. After an hundred predeceſſors, nothing leſs than the like capacity can give any man a juſt title to the ſubjection of their poſterity. It was thoſe great ends that firſt ſettled mens' allegiance in any family, and the want of theſe muſt diſſolve it.

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It matters not that ſuch conditions and limitations are not put in our oaths; if plainly reaſonable, they muſt be allowed.: no intelligent man, if left to his own choice, would promiſe his allegiance to a perſon unable to protect him. Let us then at leaſt ſuppoſe our parliaments to be as wiſe as ourſelves, and not to have involved us in ſuch an abſurdity. And if the impoſers of the oath never intended it in this caſe, then are we free: all incapacity to govern, whether natural, moral, or political, diſſolves our allegiance, which always preſuppoſes an actual capacity. Beſides, in caſe of a diſpute relating either to the king or his people or both of them, there is no better way of determining it, than by an aſſembly of the great men of the nation; and if a man be an hearty lover of peace and quietneſs, nothing leſs than the cleareſt evidence can make him reject their determinations: and ſurely that cannot be pretended to, when ſo much may be ſaid to juſtify their ſentence.

" But I ſee I am gone off from my ſecond anſwer, which is founded, you ſee, upon a third principle diſtinct from either renunciation or forfeiture. I will add a word or two relating to ſome paſſages of yours, and ſo conclude.

" Could the Reparees reduce *Ireland* to the obedience of king *James*, I ſhould not doubt, would I ſtay there, to take an oath to him, and I would obſerve it inviolably, till a greater power of High Mal-adminiſtration had forced me from it.

" Though a king may have a right to a loſt country conquered and reconquered forty times, it is the conqueror that by an unjuſt law drove him out of it, that ſhall anſwer for the injuſtice, not the ſubjects that ſubmitted to his force, and gave him their allegiance for their protection. The former king has a right to the country and government (i. e.) he may juſtly demand it, and the uſurper ought to reſtore it to him; but he has none to the obedience of the people without an actual poſſeſſion.

" I have many years ago ſeen a book, intituled, *The Maxims and Intereſts of Princes*, which contained the various pretenſions of princes and ſtates upon one another's countries, which pretenſions were infinite. Now ſhould not ſubjects in theſe ſeveral countries pay their allegiance till they were ſatisfied with their Governours' title, beyond that of poſſeſſion, there would be very little government in the world.

I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately,

R. Blechynden.

" My dear Friend, *Aug.* 20, —91.

" IN the firſt place I declare to you that I do not, nor will not, continue the diſpute for the ſake of victory, but purely for the diſcovery of truth; and when that appears, whatever ſhame a retractation may bring with it, I will chearfully ſubmit to it. For I ſhould be glad to find my friends and relations (whom I have ſo great a concern for) are in the right, and that it is prejudice in me has blinded me ſo long. Though I ſuppoſe it would be perjury in me to quit that oath that I think ſtill obligatory, yet I have a very charitable opinion of thoſe that have taken the new one, and ſuppoſe that conſcience has been as much their guide in taking it, as it has been mine in refuſing it: yet, when either party perceive their error, they ought ingenuouſly to confeſs it. To your firſt anſwer then, I ſuppoſe a man may be diſpoſſeſſed of a legal right no otherwiſe than by law, the want of any qualifications beſides what the law requires ſignifies nothing. For ſo a man of two thouſand pounds a year, that ſquanders his eſtate away or makes not the beſt uſe of it, ſeems to want the due qualifications for holding ſuch an eſtate, yet however he has a legal right to it, though were it in our power we ought in equity (abſtracted from law) to give it to another that would make better uſe of it. And a king, that has certainly as good a legal right to his kingdom as any ſubject to his eſtate, though he wants thoſe equitable qualifications you require in him, yet if he have all that the law requires, he cannot by our conſtitution be diſpoſſeſſed. Fools and madmen, if apparently ſuch, are indeed excluded from both, and can have a right to nothing, and I think the cuſtom of England, which is their law, allows very ſmall acts of reaſon to deliver a man in that caſe; ſuch an one cannot properly be the member of a body politic, nor under the directions of laws, much leſs can he be the head.

" That king *James* was neither a fool nor a madman, and that his birth only gave him a right to the hereditary crown of England, is plain from the parliament's ſo often endeavouring to exclude him. They knew very well that he was a Papiſt, and they had an idea of a Popiſh ſucceſſor as terrible as any *Dutch* painter could draw it, and far worſe than we found it; all thoſe breaches of faith, favouring of Papiſts, putting the power in their hands, and beſides maſſacres and fire and faggot were included in it; and for all that, they knew that he had a legal right to the crown of which

he could not be diſſeiſed but by law. They ſaw the defects of our conſtitution, and bewailed them as much as you or I can do; but yet there was no remedy for them, but by making new laws. If our conſtitution was ſuch then, how came it to be altered ſince? I am ſure there was no alteration made to his prejudice during king *James's* reign; and what has been done ſince, does not concern him. In my former I inſiſted that king *James* had a legal right to the crown, and your firſt anſwer only proves, that he ought to have none; I muſt ſtill deſire you to prove a legal forfeiture, for nothing elſe can deſtroy a legal right. Thoſe laws that declare the king irreſiſtible, and that the whole body of his ſubjects have no coercive power over him, you ſay were made out of court-compliance and by the influence of *Papiſts*. It would be eaſy for a *Papiſt* to reply, that thoſe laws which lye heavieſt upon them, were either brought or extorted from the king, or he was frighted to a conſent: and a hundred years hence a man may ſay, ſuch and ſuch laws were parted with by a prince not well ſettled in his throne, to humour the people. Here you open a new ſcene of ſcruples, and I ſhall be as puzzled to know what law I muſt obey, as what prince. But certainly what law has been made by the whole legiſlative power (let the conſiderations be what they pleaſe) is of force till repealed by the ſame power.

" In anſwer to the ſecond part of your letter, I am to conſider how I am to behave myſelf under a king that has poſſeſſion and not right. The execution of thoſe laws that protect me are in his hands; I will give him all that obedience that is neceſſary for that purpoſe; I will obey his orders, aſſiſt his officers, and do every thing that is required of me not prejudicial to the right of the diſpoſſeſſed king. But to take an oath of allegiance to the king *de facto*, certainly cancels my oath of allegiance to the former. And if an uſurper muſt anſwer for the wrong he does to the perſon dethroned, ſo muſt all thoſe perſons who by transferring their allegiance make it impoſſible for him to recover his right. If it were barely ſubmitting to him in power, I ſuppoſe we ſhould have no great diſpute; but to ſwear that we will ſtand by him in oppoſition to our rightful prince (which I take to be the meaning of the oath) this I can never do; and I ſuppoſe the primitive Chriſtians never did it. They thought it their duty to be peaceable, and ſo do I: but yet I queſtion not but they were as tender of oaths too as I am. And indeed nothing can more promote the

peace,

peace, not only of ſingle countries, but of the whole world. An invader would have but ſmall encouragement to diſturb the peace of his neighbours, were he ſure that all the ſubjects of the conquered kingdom would ſtick firm to their oaths and to their prince. He might thus (though with very great difficulty) enlarge his territories, but not his empire.

" I do not pretend here to anſwer every particular of your letter, ſince our buſineſs at preſent is not to ſatisfy your ſcruples, but mine: which ſtick ſtill here. King *James* had a right to my allegiance which he has not forfeited, and therefore I cannot give it to another. Uſurpation and poſſeſſion cannot give a right, for then that diſtinction would be ſuperfluous of a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*, for the former muſt of neceſſity be the latter. And methinks there ought to be ſome diſtinction of treaſons, a treaſon *de facto* and a treaſon *de jure*; that is to ſay, to conſpire againſt the king *de facto* in behalf of the king *de jure* is (according to your lawyers whom I have not by me) a treaſon *de facto*, and will incur the penalties of treaſon; but certainly it is not ſo *de jure*. A temporary king (for a king *de facto* is only ſo) ſhall if you pleaſe have a temporary allegiance. The love of my country muſt be governed by the laws of my country, as a zeal for God muſt be governed by his, or elſe they may both do more harm than good. For certainly it is no kindneſs to one's country for fear of tyranny to commence a rebellion: and we find already there has been more blood ſhed in Ireland, than I ſuppoſe any one could have imagined king *James* could have ſhed during his whole reign. Perhaps you'll ſay, our laws might have been altered by his continuance. 1ſt, His endeavour for the alteration of the laws argued he meant not to lay them aſide: but 2dly, we found he made but very ſlow approaches that way, and after the reſtoring the charters, he was in a far worſe condition to do it. And though you ſay a king that has once broke his word is not to be believed, yet I remember in the charter put out by Dr. *Burnet* (for you muſt know I read all the books I could on that ſide, with the ſame deſign I now diſpute with you, and I think not one of the other, as you may perceive) there they have liberty to diſtreſs the king till he amends his faults, and then he is to be truſted again; and I believe there is not one ſyllable in the whole body of our laws to juſtify a depoſition. I believe *Bradſhaw* brought what he could at the tryal of king *Charles* the Firſt, but not enough to draw one honeſt man to his ſide. And thoſe laws, after the re-

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turn of king *Charles* the Second, were to prevent all ſuch falſe arguings for the future. I am ſure there are now very conſiderable alterations made in our laws and conſtitution, and an unruly people too much encouraged to rebell. Will it not be eaſy hereafter for a malevolent miniſter of ſtate, ſuch as *Shafteſbury*, that knows how to manage a rabble, to revenge himſelf upon a king that diſobliges him, and dethrone him for mal-adminiſtration, or at leaſt involve the nation in blood? If you look back into the hiſtory of this nation, I ſuppoſe you'll find much more ſhed by rebels, than by tyrants: and for that reaſon, that the greater evil might be avoided, our monarchs at laſt, whatever they might be at firſt, came to be irreſiſtible.

" Dear Sir, *Aug.* 25.

" THE agreement there has been all along between us for the good of our college made me hope that at laſt there might be the like agreement for the good of our country; and I doubt not but there might be, if you would but conſider that municipal laws are not the ſole meaſure of right and wrong. There is a ſuperior law of right reaſon, which reſpects the common good of mankind, which gave beginning to civil ſocieties, and does, as there is occaſion, both form and diſannul their laws, and ſupplies all their defects by diſpenſing powers, by courts of equity, and by directing us all to have a more ſpecial regard to the ends and deſigns of written laws, than to their letter. For otherwiſe the laws themſelves would be the cauſe of the greateſt injuſtice; *ſummum jus* being *ſumma injuria*. And I cannot but obſerve that you yourſelf, though you call ſo often for the laws of your country in this point, do ſeveral times appeal to the law written in our hearts, even againſt our municipal laws. So natural is it for all men to have recourſe to this great fountain of law. You ſay treaſon againſt the king *de facto* is not treaſon *de jure*; hereby you muſt mean according to equity and right reaſon; for treaſon againſt a king *de facto* is the only treaſon by the law of the land, if *Coke* and *Hales* may be credited, and if the ſtatute of *Henry* VII. be of any validity. Again: you ſay fools and madmen are excluded, becauſe they cannot be heads of a body politic. But this is to appeal to reaſon, not to produce a municipal law; ſo then a man can be diſpoſſeſſed of a legal right otherwiſe then by law, i. e. a municipal law, for ſuch I ſuppoſe you mean. And you

you yourſelf diſpoſſeſs king *William* of his legal right to your allegiance (for the laws as you have heard are on his ſide) by pretending he has no right to it, *i. e.* it is not due to him according to equity and right reaſon. And were this evident to me, I would ſtrip them alſo of my allegiance, in my heart and in deed too when ſafe even before the declaration of a parliament. Juſtice is not to be adminiſtered between man and man, nor any government to be preſerved, by keeping up nicely to the letter of a written law. I cannot but obſerve the laſt Thurſday's Gazette informed us of a great part of the grandees of the Turkiſh empire (which is alſo hereditary) declared againſt *Achmet's* ſucceſſion to the crown, becauſe unqualified for the government; and had his unqualifications in reſpect of that people been apparently half ſo many as king James's were, I am apt to think he would not have had one vote for him. So natural and reaſonable it is for all men, whatever their written laws be, to be guided eſpecially in difficult times by the qualifications of the perſon for government.

" Crowns and private mens eſtates, as they are gotten different ways, and are different in their ends, ſo their tenure is different ever after; but to bring the private man's caſe as near as we can: ſhould a private man have a patent for an office during life, if he ſhould be either groſsly ignorant, or very negligent of his duty, his patent would be voided though no conditions were expreſſed in it; he would be told, his qualifications and his diligence are always ſuppoſed. So much for your parallel.

" But ſtill you call for a legal forfeiture; nothing elſe, ſay you, will forfeit a legal right to a crown. But if you pleaſe to conſult the gentlemen that write politics, who ſurely are the beſt guides in this affair, you will find them aſſign a great many others: ſuch as a prince's profeſſed enmity to his people, a deſtroying one people for the ſake of another, an uſurping a part of a power that does not belong to him, an attempt to alienate his kingdom, conqueſt in a juſt war, and the like; though there be not one word of all this in the municipal laws. And why do theſe cauſe a forfeiture? becauſe reaſon tells us, without any written laws, that they ought: and I doubt not to ſay, that when a prince does apparently endeavour the ſubverſion of his government, and puſhes on illegal deſigns pernicious to the main body of his people, and which are very likely to end in the ruin of their poſterity, here is as good reaſon of forfeiture (if it does not *coincidere*) as any aſſigned by Grotius in his (cap. iv. lib I. *de*

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jure belli, or by any man elſe; I am ſure a much juſter than that of Rehoboam's forfeiture. And yet God has conſecrated (I have conſidered the point) the revolt of the ten tribes with his approbation, 1 Kings xii. 24. And ſuch a poſition as this, if believed both by king and people, will contribute more to the peace and happineſs of a nation, then the doctrine of *unaccountable and irreſiſtible*: for it will make the prince and his great miniſters of ſtate walk ſo warily as not to give the like advantages by trampling on his ſubjects and his laws. And as for male-adminiſtrations, a people muſt for their ſins be ſtrangely infatuated by God Almighty before they can be made appear in the forementioned terrible ſhape. The emperor, the king of Poland, and the king of Spain for his kingdom of Arragon, at the reception of their crowns, make declaration of the lawfulneſs of reſiſting them, in caſe they obſerve not the laws; and yet I do not hear oftener of rebellions in their countries than in other places.

" If you would make a due eſtimate of the miſchiefs accompanying king James's reign, you muſt put into the ſcale all our juſt fears and jealouſies, the popery and ſlavery that would have been entailed on us and our poſterity, beſides the loſs of the Reformed religion abroad, and the liberty of Europe. The preſervation of theſe, and our deliverance from the other, will be a ſufficient recompence for the blood ſpilt in the quarrel, and you will conſecrate the memory of the bloody inſtrument to after-ages: as our Engliſh liberties do that of our anceſtors, that had rather dye in the field than ſee the chains and fetters put upon their country.

" You ſpeak of one right with relation to the excluſion bill, and I of another. I meant, all things conſidered, that of equity and right reaſon. And where this (which is God's title) is evidently wanting, I would not fear, for the public good, to ſlight the other, if not eaſy to be regularly aboliſhed. Had the parliament about twelve years ago and all the people of England been as certain of the miſchiefs of king James's reign as they have been ſince, it is not to be doubted but the parliament would, and that at the petition of the people, have excluded him, and they would have thought they had done the greateſt act of juſtice. For parliaments do not pretend to ſtrip men of their legal rights, till the grand legiſlator Reaſon had declared that in equity and reaſon they have none, and therefore are to be declared to have none in law. So far is the parliament's

proceeding from ſhewing king James to have had what I meant by right. And you yourſelf ſometimes uſe the word *right* as I do.

" But you call a third time for a legal forfeiture. Should any of William's ſucceſſors be guilty of the like violation of their truſt as king James, would it be reaſonable to demand, before they ſhould be legally allowed to be depoſed, that it be made appear that from king William's or any after inſtrument they were ſubject to ſuch a penalty? No ſurely! It is plain from what was done to king James, and from king William's receiving his crown from the conceſſion of parliament. And yet how many ſuch dethronings of kings and conceſſions of parliaments are ſtill upon record, before king James's reign? It is not reaſonable to imagine we mean to be oppreſſed more by one prince than another. When princes are guilty of the like crimes, they are ſubject to the like penalties.

" To ſpeak now in relation to the non-coercive act: I doubt not, if an unconcerned honeſt and prudent man ſhould be acquainted with the limitations of our government for this thouſand years, and told that the aſſemblies of the grandees and parliaments have near forty times either depoſed their prince, or waved the next of kin for the good of the community; and if he ſhould be reminded that this government muſt neceſſarily and ſpeedily end in an abſolute monarchy by this law as now urged; he would ſay that this act muſt receive an equitable interpretation (and ſhall there be a court of chancery for ſingle ſubjects, and none for the nation conjunctively; ſo as not to be applicable to the higheſt crimes, nor to give the king a power to become abſolute?) or if the words of this act muſt neceſſarily be ſo underſtood, it being deſtructive of the antient limitations and antient claims of the grandees and people, and their antient (as they often averred) legal practices; he would ſay, theſe being no renunciation of our antient limitations and antient government, this ſo ſingular act was not to be regarded in this controverſy; it being no new thing that there ſhould be ſuch defects in acts as did immediately nullify them, as the judges themſelves upon ſome occaſions have declared. Do not you yourſelf reject that of Henry VII. in your thoughts, though it has ſtood ſacred theſe two hundred years, becauſe you judge it againſt reaſon; but my lord Bacon has ſhewed it moſt reaſonable. And then why may not I reject a late law againſt the higheſt reaſon, and good of the community; eſpecially ſince inconſiſtent with our antient limitations, and with the cuſtoms of our anceſtors, and of all

all ſorts of men, Lutherans, Calviniſts and Romaniſts in all countries, and indeed with the practice of all the world, the moſt public and noble ſpirited of them before and after our Saviour? For the ſufferings of the principal Chriſtians, whoſe religion was not eſtabliſhed by law, do not reach the preſent caſe, as has been truly obſerved.

" I proceed now to the ſecond part of your laſt letter. If poſſeſſion does not give a right, nor can procure to the poſſeſſor the obedience of the protected, I am ſure that theſe have no right, no pretenſions to be protected by him in their fortunes, their families, and their lives, unleſs a man can be obliged to protect thoſe whom he knows to wait for an opportunity to deſtroy him: for I can by no means allow him to be peaceable that watches to ſubvert the government, nor do I regard a ſubmiſſion that means only the not conſpiring and reſiſting, till both can be done effectually: for this would be my ſenſe of peaceable and ſubmitting, if I thought the former oaths obligatory.

" There have been many unlawful princes. It lies upon you to give inſtance of the Chriſtians refuſing the military oaths, or thoſe of allegiance, which have been conſtantly taken by Chriſtian ſubjects both here and in other parts. This is worthy of your ſerious enquiry.

" The adhering to one's prince in all caſes whatever would contribute to peace, as you ſay; but it would be ſuch a peace as is in a galley betwixt the maſter and his ſlaves.

" Your rule for the zeal for God and the love of one's country is prudent. But let me add, that one muſt have a care that he does not too much dwell upon the letter of the law, without a regard to the main deſign and intent of the impoſer, as did the Jews that forbad the defence of their country, or the adminiſtering phyſic on the ſabbath, though the ſabbath itſelf was inſtituted for the good of man. Note alſo that God's law about ſhew bread was diſpenſed with by David and his laymen, that did eat it out of neceſſity; that law being accounted of leſs moment than the life of man. And I, had I been in London in 1666 with ſufficient power, and known the certain good effects of blowing up of houſes, I ſhould not have feared the doing it in all places where the fire came, though I had no law of my country to juſtify me. The law of common good, when evident, ſurpaſſes all the poſitive laws of all the countries in the world; for it is the fountain of them all, and of all morality too, and it is to this that we

owe both government and governours. I foreſee you will reply, what I call equity and reaſon is an uncertain thing, and a deceitful guide, that which is ſuch in one man's opinion being not ſo in another. I cannot help this. Prejudices ſtick cloſe, eſpecially about governments. However, it is the beſt guide that God has given us in the moſt weighty points: our religion and the belief of particular articles of it muſt at laſt be brought to this teſt, notwithſtanding the decrees and eſtabliſhments of councils and ſynods. And I know not why a ſincere man may not depend upon his reaſon in points of ſtate, eſpecially when extraordinary, as well as in religious matters.

" The preventing of Bradſhaw's reaſonings muſt not prevent all reaſoning in the behalf of one's country when in danger. I, who can live upon as little as any man, and have experienced the goodneſs of God many times beyond my deſerts, dare truſt Providence as far as you, Sir, or any man; but I conſider that Providence works by natural cauſes, and in the uſe of means. This to prevent an objection.

" For law does many times adjudge an eſtate to one man, and equity gives it to another. But you will ſay the court of chancery is eſtabliſhed by law, and ſo what is determined there is ultimately reſolved into the law of the land. However, this ſhews the defects of poſitive laws between ſubject and ſubject, and it is not to be doubted but there is the like betwixt the king and the whole nation. You will aſk then who can ſupply them in this caſe. I anſwer, common reaſon, the grand law. But what law is there to give her ſupplies an obliging force? Why the ſame that inform the maſter of politics that a prince may forfeit, though the municipal laws take no notice of forfeiture, judge, or executioner. They, poor men, would write to very good purpoſe, if their directions were either impoſſible or diſhoneſt in the execution. In theſe matters, great reſpect is to be had to the opinions of the great, the wiſe and good men of a nation; but in very plain caſes every man is in ſome meaſure a judge. *In re autem controverſa* (ſays the judicious Grotius) *judicium ſibi privatus ſumere non debet, ſed poſſeſſionem ſequi. Sic tributum ſolvi Cæſari Chriſtus jubebat, quia ejus imaginem nummus præferebat*, i. e. *in poſſeſſione erat imperii*, l. i. c. 4. ſect. 20.

" Since you can ſay there is nothing in all our laws concerning a depoſing power, be pleaſed to read the 8th and 9th ſection of *Milton pro Pop. Angl.* the

the clauſe of the coronation oath, Edward the Confeſſor's law, and Matth. Paris's interpretation of the Curtana *, Bracton and Fleta's *Pomœre Regi*. And the Houſe of Commons' collation of the crown to Richard II. and Henry IV. Perhaps the conſideration of theſe paſſages, if found true upon examination, may give you more ſatisfaction than any thing that is wrote by, dear Sir, your moſt affectionate friend and ſervant,

R. Blechynden.

I obſerve you take no notice of that which I lay the greateſt ſtreſs on: the firſt ends and deſigns at the conſtituting or ſubmitting to governors and governments; for theſe are the meaſures of obedience, if there be no expreſs alteration afterwards. For bare ſucceſſion and length of time makes none; the tenure is ſtill the ſame.

The paſſage out of Edward the Confeſſor's laws is true, and the illuſtration of it with Chilperic's example, who was depoſed, is true alſo; for he was the *ſtultus rex* in Pepinus and Caroius's time. See Wheelock's edition of the Saxon Laws, tit. *de Officio Regis*.

"Dear Mr. Blechynden, *Aug.* 30, —91.

"I THANK you for the great pains you take with me, and I muſt confeſs I am obliged to every letter for clearer diſcoveries of the nature of the controverſy. Reaſon muſt be our beſt guide, and ſhe has directed you to take the oath, as ſhe does me to refuſe them. I conſider on one ſide there is only a little temporal concern, and on the other the danger of perjury. Wherefore, unleſs the obligation of taking the new oath were much more evident then it is, I think it better to continue as I am. I have ſworn allegiance to king James, and I think none but he or God Almighty can diſpenſe with my oath. For what you urge, that therefore I ought to have no protection from king William, I muſt be contented; but I think it is the law that protects us both. At preſent it only deprives us of our livings, and that we ſubmit to. When the laws become more ſe-

* That hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the ſeveral claims at the coronation of Henry III. ſays, the earl of Cheſter carried the *curtana* before the king, "in ſignum quod comes eſt Palatii, *& regem ſi oberret habeat de jure poteſtatem cohibendi*, ſuo ſibi ſcil. Ceſtrenſi conſtabulario miniſtrante; et virga populum cum ſe inordinate ingereret ſubtrahente." P. 421.

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vere, we muſt ſhift as well as we can, and if we cannot live in this country, fly to another. A man ſhould in ſuch controverſies as theſe not only look to the judgement of the preſent caſe, and of the great and good men of his own nation, but that of all ages and countries. Oaths always were, and I hope always will be, ſacred among all nations and religions, and the doctrine of depoſing kings and abſolving ſubjects from their oaths, as it has formerly been condemned by Chriſtians, ſo I hope to ſee it again. "He "that ſweareth to his hurt, and changeth it not," is the character of a good man in Pſalm xv. He muſt not therefore break his oath becauſe it is not his intereſt to keep it. And a whole nation can as ill diſpenſe with their oaths as a ſingle perſon, nor can 20,000 do it more than one. I give you here my preſent country thoughts: when I return to London, I ſhall conſider your letter more fully. In the mean time, pray excuſe your obliged friend and ſervant.

"Dear Sir, *Sept.* 5, 1691.

"AS to our country, I will tell you what my preſent thoughts are. King William is only king *de facto*, nor would the preſent parliament recognize him as rightful king of England; therefore even they ſuppoſe the right in ſome other, which other muſt be king James; for in reſpect of queen Mary and her ſiſter he muſt be rightful, ſince they have voluntarily quitted their right. If then the right be in king James, a law that obliges me to ſwear allegiance to him that has not the right to it, is an unjuſt law, and conſequently not obligatory. Nor will I ſo far make myſelf a party in the injuſtice, as to transfer my allegiance by oath from a perſon who confeſſedly has a right to the crown (and conſequently to my allegiance, for I think they are convertible) to one that confeſſedly has not the right. I do really take thoſe laws which have been made ſince king William's coming to the crown to be good laws, ſince they are made by the whole legiſlative power, king, lords and commons (here you ſee I grant fairly what I can) and find that laws made under uſurpers or kings *de facto* are of force if not repealed. Therefore king James has loſt thus much by loſing poſſeſſion: he has loſt the aſſiſtance of his people, for it would be treaſon and illegal to fight againſt king William, who has now the law on his ſide. Even thoſe that wiſh well to king James can only wiſh him

reſtored in a peaceable manner, that is, by another act of parliament. So that according to my preſent thoughts (which perhaps are ſingular, for I have not yet conſulted any of my diſſenting brethren) you ſee I am not likely to give the government any diſturbance; though I give them not my oath, which I think is due only to the rightful king. Now as the law will not ſuffer me to fight againſt king William, ſo neither will my oath or conſcience ſuffer me to fight againſt king James; ſo that I think myſelf obliged to be neuter in the quarrel, juſt as I thought myſelf at the prince of Orange's invaſion. My allegiance to the king would not ſuffer me to aſſiſt the prince, nor would my conſcience ſuffer me to aſſiſt the king in wronging the prince.

" Dear Sir, *Sept. 8.*

" RIGHTFUL has various acceptations. In the beſt and higheſt ſenſe, *i. e.* according to the beſt and higheſt reaſon, the parliament have owned king William, otherwiſe they had never conferred the crown upon him. There is a ſecond ſenſe of *rightful*; i. e. what is done according to the cuſtom of our anceſtors in extraordinary caſes, for the good of the community; and in this ſenſe alſo is king William rightful. There is a third in relation to this matter, according to the ordinary courſe and common practice of ſucceſſion by proximity of blood, which the written laws chiefly regard, and in this ſenſe he is not rightful. The generality of the people for whom the oath is made; underſtanding rightful in this laſt ſenſe, it was neither convenient nor prudent to inſert that word in the oath. But had not he been rightful in the former and beſt acceptations of it, for me, he might be prince of Orange ſtill.

" If right to my allegiance and right to the crown be convertible, then it is plain the parliament ſuppoſe he has a right to the crown. For they own our allegiance is due to him by requiring us to promiſe it by oath. The beſt way of arguing is from what they have done, not from what they have not done. They know beſt their reaſon for not putting in *rightful*. But, I can aſſure you, this matter was never put to the vote in the houſe. It was my lord Caermarthen in private committee for the forming the oaths excluded it. But I confeſs to you, I do not think right to the crown and right to my allegiance is convertible, and I have the *jus gentium* on my ſide; all nations having ever paid their allegiance to the conqueror or poſſeſſor,

poſſeſſor, even when the right was manifeſtly in another. The very notion of allegiance juſtifies what I affirm. *Allegiance is that fidelity and obedience which is neceſſary to be paid by every ſubject to the chief governor or governors, that they may be able to defend the ſociety.* Now the defence of the ſociety being the ſole ground (and meaſure too) of our obedience and fidelity to our chief governor, it is plain that it is due to him, and to him only, that can and does defend the ſociety. He that is in poſſeſſion only accompliſhes the end, and conſequently the means ſubſervient to that end is only due to him. So far is the law that gives our allegiance to the poſſeſſor from being unjuſt.

" Where your allegiance is due, there your oath is due if required; and where your oath is due, there your allegiance is due. I cannot poſſibly conceive how your allegiance ſhould be due to king James, and not your aſſiſtance; for aſſiſtance, which is given ſeveral ways, is the principal branch of allegiance. Allegiance, you will grant, includes obedience; and is there any obedience that does not aſſiſt when required, or indeed expected, in the way that it is proper for the perſon to aſſiſt? He that does not regard the law, becauſe it is unjuſt, as he ſays, in one caſe, has no reaſon to regard it in another, when it is unjuſt in both or in none.

" You ſay your conſcience would not ſuffer you, when time was, to aſſiſt king James againſt the prince; *i. e.* it was your judgement that you ought not, as things ſtood, to aſſiſt him, which is to ſay you owed no allegiance in that caſe; for allegiance always includes aſſiſtance. If your allegiance may upon good reaſon ceaſe for a day, upon good reaſon likewiſe it may ceaſe for ever. He that thinks he ought not to ſupport the injuſtice and oppreſſion of his country at one time, ought not to do it at any time. I am ſure, he that oweth king James no aſſiſtance, oweth him no allegiance. And if you are free from the matter and deſign of the oath, which is aſſiſtance, then are you free from the oath itſelf. Allegiance is an active thing, and the oath of allegiance is not deſigned for an empty recognition of title, but for the production of real effects: and you thought ſo in your ſecond letter, when you ſaid the ſubject by transferring his allegiance contributed to the injuſtice, by making it impoſſible for the king to recover his right.

" When king James is reſtored by parliament (which God forbid) he ſhall have my allegiance alſo; but not becauſe it is now due, but becauſe then

then he will be the actual governour, and in a capacity to answer all the ends of it.

" Laws that are not made by a just authority, though we use to submit to them for convenience, are not in their own nature binding; and when I thought the breach of them to be for my interest, without prejudicing my country, I would not value them. You see then he that thinks allegiance to be still due to king James, cannot by his principles give the government any security he will not disturb it. I think nothing more absurd than that a man should be obliged to assist neither king William nor James. For that is to say he is a liege subject to neither. The laws and reasons for king William against king James do oblige, or they do not oblige; if they oblige, then must you assist king William; if they do not oblige, then is your allegiance still due to king James in its full extent.

" I wish, when you write, you would let it be your full persuasion upon mature deliberation, for what you sent last does not seem to be so.

" Now, Sir, I shall answer your former letter, and that more deliberately. If you will rightly weigh the matter, it is not only a little temporal concern that pleads for your taking the oaths. For pardon my plain dealing; you are chargeable with disobedience * (A) to the powers that be † (B) with depriving your country (for which we are all in a great measure made) of the good you may do in your present station, or in the ministry; and with the making or strengthening a party against the public establishment, to the great prejudice of church and state; besides the injury to yourself and family, which an honest man ought not to prejudice but upon very good grounds. All this, I say, you are chargeable with, if the taking the oaths be not manifestly sinful. For the danger or fear of its being so is not sufficient to justify the neglect of any duty, and an opposition to a public establishment and the benefits of it. The Dissenters have been often told by us, in answer to their scruples and fears of the sinfulness of our communion, that nothing less than the apparent sinfulness of it can justify their separation from an otherwise evident duty. So say I, nothing less (I fear) than the apparent sinfulness of compliance with the present government can justify disobedience to it. A faction in the state is as conscientiously to be avoided as a schism in the church. You see then there lies a necessity on you to examine these new oaths till you discern a

* See argument A, p. 646. † See B, *ibidem*.

plain ſinfulneſs in them. But if, after all your labour, you cannot diſcover it, then you are obliged to take them.

" But, you will ſay, whatever the oaths are in themſelves, the taking them is plainly ſinful to you; ſince you doubt of their lawfulneſs, and the taking them *dubitante conſcientiâ* is a heinous crime. Beſides, reaſon tells you that *in dubiis pars tutior* is to be followed, which is, to part with a little temporal concern, to avoid the danger of ſo great a ſin as perjury.

" That you may have full ſatisfaction for ever in theſe points, let me beg of you to read Dr. Sharpe of a doubting conſcience; it is amongſt the London miniſters treatiſes againſt the Non-conformiſts. He proves clearly that prudent and pious men neither do nor ought to bring themſelves under temporal inconveniences for the avoiding the danger of ſinning. Read eſpecially from p. 8 to p. 14; when, after a ſerious conſideration of any matter, they cannot diſcern it to be plainly ſinful, though they may have ſome fears and ſcruples it may be ſo.

" Our great caſuiſt Dr. Sanderſon forbad indeed the taking the engagement with a doubting conſcience; *i. e.* ſays he, *before you are perſuaded in your judgment, upon probable grounds of reaſon, that it is lawful for you to do ſo:* take notice, *perſuaded upon ſome probable ground of reaſon:* that wiſe man knew that demonſtrations are not to be expected neither in politics nor in morals, as Arle has obſerved before him (C) *; and that a perſuaſion built upon greater reaſon on one ſide is ſufficient to juſtify our determination to that, though there be ſtill *formido oppoſiti*, doubts and ſcruples on the other; provided we have in our minds weighed both ſides impartially.

" The ſame great man ſays, in his *de Juramenti Obligatione*, Prælect. 3. ſect. 17. which comes cloſe to our point, that by our oaths to our kings we are bound to defend all their known and certain privileges and pre-eminences, but not thoſe that are *dubii & controverſi juris*. He did not think it reaſonable to ſay, we muſt defend them alſo in the *dubia jura*, for fear of perjury, and yet this was the *pars tutior*.

" Our oaths bind us then, in this learned caſuiſt's judgement, only to the *res certas & perſpicuas*, not to the *res dubias & obſcuras*. Let us now conſider what are the *res certæ* in our old oaths. 1ſt, The recognition of the king's title; 2dly, the diſowning all foreign power, pope, or church of Rome; 3dly, the not conſpiring with or aſſiſting them againſt him; 4thly, I will throw in all the general duties included in our natural allegiance, I

* Towards the end of his diſcourſe about the engagement. See C, p. 646.

will

will throw them in, I ſay; for the occaſion of the oaths was particular, and the few general words ſeem to be reſtrained by the foregoing or ſubſequent, and therefore it is no eaſy matter to prove they contain the natural duty of a ſubject. However, I grant this.

" But is this plain from the words, that whatever the king does, or whatever happens, I muſt always adhere to and obey him as my king, though he be ejected through the providence of God by a foreign power, though ejected for his great faults, though the government be ſettled in another by the three eſtates (who affirm anciently that, in ſo doing, they do but what *in conſimilibus caſibus de antiquâ conſuetudine dicti regni obſervatum fuit*, Decem Scriptores, p. 27, 56.); though there is no likelihood of reſtoring him, though it cannot be done without great miſchiefs to my country, my religion, and perhaps to the liberties of all Europe? Would any parliament have extended the oaths to theſe caſes, or would any honeſt man have taken them when diſtinctly ſo extended?

" But if theſe particulars are not plain in the words, will reaſon, will the law of God, will the law of the land, aſcertain our allegiance to be due to king James in theſe and the like caſes? Reaſon will prefer the good of the community before that of a ſingle man, eſpecially of one already very falſe to his truſt. The word of God is for the powers that be, and the law of the land is on the ſide of the poſſeſſor. What though there be objections under all theſe heads; are they ſuch as will out-weigh all that can be ſaid on the other ſide? as will convince a man's judgement? If not, then is it doubtful whether in theſe caſes allegiance be due to king James. And then, according to Dr. Sanderſon, the old laws do not reach them. The probabilities then of a reaſon, the conveniences and inconveniences both private and public on both ſides, muſt determine to whom it is fit and reaſonable to pay my allegiance. This is the judicious Dr. Sharpe's rule; whereas that of the ſafer ſide may miſerably cheat a man.

" But to make it manifeſt that the probabilities of reaſon are much the greater on one ſide, be pleaſed to know that biſhop Sanderſon, who ſo much ſtudied the point of oaths, and laboured as much as poſſible to ſerve the king in his *de Juramenti Obligatione*, in his ſecond Prælect. ſect. 8, 9, 10, has told us, that there is a rigid, a favourable, and a juſt and equitable interpretation, and that the laſt is to be obſerved in all oaths, which is very well worth your reading. As by a looſe interpretation we open a

door to irreligion and perjury: ſo by a rigorous one in this caſe we promote tyranny and oppreſſion. The juſt and equitable interpretation, Sanderſon tells you, does allow all reaſonable conditions, though not expreſſed, and without theſe the oath does not bind, as you may ſee alſo lecture 7. ſect. 7. I confeſs, he ſays, that oaths relating to the privileges and rights of ſuperiors are in their interpretations to incline rather to the ſtrict than to the benign interpretation. But it muſt be conſidered that theſe oaths were made alſo for the good ſtate of the realm (ſee the act); and then it would be odd to interpret them ſtrictly and rigorouſly in the behalf of the prince againſt the ſubject.

" If any oath does admit *benignam interpretationem*, I am confident that thoſe that are enjoined by parliament to prevent ſedition and rebellions do require it, when the parliament itſelf and the community is oppreſſed and in great danger of ruin.

" As for what you ſay, that oaths are ſacred things, that the Pſalmiſt's good man will not break them, and that perjury is not to be incurred for the greateſt temporal advantage (for as for the danger of it Dr. Sharpe will ſatisfy you); not only I, but every man that has any tolerable ſenſe of religion, will agree with you in every one of theſe particulars.

" But to ſpeak to your text out of Pſalm xv. It is not plain that I am ſworn to king James; the oath in an equitable interpretation not reaching the preſent caſe; nor has king James any reaſon to inſiſt on it as the preſent circumſtances are; nor ought you to oblige me by my oath to hurt my neighbours, or my country, how rigorous ſoever I might be otherwiſe to myſelf. There is a great deal of difference between a private oath relating to my own concerns, of which I am maſter; and a public, which was made for the good of the public, and therefore ought in no wiſe to be ſtrained to the prejudice of the ſame.

" The depoſing doctrine has, upon great oppreſſion, been maintained by Lutherans, Calviniſts, and Papiſts; by all but the church of England, who have always had the king on her ſide till of late, and yet even ſhe hath often approved it in the Low Countries in queen Elizabeth's days, as you have often read. Nay, our moſt judicious advocate for loyalty of late years has in ſome caſes allowed it. See Falkner's Chriſtian Loyalty, chap. laſt. As for depoſing for miſcarriages in government and ſmall mal-adminiſtrations, this has been condemned in all ages, countries, and churches, and I hope ever will.

" The

" The law truly protects no man; it is the magiſtrates made by the king, and the king's ſword, that protects us all from injuſtice and violence.

" That depoſing in ſome caſes is agreeable to the laws of the land, beſides what I have formerly ſaid, let me add what I have read and heard of judge Vaughan, and the lord keeper Bridgman, in relation to the declaration, that *it is not lawful upon any pretence*, &c. Vaughan, who perhaps was the greateſt man of his profeſſion ſince the Reſtoration, this learned lawyer was an old cavalier, and would not appear at the bar before any of Oliver's judges, ſo great was his loyalty: he was a member of that parliament that made the declaration, and he oppoſed the paſſing of it, ſaying " it was at once to give up the *magna charta*, and all the liberties of " England, which had coſt our anceſtors ſo much blood;" and the houſe being moved by his arguments, a great man replied, " by *commiſſioned* is " always implied *lawfully commiſſioned*;" which gave ſome ſatisfaction, and ſo it paſſed. Sir Orlando Bridgman, lord chief juſtice in 1662, being acquainted that ſome diſſenting miniſters would conform but for the declaration, which they thought of dangerous conſequence, and againſt the antient conſtitution; he replied, " that by *commiſſion* was always underſtood " *lawfully commiſſioned.*" So then in ſome caſes there may be reſiſtance in the ſenſe of that *tantivi* parliament; and if a reſiſtance may be lawful, a depoſing will ſometimes be an abſolute neceſſary conſequence.

" The affection that men are bred up with towards the memory of king Charles the Firſt, and the abhorrence of the parliament of 1641, does extremely prejudice men for kings, and againſt parliaments; but both extremes are to be carefully ſhunned. I do verily believe that biſhop Sanderſon, had he lived in our days, would not have ſcrupled our new oath; many of his principles that run through his writings make me think ſo. The caſe now and then is vaſtly different.

" To come towards a concluſion, you ſee all my arguments tend to ſhew either that king William is rightful king, and that if he were not, yet allegiance is due to him as the poſſeſſor; and I have not met with any objection that makes me in the leaſt wavering in my thoughts, but if my arguments lay together under their reſpective heads, they would appear much more ſtrong.

" (A)

" (A) For he that owes no allegiance to king James muſt be diſobedient in his heart to king William; and that is likely to produce a real diſobedience when an opportunity offers.

" (B) That is, to the ordinance of God, if the wonderful ſucceſs and preſervation of king William, if the general conſent of the nation, and if the actual poſſeſſion of the crown (any one of which in ſeveral great men's opinions is a good argument of God's approbation); if all theſe concurring may be ſufficient to juſtify ſo ſacred a title.

" (C) It is a ſaying of Jamblichus, that *demonſtrations are not to be expected in matters concerning God and divine things*; and with as little reaſon would it be expected in morals or politics, things depending upon ſo many various circumſtances.

" Queen Mary or Queen Elizabeth had no right but what the parliament gave them; and if they then, notwithſtanding the oath of ſupremacy with obedience to heirs and lawful ſucceſſors, could do this, I think upon far greater reaſon may our parliament do the ſame now; but I will neither tire you nor myſelf further. Yours affectionately,

R. Blechynden."

" If that will do you any ſervice, you may ſee an act of recognition of king William and queen Mary's title, that they were, are, and ought to be, of right king and queen, &c. Had I recollected it at the beginning, I might have ſpared my argument.

" Ought any man in prudence to run upon certain inconveniences to both the public and himſelf, for the avoiding an uncertain ſin (for the bare danger of perjury is ſo), which here it is very probable (to me certain) is none at all?

" I thank you for your ſo ſpeedy viſiting my uncle. Dr. Smith has twenty ſhillings of mine, which be pleaſed to take of him."

" Dear Mr. Blechynden, *Sept.* 16, —91.

" SINCE you recommend ſome authors to my reading, let me recommend one to yours, a truly honeſt man, who had no other deſign but teaching Chriſtians their duty, I mean the incomparable author of the Whole Duty of Man: partition xiv. ſect. 2. he tells you that *the civil parent*

rent is he whom God hath eſtabliſhed the ſupreme magiſtrate, who by a juſt right poſſeſſes the throne in a nation. So that he ſuppoſes bare poſſeſſion cannot give right, nor is he ſet over us by God that aſcends the throne by injuſtice: ſome diſtinction muſt be made between God's permiſſion and his providence. Eſpecially read the fifth ſection, which he concludes thus: *it may ſuffice ſubjects to know, that whatſoever the king's duty is, he is accountable to none but God, and no failing of his part can warrant them to fail of theirs.* This man did not write either to get a biſhopric or to ſave one, but purely what the ſpirit of Chriſtianity prompted him to. Whatever ſchiſm we may now make in the ſtate, it is thoſe that are of another opinion that ſeparate from the church of England till ſhe has ſolemnly condemned her homilies againſt rebellion. It would be very convenient likewiſe the univerſity of Oxford ſhould reverſe her decree of July 21, 1683, wherein ſhe has ſolemnly condemned all theſe propoſitions as ſeditious, impious and heretical, &c. repugnant to the holy ſcriptures, decrees of councils, writings of fathers, the faith and profeſſion of the primitive church, &c. by which this revolution is juſtified. Now I think the honour of religion in general, and the reputation of the church of England in particular, is far more conſiderable than the outward ſecurity or appendages of either. She ought to be one and the ſame, let there be what changes there will in the ſtate. It is enough to make all men Hobbiſts, and to queſtion whether there be any ſuch thing as right or wrong, truth or falſhood, if churchmen can thus change their opinions with the wind, and that not only ſingly, but in ſuch illuſtrious bodies. It is true, the ſons of the church of England (by their general defection) have brought an indelible ſcandal upon her; and it is not to be wiped off by the conſtancy of a ſmall party. But yet it is glorious to ſee an archbiſhop quitting the honour and profits of his ſtation, rather than quit the obligation of an oath to an emperor. And yet herein he injures not his country, but adheres firm to her conſtitutions, which is certainly the beſt way to ſecure her. It was, I own, out of reſpect to her ſafety that the oath was enjoined. The altering them may ſerve a preſent turn, but no man knows what civil wars, deſolations, and miſeries, we have cut out for poſterity. King Charles II. with his prerogative at the higheſt, ſupported with the doctrines of non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience, had much ado to keep us from thoſe civil wars we had ſo lately ſmarted under. Non-reſiſtance upon any pretence whatever is a plain

plain rule that expoſes us only to the inconveniencies of tyranny: but if every man muſt be the judge of the actions of his prince, and quit his allegiance whenever he thinks the coronation oath broken, there can be no ſuch thing as peace; and if I were to chuſe, I had rather ſuffer injuries from my king than from my fellow-ſubjects. It is not enough for you to ſay they muſt not be ſmall mal-adminiſtrations that will juſtify a rebellion: for every man herein will be his own judge. Self-preſervation is the firſt thing nature teaches us; and if oaths will not tie up our hands, whenever I think the king injures me, he ceaſes to protect me, and conſequently my allegiance ceaſes, and I am to take the beſt care I can of myſelf. People may, if they have a mind to it, argue themſelves out of all their duty; and, as Dr. Scott obſerves (Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience, p. 105), *drunkenneſs, whoredom, or perjury, may as well be defended, as reſiſtance againſt lawful authority.* If it be a great and eternal truth, that ſubjects may reſiſt their ſovereign when their religion and rights are invaded, it had been proper for Dr. Tillotſon to have declared as much to my lord Ruſſel, that he might have had the ſatisfaction of dying a martyr for it; and not have told him, as he did in his famous letter, that he left the world in a deluſion and falſe peace to the hindrance of his eternal happineſs. It had been proper to have aſſerted theſe great truths when poor Johnſon ſuffered for them: and not to give the world occaſion to ſay we are guided wholly by intereſt. As for biſhop Sanderſon, I think he is of our ſide, if he be quoted right (de Conſcient. prælect. 5. p. 183. l. 2.) *Proinde regni invaſori ſic præſtandum eſt obſequium, ut fidelitas legitimo hæredi debita nullatenus violetur, nec aliquid fiat in juris ſui præjudicium.* This is agreeable to my ſentiments, there is an *obſequium* to be paid to the king in poſſeſſion, but very different from the allegiance that is due to the true heir. An unlawful government is better than none at all; and I will defend that againſt the enemies of all government, but I will not defend it againſt the rightful king. I wonder you ſhould conclude your letter, that you are ſo fixed in your opinion that allegiance is due to the king in poſſeſſion, that no objection againſt it can make you waver. A perſon that by an unjuſt war gets a kingdom is a king in poſſeſſion: and yet at the end of your ſecond letter you ſuppoſe he has no right, for there you ſay he ought to reſtore it to the former king, but no man is obliged to give away his right. Upon which I urge, that, if it be unjuſt in the uſurper to detain what be-

longs to another, it is unjuſt in the ſubject to abet and aſſiſt him in that unjuſt detention, and therefore he cannot promiſe allegiance exclusive of the rightful king. If allegiance be due only to him that protects, allegiance was due to Oliver Cromwell; and biſhop Sanderſon diſobeyed the powers that were, and conſequently ſinned by refuſing the engagement. And the behaviour of all honeſt men in thoſe times may ſerve as an inſtance againſt your *jus gentium*, that allegiance has not always been paid to the poſſeſſor. And I queſtion not but in all conquered towns and countries there have been a party that have thought themſelves obliged to ſtick by their rightful prince, though perhaps the majority have been ſwayed by intereſt. And therefore in new conqueſts there is greater confidence put in garriſons and citadels than in the allegiance of the new ſubjects. Therefore I ſtick to my propoſition, that a right to the crown and a right to my allegiance are convertible, and unleſs the former can be made out, I can never give the latter. As to your firſt ſenſe of rightful, that the parliament have declared king William ſo: ſuppoſing his parliament had that authority, which now I am ſatisfied they have not; yet they cannot give right where there is none, or make me own the right is, where I know it is not. As to your ſecond, the cuſtom of our anceſtors; you know the common law of England may be altered by ſtatutes, and unleſs the proceſs has been agreeable to our preſent conſtitution, it is illegal. So that there remains only the third according to the ordinary courſe and common practice of ſucceſſion by proximity of blood, which the written laws chiefly regard: and here you ſuppoſe that the generality of people would not own king William in that ſenſe; and for that reaſon the word *rightful* was left out of the oath. This indeed is the right that I own in king James, and I think there can be no diſpute between the competitors. And if our laws were as plain that a king ſhould forfeit this right when he was lawfully convinced of mal-adminiſtration, as they are that a ſubject ſhall forfeit his inheritance for treaſon, I would refuſe allegiance to king James upon ſuch a legal proceſs, notwithſtanding my oath. If you think yet there is any hopes of me, ſum up in your next in as ſmall a compaſs as you can (if you pleaſe ſyllogiſtically) what you have hitherto ſaid, or have further to ſay, againſt king James's right; for unleſs that be deſtroyed, I muſt ſtick to my allegiance.

Fragments of Mr. AMBROSE BONWICKE, relating to the ſame Controverſy.

Whoever has a right to the crown, has a right to govern.

Whoever has a right to govern, has a right to govern thoſe that ought to be his ſubjects.

Thoſe that ought to be the ſubjects of one man, ought not to ſwear they will be the ſubjects of another.

" In our laſt diſpute, you affirmed that a king in poſſeſſion is rightful king: and you grounded your aſſertion on the laws of England, and my lord Coke's interpretation of them. To which I object, that certainly no law ought to be interpreted contrary to the intention of the law-giver; that it could never be the intention of the king or parliament of England to encourage an invader; that to ſay whoever is in poſſeſſion of the crown of England is rightful king of England, is a great encouragement to an invader.

" There are ſeveral acts of parliament made to eſtabliſh the right of the Lancaſtrian line.

" A rule of law which ſaith, *jura ſanguinis nullo jure civili dirimi poſſunt.* Speed in Henry IV.

" Anno 7 Henrici IV. cap. 2. The realms of England and France entailed to the king and his four ſons by name.

" Anno 39 Hen. VI. A. D. 1460, cap. 1. A parliament holden at Coventry, 20 die Novembris, anno 38 Hen. VI. ſhall be repealed; and all acts, ſtatutes, and ordinances, made by the authority of the ſame parliament, ſhall be repealed, becauſe the parliament was unlawfully ſummoned and holden, and the knights and burgeſſes not duly choſen.

" Anno 1 E. IV. cap. 1. Henry IV. V. VI. late kings of England in deed and not of right.

" In any of the times of the pretended reigns of any of the ſaid late kings in deed and not in right. — In the time of any king lawfully reigning in his realm, obtaining the crown of the ſame by juſt title. In the times of the noble king Edward III. and Richard II. late lawful kings of England.

" And

" And alſo that all manner of acts and ordinances, made by authority of any parliament or parliaments holden in the time of any of the ſaid late pretended kings, for the conſervation and keeping of the town of Shrewſbury, &c. ſhall be of like force and effect, as if the ſame acts or ordinances, and every of them, were made in the time of any king or kings lawfully reigning in this realm, and obtaining the crown of the ſame by juſt title.

" Alſo whereas the ſaid late pretended king Henry IV. in deed and not of right king of this realm,—the twenty-fourth year of his uſurped reign &c.

" Anno 17 Ed. IV. and A. D. 1477, cap. 7. A repeal of a parliament holden anno 9 Ed. IV. and anno 39 Hen. VI. and of all the acts therein made, and of their exemplifications.

" Anno 1 Hen. VII. cap. 6. A pardon granted to all them who aſſiſted the king in wars againſt Richard duke of Glouceſter.

" Anno 11 Hen. VII. cap. 1. None that attend upon the king, and do him true ſervice, ſhall be attainted or forfeit any thing.

" The king our ſovereign lord, calling to his remembrance the duty of allegiance of his ſubjects of this his realm, and that they by reaſon of the ſame are bound to ſerve their prince and ſovereign lord for the time being in his wars, for the defence of him and the land, againſt every rebellion, &c. — and that for the ſame ſervice what fortune ever fall by chance in the ſame battle againſt the mind and will of the prince (as in this land ſome time paſt hath been ſeen) that it is not reaſonable, but againſt all laws, reaſon and good conſcience, that the ſaid ſubjects — any thing ſhould loſe or forfeit for doing their true duty and ſervice of allegiance: it be therefore ordained, &c. be in no wiſe convict or attaint — by act of parliament, or &c. And if any act or acts, made contrary to this ordinance, that then that act &c. ſtand and be utterly void. Provided alway that no perſon or perſons ſhall take any benefit or advantage by this act, which ſhall hereafter decline from his or their ſaid allegiance.

" Cap. 18, in marg. He that will not go in perſon with the king in his wars, when he is in perſon, ſhall loſe his office, &c. granted by the king, certain perſons excepted. Anno 19 C. I.

" Pſalm xix. 62. *O truſt not in wrong and robbery.* Q. Katherine the widow of king Henry V. and mother of Henry VI. ſecretly marries Owen ap Theodore or Tuder, the moſt noble and moſt goodly gentleman

of all the Welſh nation, and endued with admirable virtues, who drew his deſcent from holy Cadwallader, laſt king of the Britains. To whom ſhe bare three ſons, Edmund, Jaſper, and Owen, and a daughter who lived not long. Owen took the habit of religion at Weſtminſter, the other two by king Henry VI. (their half brother) were honourably preferred. The firſt of them was created earl of Richmond, the other of Pembroke. This Edmund is he who by Margaret the ſole heir of John Beaufort duke of Somerſet (grand-child to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter), had Henry VII. the only heir of the houſe of Lancaſter. Speed, pages 661 and 671.

" To the actual poſſeſſion and exerciſe of his undoubted hereditary ſovereign and royal authority, 12 Car. II. cap. 14.

" This is repeated to ſhew the vile ſpirit of theſe great men, that could deſtroy ſo many royal perſons — who had offended nobody. Patrick on 2 Kings x. 6. Jehu's zeal for the Lord exceeded its bounds; for he ought not to have taken any indirect courſe to fulfil his will — God does not ſtand in need of any man's ſin to compaſs his ends. Idem, ver. 18. Prov. xxiv. 11. See Patrick's Paraphraſe; and Whole Duty of Man, p. 344.

" For firſt, notwithſtanding what you have ſaid, I have great reaſon to think that that act of parliament, as it is called, by which the Prince of Wales is at preſent poſtponed (for I know no act, or pretended act, by which he is excluded, if he becomes a Proteſtant, as by the grace of God he may very well) is no good law, from the great defects in the legiſlative power by which it is was made; for, firſt, king William being only king *de facto* and not *de jure*, I can never think a law made by him as obligatory as one made by a lawful king; and this, anno 1 Edw. IV. cap. 1. is taken for granted, where it is ſaid that all manner of acts and ordinances made by authority of any parliament or parliaments holden in the time of any of the ſaid late pretended kings, for the conſervation and keeping of the town of Shrewſbury, &c. ſhall be of like force and effect, as if the ſame acts or ordinances, and every of them, were made in the time of any king or kings lawfully reigning in this realm, and obtaining the crown of the ſame by juſt title. And, ſecondly, there was a great defect in that parliament, which was only an aſſembly ſummoned by the Prince of Orange's circular letter, which certainly could be no more a parliament than that of 12 Car. II. which in 13 cap. 15, is called an aſſembly, and not

of a parliament; and ſeveral acts of that aſſembly, though of neceſſary uſe, were not thought to have the force and ſtrength of acts of parliament till they were confirmed by the next parliament.

" But, ſecondly, ſuppoſing this law were never ſo good, it is a great queſtion whether it can extinguiſh what in the firſt of king James I. cap. 1. is called " inherent birth-right." And Speed tells us, in his Henry VI. that then they had a rule of law which ſaith, *jura ſanguinis nullo jure civili dirimi poſſunt* And accordingly Richard duke of York put in his claim to the crown, notwithſtanding ſeveral acts of parliament made to eſtabliſh the right of the Lancaſtrian line: and his title was owned to be good. In like manner we are now aſſerting the right of Charles III. to the crown of Spain, in oppoſition to all the ſettlements the Spaniards have made or can make of it upon the houſe of Bourbon. I muſt confeſs, if Philip V. be only a pretended king, there is one of thoſe defects in the Spaniſh ſettlement as well as in that of the houſe of Lancaſter, which in the former paragraph I obſerved was in ours: but I have one inſtance yet, which ſeems to be above all objection, and would make one believe, that proximity of blood in an ancient hereditary monarch comes very near a natural right to the crown, which you yourſelf own ought not by any law to be invaded or violated: and that is, her majeſty's title to the crown of France, which is directly againſt an ancient law of that kingdom yet in force, beſides all the laws that have been ſince made for the confirming the right of their kings. I can ſee no other reaſon for the firſt claim of Edward the Third, and her preſent majeſty's continuance of it, than ſuch a natural right as no law can extinguiſh. And I queſtion not but upon the firſt claim it was offered to be proved, that that limitation of the ſucceſſion to males by the Salic law was a breach of a law of nature, or violation of a natural right.

This I take to be the caſe:

" There is a young man born at Madrid, and now living there, who never took any oath to king Charles the Second, and his heirs, but is now called upon to ſwear allegiance to Philip the Fifth, though the right be in Charles the Third. The partiſans of Philip plead, that though the right was in Charles, yet Philip is in poſſeſſion, and the whole legiſlative power of Spain have recognized king Philip's title to the crown, and ſettled it on him and his heirs, with a further limitation of it to the children

of

of Anne of Auſtria (the mother of the preſent French king, and the duke of Orleans deceaſed), in caſe there ſhould want an heir of Maria Thereſa the Dauphin's mother; ſo that, whatever right Charles had before, he has now no right or title whatſoever to the crown of Spain.

" To which I anſwer, that the right having been in Charles at Philip's acceſſion to the throne; he was then at leaſt an uſurper: and it is not reaſonable to think that any laws, that he and his partiſans can afterward make, ſhould alter the caſe, and extinguiſh the right of Charles, or make Philip ceaſe to be an uſurper. It is plain here in England we are of another opinion, and think all the laws, that ever were or can be made in France, cannot extinguiſh the right and title of our kings and queens to that crown. But if ſuch an unreaſonable thing ſhould be granted, that a law, made by Philip the king in poſſeſſion, is to all intents and purpoſes, even in the preſent caſe, as good as if it was made by a king lawfully reigning in Spain, and obtaining the crown of the ſame by a juſt title, yet I ſay ſuch a law is unrighteous, and therefore null in the ſight of God and all good men. For certainly it is great injuſtice to deprive an innocent prince of his right: and in thoſe two laws before mentioned, the one for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown of Spain, and the other for the further limitation of it, by which the ſaid Charles is deprived, upon which they ground their declaration of his not having any right or title whatſoever to the crown of Spain, or any other the dominions thereto belonging, they are ſo far from laying any crime to his charge, that they do not, as far as I can underſtand, ſo much as mention him, or any other of the houſe of Auſtria that ſtands excluded by thoſe laws. If they object, that he is a favourer of Heretics, and therefore is juſtly deprived becauſe he makes uſe of the aſſiſtance of Proteſtants for the recovery of his rights; this is not his crime, but theirs, who by their diſloyalty have reduced him to that neceſſity. And, if it be unjuſt to puniſh a perſon for no fault of his own, it is ſurely no leſs ſo to puniſh him for the faults of others, and even of thoſe who inflict the puniſhment.

" Upon the whole, I cannot ſee how this young man can, with a ſafe conſcience, take the oath required, though he be not under the obligation of any former oath: for, by ſwearing allegiance to Philip, he ſolemnly obliges himſelf to ſupport his uſurpation, and to hinder the injured Charles, as much as in him lies, from ever recovering his right; by which the iniquity of the ſaid oath is, I think, ſufficiently manifeſt."

ABRIDGE-

ABRIDGEMENT, by Mr. BOWYER, of M. PHIL. ROHR's *Pictor Errans.*

Painters err; I. In repreſenting the Creator as an old man, the "Ancient of days" of Dan. vii. 9, cenſured by Auguſtin, Ep. cxxii.

II. In painting the ſerpent which tempted Eve without feet; whereas his creeping on his belly was inflicted on him as a puniſhment. See Pole's Synopſ. in Gen. iii. 1. 4.

III. Many of them place one angel with a drawn ſword as a guard to Paradiſe, when man was expelled from it, Gen. iii. when the text ſays there were more, *Cherubim*, plural. See Pole.

IV. Falſely make Noah's ark a ſquare houſe placed on a round ſhip; whereas the ark itſelf was more probably round.

V. Miſled by the Vulgate, they repreſent Abraham with a ſword in his hand, when he was to ſacrifice Iſaac, inſtead of a ſacrificing knife, as the Hebrew expreſſes it, Gen. xx. 10, with which he afterwards ſlew the ram. See Piſcator in loc. Pole's Synopſ. &c.

VI. Falſely repreſent Iſaac kneeling before the pile of wood, with his face towards it; whereas, as the Hebrew word means, his *hands* were *tied to his feet* backwards, and he was laid on the pile, with his face upwards, as the ſacrifice uſed to be.

VII. Without any authority from Scripture, Exod. xii. 12, &c. repreſents the Iſraelites eating the Paſchal Lamb at their going out of Egypt *ſtanding*. The Scripture is ſilent as to the poſture, whether it was ſitting or ſtanding. See Schmidius on Matth. xxvii.

VIII. Exod. xxxiv. 29. The Vulgate renders QUOD *cornuta eſſet facies ſua* *; whence the painters have repreſented Moſes with horns coming out of his head. But the Hebrew word denotes the *glory* that ſhone in his face, as the LXX have rightly rendered it, δεδοξασαι το προσωπον αυτου.

IX. In Canticles, i. 4. the Vulgate reads, *Trahe me: poſt te currimus in odorum unguentorum tuorum*; which Hermannus Hugo having tranſlated in his Emblems, lib. ii. emblem 8, has obliged his painter to repreſent the bridegroom going before with a cenſer of frankincenſe, of which there is

* The margin of the quarto edition has *ſplendens*. EDIT.

not

not a word in the Hebrew, nor in any approved verſion, the Hebrew having only *Trahe me poſt ſe.*

X. Iſaiah is painted as ſawn aſunder from the head through the body, of which we have no ſufficient authority. But as this has been believed by many of the Fathers, we will let it paſs as dubious.

XI. Cornelius à Lapide ſays, that in an ancient Mſ. of Baſilius Porphyrogenitus the prophet Daniel is painted as *beheaded*; againſt the authority of all hiſtory, which tells us that he died a *natural death*, Dan. xii. 13. Joſephus, Hiſt. x. 12. The report of his being beheaded is *portentum fabulæ & puerile delirium*, ſays Reineſius, Var. Lect. lib. ii. c. 13.

XII. The painting rays of glory round the heads of Chriſt, the Virgin Mary, and the Apoſtles, is an univerſal cuſtom, taken up without any ſufficient foundation.

XIII. John the Evangeliſt is painted young while writing his Goſpel, which he wrote, as ſome ſuppoſe, at ninety years of age; but all agree, when he was very old.

XIV. To ridicule the Chriſtians, ſome one repreſented a perſon in a gown, with aſſes ears, and one foot hooſed, holding a book in his hand, with theſe words underneath, *Deus Chriſtianorum Ononchyſis*. "This was "that Anah that found the mules in the wilderneſs, as he fed the aſſes of "Zibeon his father." What was ſaid of Anah, they aſcribed to Moſes; and afterwards from the Jews to the Chriſtians, as Selden tells us, De Diis Syntag. II. Voſſ. de Idol. lib. iii. c. 75.

XV. Without any authority or reaſon, they repreſent Joſeph, the huſband of the Virgin Mary, as an old man.

XVI. In the Virgin Mary's Conception, ſome repreſent Chriſt as an infant deſcending from heaven, bearing his croſs in his hand; which, in picture, is the very ſenſe of the Valentinian hereſy.

XVII. In the pictures of the Nativity, an ox and an aſs are repreſented feeding at the manger, which aroſe probably from the falſe tranſlation of the LXX. Hab. iii. 2. ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθής, *in medio duorum animatium cognoſceris.* Jerom, according to the Hebrew, renders *in medio annorum vivificas illud.* Vide Caſ. c. Baron. Exerc. ii. § ii. From this, joined to Iſ. iii. 1. *the ox knows his owner, and the aſs his maſter's crib*, aroſe the cuſtom of placing theſe two animals as gueſts at that ſolemnity *.

* The ox and aſs are introduced at the Nativity merely to ſhew that it happened in a ſtable. EDIT.

XVIII.

XVIII. The *Magi* who came to Chriſt are repreſented as Kings with crowns on their heads, and to have been three only in number, and one of them of a tawny complection: for none of which circumſtances we have any authority.

XIX. Simeon, Matt. ii. 25, is pictured in the habit of a prieſt, and blind, againſt all authority, as Bp. Montague obſerves, Orig. Eccl. part i. p. 161.

XX. Matt. iii. 4. Mark i. 8. John the Baptiſt is uſually painted as a ſatyr, with the ſkin of a camel thrown over him. But he had probably a coarſe veſtment made of camel's hair, as Beza maintains, and Luther's verſion expreſſes it.

Matt. iv. 6. Our Saviour is repreſented as ſet by the devil on a ſharp ſpire * of the Temple: but as the roofs of the Jewiſh houſes were flat, ſurrounded with a parapet wall, ſo probably a parapet wall was carried round the Temple, for ornament's ſake, as Grotius obſerves on Deut. xxii. 8.; and Chriſt probably was placed within-ſide of that wall.

XXI. The painters repreſent the houſes of the Iſraelites with ſlant roofs, like our modern ones, directly contrary to the command given them, Deut. xxii. 18. Whence we often find mention made of walking on the battlements of their houſes, 1 Sam. ix. 25, 26. 2 Sam. xi. 2. xvi. 22. See Matt. x. 22.

XXII. Luke xvi. 21. Lazarus is by ſome ill-repreſented, lying along in the *parlour* of the rich man, as if a man full of ſores would be admitted within doors. By others he is repreſented laſhed by the ſervants, while the dogs lick his ſores, to whom he was grown familiar by his frequent coming thither. But he would hardly have come again, if he had been ſcourged away by the ſervants.

XXIII. Matt. xxi. 21. At Chriſt's proceſſion into Jeruſalem, boughs and the cloaths of the populace are repreſented ſtrowed under the feet of the aſs; but that, as Lightfoot obſerves, would rather have made the aſs to ſtumble. It is probable, therefore, that they built ſmall houſes on the road-ſide with boughs, and covered them with their garments, as was uſual on the feaſt of Tabernacles. Lightfoot, Hor. Hebraic. in Matth.

XXIV. Chriſt is repreſented *ſitting* at table with his gueſts, the diſciples, Matt. xxvi. 21. and John, like an infant, before him, in his boſom. But

* The original in Matt. iv. 5. and Luke iv. 9. is πτερύγιον, a battlement. EDIT.

the Jews, it is well known, like the Romans, uſed at this time to eat lying along, as appears from the words ἀναπεσθαι, and κατακλίνεσθαι, uſed in the N. T. and from Lazarus being ſaid to be carried to Abraham's boſom, Luke xvi. 12.

XXV. The bread which Chriſt broke with his diſciples, Matt. xxvi. 26, is often repreſented as a piece of a great loaf. But the Jews uſed at their meals ſmall loaves, or manchets, as we find from the mention of breaking them ſo often mentioned, as Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark vi. 41. vii. 10, &c. and from the fragments which were left, Matt. xiv. 20. xv. 37.

XXVI. In the monaſtery of St. Mary Magdalen at Magdeburgh, Chriſt is repreſented *lying down* in a brook full of ſharp ſtones. A conceit formed from John xviii. 1, *he went forth with his diſciples over the brook Cedron*; and Pſal. cx. 7, *he ſhall drink of the brook in the way*; which is no ſupport for the painter's fancy.

XXVII. Some painters repreſent Chriſt ſcourged with *rods*, others with *thongs*, or *ſcourges*, Matt. xxvii. 26. Mark x. 26. Luke xii. 33. That the former are wrong is clear from the word, in the text φραγελλῶν, Matt. xxvii. 26. Mark xv. 26. and μαστιγῶν, Luke xviii. 33, which denote *ſcourges*, not *rods*. It is ſaid that the Jews uſed only ſcourges, Buxtorf, Syn. Jud. c. xx. And though the Romans uſed rods, witneſs that form, *L. lictor colliga manus, caput obnubito,* VIRGIS CÆDITO; yet this form was left off in time, *Cic. pro Rabirio Coſ.* and ſcourging was introduced in later times. *Sciendum eſt, Pilatum Romanorum legibus judicium miniſtraſſe, quibus ſancitum erat, ut qui crucifigitur prius* FLAGELLIS *verberetur,* Rich. Montacut. Orig. Eccleſ. tom. I. part. poſt. p. 390, from Jerom. But this Artiſt does not ſeem to know that *flagellum* denoted a *twig* as well as *virga*.

In this ſcene of the ſcourging, *two* executioners are repreſented as performing the act; whereas, according to the Roman cuſtom, only one was employed, as appears from the form before cited; and according to the Jewiſh likewiſe, as Buxtorf ſhews from the Miſhna. According to which likewiſe the pillar to which the criminal was bound was only about a cubit and an half; not of that length in which it is uſually painted.

XXVIII. Some repreſent Chriſt and Simon the Cyrenian both bearing the croſs at once, expreſly againſt the narration in Matt. xxvii. 32.

In

In ſome pictures the croſs on which Chriſt is crucified is repreſented like a capital T, with the upright beam not projecting above the tranſverſe; which, though it was the form of ſome croſſes, was not ſo of our Saviour's, according to Juſtin Martyr; and ſee Lipſius, de Cruce.

Another miſtake is committed when they repreſent the feet of Chriſt faſtened to the croſs with *one* nail only; *i. e.* with three nails in all, two through the hands, and one through the feet: whereas Irenæus, Juſtin Martyr, Cyprian, Nonnus in Paraphr. p. 230, ver. 37, expreſly mention four nails. And the ſame method is atteſted by Plautus;

Ego dabo ei talentum primus, qui in crucem excurrerit,
Sed ea lege, ut affigantur bis pedes, bis brachia.

The two malefactors (ill called thieves), who were crucified with Chriſt, are repreſented generally with their hands and feet tied to the croſs: but why their hands and feet ſhould not be repreſented nailed likewiſe, no reaſon can be aſſigned. Nonnus is expreſs, χείρεσι ἀνηλύτοις. See Montac. Orig. Eccleſ. tom. I. par. ii. p. m. 393.

A ſmall ſeat was in the middle of the upright beam, as Juſtin Martyr likewiſe teſtifies; but is uſually omitted by the painters of the Crucifixion.

The ſoldier who pierced the ſide of Chriſt is generally painted on horſeback; contrary to the expreſs teſtimony of John, an eye-witneſs of the fact, xix. 34, εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξε. The word στρατιώτης, by itſelf, denotes only a foot-ſoldier, and the ſpear λόγχη was not the weapon of the horſe. Juſtly therefore does Salmaſius blame Xaverius the Jeſuit for following this error in the Hiſtory of Chriſt, publiſhed by Lud. de Dieu. See Salm. ep. ii. ad Bartholin. The former of theſe two reaſons is a good one, but the latter not ſo; for in the latter times the horſe uſed λόγχη as well as the foot: Joſephus, ... φέρουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπιλεκτοι πεζοὶ λόγχην καὶ ἀσπίδα,—Οὐδεὶ δὲ ὅπλα διαλλάττουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπικρίται ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΑΛΑΙΣ ΙΠΠΕΩΝ. See Schelius in Hyginum, c. xii. p. m. 297.

XXIX. In the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt on the Apoſtles on the day of Pentecoſt, Acts ii. 1, ſome painters repreſent the Virgin Mary in the midſt of them; that ſhe may, as Beza obſerves, appear the Queen of the Apoſtolical College.

Tongues in the ſhape of fire are likewiſe repreſented as *ſitting* on the *heads* of the Apoſtles: but, according to Urſinus, Analect. lib. vi. c. 38. the fiery tongues were ſeen, ὤφθησαν, in the *mouths* of the Apoſtles; and what is ſaid to ſit or *reſt* upon them was the Holy Spirit, which immediately follows, according to the Hebrew conſtruction [or rather the *fire*, which is juſt before mentioned]: *And tongues, as of fire, were ſeen diſtributed among them, and* IT [the fire] *reſted upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghoſt.* This, in my opinion, is ſo forced a conſtruction, that I recommend to the painters to keep to their old copies.

XXX. Paul, at his converſion, is uſually repreſented on horſeback, and falling from his *horſe* at the heavenly viſion, Acts ix. 2. But it is more probable he was travelling on foot, otherwiſe his ſudden fall from a horſe would have endangered his life. His companions, it is ſaid, STOOD *ſpeechleſs*, ver. 7; and ver. 8, that *they led him by the hand.* Had he been on horſeback, they would more probably have ſet him on his horſe again.

XXXI. Painters repreſent Chriſt proſtrate before the Father, ſupplicating for our ſalvation; whereas the Scripture repreſents him as ſitting on the right hand of the Father. See Rom. viii. 26. 1 John ii. 1.

XXXII. Why Death is uſually painted like a ſkeleton, with an hour-glaſs and a ſcythe, we know not. It is not the figure of Death in the Apocalypſe, c. vi. 8, or of Death among the ancients, which was that of a beaſt with large teeth and crooked nails.

XXXIII. Chriſt coming to judge the world is repreſented ſitting on a rainbow; taken no doubt from Apocalypſe iv. 3. Compare with Matt. xxv. 31. But it cannot be Chriſt who ſits on the throne in the Revelations; for he is repreſented by the Lamb, cap. v. 7, as all commentators agree.

XXXIV. The woman who waſhed the feet of Jeſus with her hair, Luke vii. 38, is repreſented *falling down* at his feet, when the text ſays, ſhe STOOD at his feet.

XXXV. The ſons of Zebedee are repreſented as children.

By

By permiſſion of Dr. OWEN, we have ſubjoined the Letter of Profeſſor OCKLEY to Mr. WOTTON, on the confuſion of tongues, &c. and conſtruction of Eaſtern languages, mentioned in the "Anecdotes of Mr. BOWYER," p. 226, in a note.

To Mr. WOTTON.

REVEREND SIR,

YOU do me too much honour to think me worth conſulting, eſpecially after having received the opinions of ſo great men as my Lord Biſhop of Carliſle and the learned Mr. Reland; the mention of which names I ſhould have thought a ſufficient excuſe for my not ſpeaking one word; but only the ſenſe of gratitude, which I have, engages me to do every thing which may poſſibly oblige you; and, beſides, your not having all the books by you which our library affords, is, I confeſs, a very good reaſon why you ſhould command your friend.

The contents of your Letter are of two ſorts. In the one you mention your own hypotheſis with relation to the confuſion of languages at the tower of Babel: in the other, you aſk me ſome particular queſtions relating to the different circumſtances of the Eaſtern languages.

As to the confuſion of languages, the moſt learned Jews, I find, are very much divided in their opinions, which is a conſideration not to be wholly neglected; becauſe, it not being a religious controverſy, it is evident that they ſpeak according to the beſt of their judgements and traditions, unbiaſſed by any prejudice.

You know, Sir, that the beſt of the judgements of the Rabbins in this very polite and learned age paſs for mere reveries; and indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that the beſt of them had a quite different way of writing from what is in uſe with us. However, you will give me leave to touch upon the opinions of two or three of them of the moſt eminent character.

I paſs by the opinions of R. Bechai and Rabbi Levi Ben Gerſhon as trifling; the former will needs have it, that the builders of the tower having been ſenſible of the deſtruction of the world by water, did it to ſecure themſelves from the future deſtruction of it by fire. The other excuſes them from all manner of blame, and inſtead of making a *judgement*

of it, interprets it as a *mercy*, viz. *That if all mankind were to live in one place, ſome ſignal calamity, as fire, water, peſtilence, or the like, might poſſibly be the cauſe of the extirpation of the whole race; whereas, if they were diſperſed, it would not be ſo probable.*

The author of the comment called Chizkuni hath, according to the Jewiſh traditions, made a greater miracle of the people before the diſperſion than could be poſſibly in the diſperſion itſelf: for he interprets theſe words, *ſo that one man ſhall not underſtand another*, thus: * *Every one ſhould forget every language but one; ſo that what this underſtood, the other ſhould not: now all of them underſtood ſeventy languages, and we muſt not interpret it as if at this time ſeventy new tongues were created, they were not all new.* This notion of the ſeventy languages is manifeſtly taken from the diviſion of the branches of the families of Japhet, Ham, and Shem, in the chapter before, which amount to juſt ſeventy: and the Jews are ſo fond of this notion, that they will needs have every perſon of their Sanhedrin to have underſtood ſeventy languages as a neceſſary qualification, that he might not be beholden to an interpreter in the hearing cauſes and examining witneſſes. But enough of this; for it is plain, that thoſe Rabbins were never at the pains of learning any other language than their own, or elſe they would never have talked after that manner.

Rabbi Abraham Aben Ezrah and R. Solomon Jarchi roundly affirm, that the שפה אחת, *one lip*, was the Hebrew tongue. Which notion ſeems not to be built upon any certain foundation, notwithſtanding the great pains that have been taken to make it good. The Rabbins ſay that out of prejudice in favour of their own language, and they would have done the ſame if it had been Dutch. The Syro-Chaldeans do the ſame on the other ſide; and, I believe, whoſoever impartially reads the preface of that learned Maronite, George Amira, who firſt printed the Syriac grammar at Rome, will be of the ſame opinion with myſelf; that he hath at leaſt (if not obtained an entire victory) made it a drawn battle between the antiquity of the Chaldee and Hebrew. R. Solomon Jarchi is of opinion, that דברים אחדים, *one ſpeech*, ſignifies *one conſent*; and ſome

* שכל אחד ואחד ישכח כל הלשונות אלה אחד וטה שיודע זה לא ידע זה אבל כלם ביחדורעו שבעים לשון ואין לפדש שבאותו הו מן נבראו שבעים לשונות הדי אין כל חדש:

are

are of opinion that thoſe expreſſions, *one language*, and *of one ſpeech* both uſed in the firſt verſe of the eleventh chapter of Geneſis, are ſynonymous expreſſions for the ſame meaning. If that meaning could be made out, then it is plain, that the confounding their language would be only confounding their deſign. The ſame Rabbi Solomon hath given a ſtrange interpretation of theſe words, * *And they ſaid one to another*; for he ſays, that it was each nation to each nation; *viz.* Mizraim ſpake to Cûſh, and Cûſh to Phût, and Phût to Chanaan. The ſame interpretation is in the Tanchuma or Jelammedenu. This interpretation directly interferes with our prolepſis by which we reconcile the immediately foregoing chapter with the preſent; for in the former we have the nations divided according to their ſeveral languages, and immediately after an account of this diviſion of languages aſcribed to the building of the tower of Babel; but be that how it will, we are not ſo much concerned for the reputation of Rabbi Solomon Jarchi.

Rabbi Moſes Nachmanides, inferior in reputation to none of the Rabbins, is forced to come to an allegorical interpretation. His words run thus: † *The perſons diſperſed at Babel (according to our Rabbins) rebelled againſt their Creator. But thoſe that follow the literal interpretation* [*are of opinion*] *that they meant nothing but only to form a ſociety: alledging this reaſon,* viz. *that the ſcripture hath given an account of their meaning* [in theſe words] leſt we ſhould be diſperſed, *without adding any thing elſe. If it be as they ſay, they* [*i. e.* the builders of Babel] *were fools; for how ſhould one city and one tower contain all mankind? unleſs you will ſuppoſe, that they had no expectation of increaſing and multiplying, and that* the ſeed of the wicked ſhall be cut off; *but whoſoever underſtands the meaning of* a name, *will underſtand what they meant by what they ſaid,* let us make us a NAME.

Now, Sir, I have laid before you the opinions of the moſt celebrated Rabbins that I had within my reach. You are pleaſed to give me liberty

* Ver. 3.

† ואנשי הפלגה על דברי רבותינו מורדים בבוראם ורובי הפשט שלא היה דעתם אלא שיהיו יחד מהוברים כי הגיד הכתוב דעתם פן גפוץ ולא ספר עליהם ענין אחר: ואם כדבריהם יהיו טפשים כי איך תהיה עיר אחת ומגדל אחת מספיק לכל בניהעולם או שמא היו הושבים שלא יפרו ושלא יברו וזרע רשעים יכרת אבל היודע פירוש שם יבין כונתם במה שאמרו ונעשה לנו שם:

to

to offer any objection which I ſhould think material againſt your main deſign, which is to prove, *That the preſent differences of our languages can be accounted for no other way, than by the confuſion of the tongues* at Babel. You know, Sir, it is not in my power to refuſe you any thing; wherefore, to oblige you, and for argument's ſake, I ſhall propoſe what ſeems to me moſt obvious and likely to be objected; and then proceed to anſwer, as well as I am able, your particular queries concerning the Oriental language.

Now as to the difference of languages; we muſt conſider, that the firſt hint we had of it is from this preſent controverted text of ſcripture, Gen. xi. 1. Our interpretation of the text muſt reſult both from the literal meaning of it, and from what the nature of the thing will bear; for, unleſs both be had due regard to, all the interpreters in the world will allow, that there can be no accommodation between the common reading of the ſcripture and the common underſtanding of mankind.

As for the literal meaning, it is plain, that כל־ הארץ, *Col-haaretz, the whole earth*, is uſed in ſo many places of ſcripture where it would be abſurd to tranſlate it ſo as to underſtand *all the world* or *all mankind* by it, that it is needleſs to produce the inſtances. From whence I conclude, that the univerſality of this confuſion cannot be inferred from the literal interpretation of the words of the text.

The nature of the thing ſeems to offer a great many objections at firſt view: for if we conſider mankind to have been in all ages the very ſame that it is at this preſent, their being all at once of the ſame mind will be a greater miracle than the confuſion of languages itſelf. And if they were ſo at that time, I believe it is the firſt inſtance that can be produced ſince the creation; and the laſt that is to be expected till the reſurrection. No queſtion but there was ſuch an undertaking: but then one may imagine it to have been like the going out of a ſwarm of bees, which never leaves the hive empty. And it is hard to ſuppoſe, that ſince they were under no deſpotic power to compel them, nor under any univerſal calamity (which was the caſe of the children of Iſrael, who, no doubt, came out of Ægypt unanimouſly) that there might not be ſome of them, who might have fixed their habitations nearer Mount Ararat where the ark reſted, without any deſire of rambling. And if there were any ſuch, which is not much to be queſtioned, there is no need that the ſacred hiſtorian ſhould take notice of them; for I need not tell you, Sir, that there is nothing ſo

common

common in the ſcripture, as the omiſſion of a multitude of things, which muſt needs be ſuppoſed to have been done, and touching only upon the moſt eminent and remarkable; and that in ſuch a general way of ſpeaking, as muſt be underſtood only by acquainting one's ſelf with it; for if we, inſtead of accommodating ourſelves to their cuſtoms and manner of expreſſion, ſhall ſcrew it to our modern way, we ſhall cut out work for the reconcilers to the world's end.

But allowing for once that they might poſſibly have been all of one mind in this undertaking, give me leave to offer one argument to prove that they were not. Now I argue ſtill upon the ſame difference of mankind as before: and as, if it had been a pious, or at leaſt innocent, deſign, there would not have been wanting turbulent ſpirits to have oppoſed it (for that ſame accurſed Cham, that ridiculed his father after the moſt beaſtly manner, would hardly have made any ſcruple of diſobeying him); ſo, on the other ſide, as it was a wicked deſign, founded either upon the diſbelief of the Divine Providence or defiance of his power, there were not wanting men of ſuch ſingular uprightneſs (for Noah and Sem were both then alive) as would not only not have complied with any thing that expreſſed the leaſt diſtruſt in God, but, which all good men always do, have reſtrained all thoſe that they had any influence upon from being concerned in any ſuch undertaking.

From whence will follow, that all mankind were not engaged in that work, and conſequently not all puniſhed. But to proceed: I would aſk again of Rabbi Levi Ben Gerſhom (the only interpreter that hath exempted them from blame) what need there was of any miracle at all to diſperſe them? None at all, moſt certainly. Which is an undeniable proof of its being a wicked deſign, and ſtruck at by the divine vengeance at the very beginning; for that is undoubtedly the meaning of thoſe words where God ſays, *and this they begin to do* *: whereas if it had been an innocent one, it muſt have fallen to pieces in a very little time. How long do you ſuppoſe that theſe builders could have ſubſiſted upon the plains of Shinar? Aſk any experienced officer in the army, and he will certainly tell you, that a fortnight's time muſt needs have ſtarved them all. For allow what number ſoever of them you pleaſe to bring in proviſion for the reſt, it is plain, that

* Gen. xi. 6. וזה החלם לעשות.

they muſt have wanted in a ſhorter time. To this purpoſe give me leave to inſert a ſtory which I tranſcribed out of an * Arabic manuſcript in the Bodleian Library. The ſum of it is this. Othman Ben Yuſeph, Sultan of Ægypt, *a whimſical, weak man, had a fancy to demoliſh one of the pyramids in the year of the* Hegirah 593 (*of* Chriſt 1197); *in order to which he aſſembled a vaſt number of workmen, removed his whole court thither, and employed a prodigious number of men, ſome to throw the ſtones down from the top, others to dig them out of the ground again, and others to remove them to another place. It was the little red pyramid which they pitched upon; and after eight months inceſſant labour, and when they had tired out all their men, and conſumed all their proviſion, what they had done came only to this,* viz. *that my author ſays, if you firſt look upon the heap of ſtones that they carried away, you would imagine that the whole pyramid had been demoliſhed; but when you come again to look upon the pyramid, you would not miſs any of it, only a little broken off the top on the one ſide. My author, when he ſaw the large ſtones which they had thrown down, aſked a maſter-workman, whether or no, if any man would give them a thouſand pieces, they could put one of thoſe ſtones into its place again? He ſwore they could not do it, if any man would give them twice as much.* So much for the pyramid; but this by the way: wherefore our ſacred geographers need not, in their maps, build the tower of Babel ſo high, for undoubtedly the Sultan of Ægypt was in a much better condition to demoliſh a building than they to raiſe one.

The ſeventy languages, reckoned up in the tenth chapter immediately foregoing, ſeems to ſome to be a very ſtrange prolepſis. In the fifth verſe it is ſaid †, *By theſe were the iſles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue.* Either they had theſe languages according to their reſpective families before the confuſion of Babel, or elſe they derived them from thence. To affirm the former, takes away the very foundation of your hypotheſis; they therefore derived them from thence. So then it muſt follow, according to Chizkuni, that there was a language reſerved for each family or tribe. So then Javan and Aſhkenaz, two ſons of Japhet, by which the Jews underſtand the Greeks and the Germans: and Mizraim and Chanaan, two ſons of Ham; by which are underſtood the Ægyptians

* Abdóllathif, his Hiſtory of Ægypt.

† מאלה נפרדו et איש ללשנו׃

and

and Canaanites: and Elam and Aram, two ſons of Shem, by which are underſtood the Perſians and Syrians; muſt have gone away from this confuſion with their reſpective dialects into their ſeveral countries. Now the being diſperſed by the divine wrath, carries along with it ſuch a terrible apprehenſion, as is hardly reconcileable to that order and uniformity which they are ranked under in the tenth chapter. For it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that an incenſed Deity had that regard to their families as to reſerve to each of them a diſtinct language; but rather that people, thunderſtruck and frighted out of their ſenſes, and incapable of underſtanding one another, took their chance, and ſhifted for themſelves in the beſt manner they could; and if they were once ſo ſcattered, it is impoſſible to rank them again under their reſpective families, which makes the opinion of Chizkuni, and all thoſe Rabbins who aſſign a different language to each family, ridiculous.

You affirm, Sir, *that as far as we know of the hiſtory of languages, the difference between them can be accounted for no other way, than by a miraculous formation of languages not before known, and eſſentially different from one another at that confuſion of* Babel. Since ſo learned and ſagacious a perſon as yourſelf has undertaken the proof of it, we need not doubt the ſucceſs. I would only aſk, whether the eſſential difference between the languages in America is to be accounted for this way? We are aſſured by thoſe who have travelled there, that there is ſuch a difference in their languages, that a man meets with a new one every fifty miles or thereabout; and what may we conceive it to be at the diſtance of ſo many degrees? It is much to be queſtioned, whether or no, if the world were reduced to its native ſimplicity, and the reſpective languages not ſecured by letters, there would not every day new ones be formed, as eſſentially different from one another, and from any now known to us, as Welſh is from Engliſh. Many times have whole families been driven into deſart places through variety of calamities, which afterwards, proving warlike, and able to grapple with their neighbours, have formed conſiderable kingdoms. Though it muſt be ſuppoſed, that they were almoſt forced to form a language firſt: for inſtance, how much Hebrew might Iſhmael be ſuppoſed to underſtand, when he was at thirteen years of age ſent into the deſart with his mother Hagar? Not ſo much but that his own children as they grew up would of courſe have made it a quite different language, in leſs than forty

years time. I do not mean by the addition of words (for that makes no eſſential difference): but as nature had exerted itſelf in every one of them (which would have been according to its different capacity, and the occaſions and circumſtances of its life), not only new words, *i. e.* nouns, but actives, paſſives, and different particles and conjugations, would have been found out by degrees, as occaſion offered, till at laſt they had ſhaped it into a language, which could only be by allowing each perſon his own invention, and complying with his manner of expreſſing it.

To explain what I mean upon this ſubject more clearly. I take it for granted, that the beginning of language was from applying articulate ſounds to the names of things obvious to the ſenſes; and that the actions and paſſions, which are expreſſed in our verbs, came a long time afterwards to be expreſſed in words, at firſt only by ſigns. This is evident from the behaviour of ignorant foreigners and little children when they begin to ſpeak; who quickly learn the names of things, and are content for a conſiderable time to expreſs their deſire or averſion to them, by different ſounds and various geſtures of their whole bodies. The reaſon is plain, becauſe we are capable of obſerving objects which ſtrike immediately upon our ſenſes, and pointing them out to one another, much ſooner than we make obſervations upon the different operations of them upon each other, in which all our active and paſſive verbs do conſiſt: and no queſtion but the ſenſe which we have ourſelves of pleaſure, pain, heat, cold, hunger, thirſt, and the like, did firſt extort from us thoſe words by which we expreſs any power, action, or paſſion. So he that had never ſeen any blood ſhed muſt of neceſſity, upon the hurting himſelf accidentally, or ſeeing any fight between men or beaſts, return to his clan full of ideas, which he would labour to expreſs, till either ſome of them who had obſerved the ſame helped him out, or elſe they acquieſced in the manner of his expreſſion. The ſame may be ſaid of him that ſaw the firſt fiſh ſwim, or any other thing worth obſerving, that is, which had not been obſerved before.

It was an innocent thought of that prince who made two children to be fed by mutes, that he might find out what was the primitive original language, which God had endued mankind withal; but it is impoſſible to infer any thing from thence, but what, it is to be feared, would conclude againſt your hypotheſis; and that, if ſuch an experiment was made in forty places

places at once, they would, according to the difference of climate, conſtitutions, food, ſounds, and voices of animals which they overheard, and would infallibly endeavour to imitate; from theſe, I ſay, and a variety of other accidents, they would frame languages every one of them eſſentially different from each other. Notwithſtanding what hath been urged by the Rabbins and their followers in behalf of the Hebrew tongue, it is moſt certain that it is no other than the old Canaanitiſh language, and common to the Zidonians and other neighbouring nations. Mr. Webb has written an eſſay to prove that the Chineſe is the primitive language; and one argument (as I remember) that he endeavours to prove it by is its ſimplicity, as conſiſting all of monoſyllables, only varied by different accents as tehù, chè, hù, chà, &c. juſt as children expreſs themſelves when they firſt begin to form articulate ſounds.

I ſhall trouble you no longer, Sir, upon this topic; but proceed to anſwer your queries concerning the Oriental languages and their relation to to Greek and Latin. The Turkiſh, Armenian, Pelhàvi (or old Parthian), Dhéri (or preſent Perſian), and Coptic, are eſſentially different, not only from one another, but from all other languages that we know of in the world. Thoſe which are moſt in uſe among us, and commonly known by the name of Orientals, *viz.* Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, and Æthiopic, are in your ſenſe the ſame language; that is, they do not ſo much differ, but that though there are a vaſt many words, phraſes, formations, and conſtructions, uſed in one which are not in the other, yet they make no eſſential difference any more than there is between Latin and Greek.

You ſay, Sir, *that the eſſence or form of a tongue is not to be drawn ſo much from the words that compoſe it, as from the grammar by which theſe words are framed and put together.*

That the grammars of Hebrew and Greek are eſſentially different.

I confeſs, I was a little ſurpriſed at the firſt reading of your firſt propoſition; but I take the meaning of it be this: that if *cupio* did ſignify *to hear*, and *audio to deſire*, and ſo of the reſt of the nouns and verbs in the Latin tongue; the eſſence or form of that language, notwithſtanding the difference of the words, would be ſtill the ſame, ſo long as the conjugations, ſyntax, and influence of the particles are the ſame.

Wherefore, to ſet this matter in as clear a light as I am able, let us on the one ſide take the Greek (under which I comprehend the Latin) and

the

the Arabick (under which we rank the other five Orientals): and by comparing them a little together, obſerve wherein the eſſential difference lies with relation to conſtruction.

And ſince you do not place the eſſential difference in the words but in the grammar, the difference is not altogether ſo great as would at firſt ſight be imagined. The Greek and Arabick agree in this: 1. That they have the dual number both in their nouns and verbs; 2. That the preceding noun governs the following one in the genitive caſe; 3. That Neuters plural (the Arabick feminine ſerves for both feminine and neuter) are conſtrued with verbs ſingular; 4. That the article ال *al* in Arabick is the ſame with ὁ, ἡ, τὸ, in Greek, with this difference, that you prefix your Greek article commonly to proper names, as ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, &c. but you do not ſay in Arabick,

Mahomet	آل محمد	Al Mohammed,	but	Mohammed.
Abraham	لابرهم	Al Ibrahim,		Ibrahim.
Moſes	الموسي	Al Muſa,		Muſa.

5. The Arabick nouns are governed by particles, as in the Greek: where it is to be obſerved that they have but three caſes in Arabick; viz. the nominative, the genitive, and the accuſative. The nominative ſupplies the defect of the vocative, and the genitive ſupplies the defect of the dative and ablative. An accuſative caſe in Arabick ſeldom follows any particle (and then it is either exceptive or negative), but moſt commonly a verb.

So much for a ſpecimen of their agreement. The eſſential difference lies, as you have juſtly obſerved, in the conjugations; which will ſtand in a clearer light when we come to the Παράδειγμα which you deſired me to ſend you.

The next difficulties to be conſidered are the affixes in the Arabick, and the compounds in the Greek: there is not ſo much eſſential difference in this matter as appears at firſt ſight.

As to the affixes, they are nothing but curtailed pronouns joined to the ends of verbs; and whether they be joined or not, makes no eſſential difference.

For example.

Arabick.		Hebrew.		Latin.
ضربي	Darabani.	Hiccáni	הִכַּנִי	Verberavit me.
ضربک	Darabaca.	Hiccáca	הִכְּךָ	Verberavit te.
ضربه	Darabaho.	Hiccáhu	הִכָּהוּ	Verberavit eum.

In Greck, τέτυφε με, τέτυφε σε, &c.

In Engliſh it is exactly the ſame in our ordinary ſpeech as it is in Hebrew and Arabick. If the tenſe be formed after this manner,

Sing.	Plur.
He beat me.	He beat us.
He beat thee.	He beat you.
He beat him.	He beat them.

So that when we firſt begin to learn Hebrew we wonder at the affixes and ſuffixes, as being quite different from what we ever met with before; when we uſe it in our ordinary diſcourſe every day.

Beſides you know, Sir, that Oriental pronouns are not varied by caſes; and when they join them to the verbs, they abbreviate them a little *cuphoniæ gratia*, which ſignifies no more than if one ſhould ſay *audillum* for *audi illum*, and not ſo much as *ſis* for *ſi vis*. So much for the affixes of verbs; thoſe of the nouns conſiſt in having the pronoun poſſeſſive ſet after the noun, as דְּבָרִי *verbum meum*, &c. Only in Greek and Latin theſe are not joined as in Hebrew * and Arabick.

As for the compounds; I have been often aſked by very learned men, how it was poſſible for the Arabick tongue to expreſs the fulneſs of the Greek without compounds? The anſwer in ſhort is this, partly becauſe of the variation and force of the Eaſtern conjugations, not to be expreſſed by any Weſtern language; partly becauſe the Arabick is not ſo much without compoſition in reality, as is vulgarly imagined. The reaſon of which is, that the Arabick particles which come between the verb and the noun following do abundantly perform the office of thoſe which are prefixed to a Greek verb; for which reaſon, in the beſt lexicons, there is always an ex-

* For a philoſophical account of the Hebrew tongue, I refer you to Spinoſa's Hebrew Grammar, at the end of his Opera Poſthuma.

ample

ample given of the particle with which ſuch or ſuch a verb is conſtrued. So for inſtance, خرج *Hhâraja* ſignifies *prodire, to go out.*

خرج	من	البيت
Hhâraja	min	albeit.
ἐξῆλθεν	ἐκ	τῦ οἴκῦ.
He went	out of	the houſe.

Where *min* ſignifies the ſame with ἐκ, and ſo you will find there is a redundancy in the Greek compoſition; whereas the Arabick verb with the particle ſubjoined performs all that the Greek doth with its two prepoſitions, one of which is prefixed to the verb, and the other cometh between it and the noun following. In Latin you ſay *aſcendit montem:* the Arabian either expreſſes all that meaning in one verb, or elſe he would ſay *ſcandit ad montem,* which is all one, and expreſſes the force of the compoſition.

Now followeth the Paradeigma.

Con-jugat.	Arab. Formæ.	Poteſtas.	Signification.	Arab. Verb.	Poteſtas.
I.	فقد	Fâkada.	[Denotes a ſimple action.] He beat.	ضرب	Dâraba.
II.	فقد	Fâkkada.	He ſet people together by the ears, i. e. to beat one another.	ضرب	Dârraba.
III.	فاقد	Fâkada †.	He fought.	ضارب	Dâraba.
IV.	أفقد	Afkada.	He made ſomebody beat ſomebody elſe.	أضرب	Adraba.
V.	تفقد	Tafâkkada.	He beat himſelf.	تضرب	Tadârraba.
VI.	تفاقد	Tafâkada.†	They beat one another,	تضارب	Tadâraba.
VII.	إنفقد	Infâkada.	It was broken.	إنكسر	Inkâſara.
VIII.	إفتقد	Iſtâkada.	He was vehemently ſhaken or ſhattered every way.	إضرب	Iddâraba.
IX.	إفقد	Ifkâdda.	He turned pale.	إبيض	Ibyâdda.
X.	إستفقد	Iſtâfkada.	He deſired ſuch a perſon to be witneſs for him.	إستشهد	Iſtâſhada.
XI.	إفقاد	Ifkâdda.†	He turned black.	إسواد	Iſwâdda.
XII.	إفقوذ	Ifkâukada.	It was very thick.	إخشوشن	Ichſhâwſhana.
XIII.	إفقود	Ifkâwwada.	It ſtuck cloſe.	إعلوصا	Iyláwwada.

† The circumflex in the third, ſixth, and eleventh conjugations muſt be nicely diſtinguiſhed.

He-

Conjugat.	Hebrew.	Poteſtas.	Conjugat.
I.	פָּקַד	Fakàd.	Kal.
II.	פִּקֵּד	Fikkȝd.	Piȝl.
III.			
IV.	הִפְקִיד	Hiphkid.	Hif-il.
V.	הִתְפַּקֵּד	Hithpakkȝd.	Hithpaȝl.
VI.			
VII.	נִפְקַד	Nifkàd.	Nif-àl.

Five of the Hebrew conjugations are plain from this active form. Pual and Hophal are only the paſſives of the ſecond and fourth, which are *fókkida* and *ofkida*, exactly agreeing with *púkkad* and *hophkad*.

You ſee, Sir, I was obliged to patch up my form of the Arabick verb with ſome other words; becauſe there is not any one word in the whole language that can poſſibly go through all conjugations.

Hithpael * in Hebrew is manifeſtly the ſame with the fifth conjugation in Arabick both in form and ſignification. In the future it is يتفقد *yɛtefákkedo*, i. e. יִתְפַּקֵּד *yithpakkȝd*. So Niphal is the ſame with the ſeventh conjugation. In the future it is *yenfákido*, where the Nun is expreſſed in the Arabick and ſupplied by Dageſch in the Hebrew. If you read it with a Dageſch, it is *yeffákido*, *yippakȝd*.

You aſk, wherein Piȝl and Pual intrinſically differ from Kal or Niphal; the anſwer is, that they come nearer to the ſignification and force of Hiphil and Hophal, i. e. have a tranſitive ſignification. And the active denotes an influence upon, and the paſſive an influence received from, another.

Now as to the ſignification of the Arabick Verbs. The firſt conjugation gives the naked primitive ſignification of the word, either tranſitive or intranſitive.

The ſecond and fourth make ſimple verbs tranſitives. So حزن *Házzana* and احزن *A'hhzana*, *To make a man ſorrowful*. See Erpenius.

The third ſignifies an action upon any object capable of returning it again, as غزل *gâzala*, *to talk amorouſly*.

* The force of that conjugation is expreſſed in Greek by ἑαυτοντιμωρέμενος.

The fifth is oftentimes the paſſive of the firſt ſignification, and oftentimes reciprocal, as הִתְפַּעֵל in Hebrew.

The ſixth is reciprocal between two parties, and ſignifies the doing of any thing together, as *playing*, *fighting*, *talking*, &c.

The ſeventh is paſſive of the firſt.

The eighth has ſometimes the ſignification of the firſt, ſometimes uſed as in the paradeigma.

The ninth and eleventh expreſs nothing but colours: the former in a weaker degree; the latter in as intenſe a ſignification as can be conceived. If you would ſay any perſon was *white*, *black*, or *yellow*, then you uſe the ninth conjugation; if he was very much ſo, then the eleventh.

The tenth ſignifies petition, as إستغفر *Iſtágfara*, *he asked pardon.*

As for the twelth and thirteenth conjugations, they only make the ſignification of the word more intenſe. They are very rarely uſed. You may read twenty voluminous Arabick authors, and hardly meet with either of them.

Now if theſe rules held conſtantly, it would be as eaſy ſtudying Arabick as to go to ſea when the longitude is known. But he that, underſtanding a primitive word, ſhould go to tranſlate it through the ſeveral conjugations by theſe rules given us by the grammarians, would make a wretched piece of work of it. I will produce two or three inſtances, which I obſerved in reading *Janbary*, a famous Arabick lexicographer. صعد *ſaïda* in the firſt conjugation ſignifies *to go up*. According to the rule, it ought in the ſecond and fourth conjugations to ſignify *to make ſomebody elſe go up*. Inſtead of this, in the ſecond conjugation it hath only an active ſignification, that is, *to climb a hill*; and in the fourth *to travel*. So ملح *málabha* [from the Hebrew מִלָּה] ſignifies *to ſeaſon a pot*. املح *ámlabha* in the fourth conjugation doth not ſignify to employ another perſon to do it, but it ſignifies *to ſeaſon it overmuch*. So مرض *marida* ſignifies *to be ſick*. مرض *márrada*, in the ſecond conjugation, ſignifies *to take care of a ſick perſon*. In which ſignification it agrees with the Hebrew Piël, as חִטֵּא *to ſin*, חִטֵּא *to expiate ſin*. So حسن *hkáſona* ſignifies *a thing was very good*; but استحسن *Iſtáhhſana* in the tenth conjugation doth not ſignify according to

to the rule, *to ask for a good thing*, but it is a ſign *of liking and approbation of the goodneſs of it*. All that can be ſaid is this, that theſe are the moſt general rules that can be laid down: the reſt muſt be attained by conſtant uſe and long experience; for you cannot conclude with any certainty any thing from the uſe of one word relating to the ſignification of another. The Greek tongue gives us no leſs difficulty another way, viz. by the variety of the ſignifications of the prepoſitions in the compound verbs; without which the trouble of underſtanding it would be very inconſiderable in reſpect of what it is at preſent.

The beſt help in the Arabick tongue is, to be thoroughly acquainted with the force of the particles, and obſerve exactly how they follow every verb.

There is one thing more remarkable in the Arabick tongue, which gave me ſome trouble when I firſt ſtudied it; and that is, that the participle paſſive, if the Active denotes any thing *great*, ſignifies a privation of it. So شارف *ſhárif* is *noble:* مشروف *meſhroúph, ignoble:* فاضل *fádil, excellent:* مفضول *mephdoúl, good for nothing*. What deceives beginners is their attending more to the Latin interpretation in their lexicons than to the genius of the language they ſtudy. In theſe two inſtances, whoever takes them as adjectives will be at a loſs to find out the meaning of the paſſive participle. But remember the active participle, and tranſlate *ſhárif, one that doth noble things*, and the paſſive will ſignify, *one that is outdone in noble things*. So *fádil, excelling: mephdoúl, excelled*, i. e. *good for nothing*. عالم *álim, knowing*. معلوم *meloúm, known*.

Your laſt query is, "Whether there have been any eſſential variations in the Arabick grammar ſince Mahomet's time, and whether the Alcoran be not grammatically written in the ſame language which is now ſpoken in the empire of Fez and in Arabia Felix?"

There has never been any eſſential variation in the Arabick language that we know of. Janhary, a famous Arabick lexicographer, who finiſhed his great work in the year of the Hegirah 390, of Chriſt 1000) quotes a great many verſes of celebrated poets before the time of Mahomet; which are reckoned the pureſt and moſt authentic part of the language. And, bating the compliment which they pay to the Alcoran out of ſuperſtition,

there is never a learned man among them who will not readily allow that the Arabick tongue was at its perfection long before Mahomet *. They own the preſervation, not only of their language, but of their genealogies, hiſtory, and whatſoever was worth remembering, to their poetry. They uſed to meet every year at the famous fair of Ochad, where there was nothing done for a whole month together but reciting poems, and outvying one another that way. Thoſe verſes which were beſt approved were hung up amongſt other curioſities and rarities collected by kings and princes. Among which are the Moallakât, ſeven famous poems, before Mahomet's time, tranſlated into Latin by our late learned Syke, but never publiſhed †, which ſome will have to have been hung up in the temple of Meccah, but the author of Camûs ſays that that opinion wants proof.

That there was writing among ſome of the Arabs appears probable from ſome ancient inſcriptions mentioned in Dr. Pocock's Specimen ‡; but ſo far from being univerſal that Ebn Chalecân, a celebrated hiſtorian, and of good credit §, ſays, that when Mahomet firſt publiſhed the Alcoran, there was not ſo much as one man in all Arabia Felix that could either write or read.

The Alcoran is grammatically written in the ſame language which is now ſpoken in the empire of Fez and in Arabia Felix; nor is there any other alteration of it that I could ever learn, any more than muſt be neceſſarily ſuppoſed, conſidering the diſtance of the countries in which it is ſpoken: that is, no more than the Greek and Latin were varied after the conqueſts of Alexander the Great and the Romans. All places ‖ do not ſpeak the ſame language in equal perfection; nor was the Latin in Spain and Africa the ſame as in Italy; nor the Greek ſpoken in Ægypt the ſame as in Antioch. The Arabick tongue is ſpoken in perfection at Bagdad and many other cities of note, and varies from itſelf no otherwiſe than Ammianus Marcellinus doth from Cicero or Livy.

* See Pocock's Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum, p. 158.

† They have lately been given to the publick, with an elegant Engliſh verſion, by the juſtly celebrated Sir William Jones, now one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in the Eaſt Indies. J. N.

‡ Specimen, p. 154. § Ib. p. 156.

‖ So Cicero Divinat. in Verrem. "Si litteras Græcas Athenis non Lilybæi: Latinas Romæ non in Sicilia didiciſſes.

As

As for Locman's Fables, they are no other than a tranſlation out of the Greek of Æſop of modern date; after Almamoun * had encouraged the tranſlation of Greek books into Arabick. There was, it ſeems, one Locman famous among the Arabs for his wiſdom and ſagacity, whom they will have to have been contemporary with David. Mahomet hath prefixed his name to the xxxiſt chapter of the Alcoran. And the ſcribler that tranſlated theſe fables out of Greek was willing to aſcribe the credit of them to his own nation. It is no new thing among them to add, or detract, or mangle, which way ſoever their fancy leads them, any book that paſſeth through their hands.

Thus far, learned Sir, I have endeavoured, according to my poor ability, to anſwer thoſe things which you were pleaſed to propoſe to me. If you find me miſtaken, your candour will excuſe it. If there be any thing elſe that lies within the narrow compaſs of my little ſphere; aſſure yourſelf that you may at all times command,

Reverend Sir, your moſt obliged, humble ſervant,

Sweaveſey, June 25, 1714. SIMON OCKLEY.

* He was inaugurated Caliph in the year of the Hegira 198, of Chriſt 813.

For

For the following curious DISSERTATION the Editor is indebted to the Kindneſs of Dr. HENRY OWEN, who has permitted his Name to be thus joined to that of his late worthy Friend Mr. BOWYER.

WE read, 1 Kings, x. 22. and 2 Chron. ix. 21. that "once in three years came the navy of Tharſhiſh, bringing gold and ſilver, ivory and *apes* and *peacocks*." Heb. קופים ותוכיים.

There can be no doubt about the meaning of the text, unleſs perhaps it be about the interpretation of the two laſt words.

The words themſelves may juſtly be reckoned among the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα; as they occur only in theſe two places, one of which is a tranſcript of the other.

They ſeem to be likewiſe *technical* terms, and of foreign extraction. For in the Oriental verſions they are, allowing for the difference of dialects, exactly the ſame as in the Hebrew; and remain in all untranſlated.

Thus the Chaldee Paraphraſe has וקופין וטוסין, literâ כ in ס mutatâ; and the Syriac ܩܘܦ ܘܬܘܟܝ, ve *kuphe*, ve *thuſe*.

The Latin tranſlations annexed to theſe ſeveral verſions in our Engliſh Polyglott, uniformly make the words in queſtion, to ſignify *apes* and *peacocks*. But whether theſe modern Latin tranſlations give us the true, preciſe meaning of the words, is a point that merits diſcuſſion.

With reſpect to the Greek verſion, the Alexandrian MS. in Kings, reads καὶ πιθήκων, καὶ ταώνων, & ſimiarum, & pavonum: but the Vatican very differently, καὶ λίθων τορευτῶν καὶ πελεκητῶν *, & lapidum tornatorum & dolatorum. In Chron. the Vatican has καὶ πιθήκων and no more. And herein the Alexandrian agrees with it. But the Complutenſian edition has καὶ πιθήκων καὶ θεκείμ: which laſt word is evidently the Hebrew תכיים expreſſed in Greek characters.

* It is a matter of ſome uncertainty, whether theſe words are intended for a tranſlation of the Hebrew וקופים ותכיים, or of the other foreign term שנהבים. In either caſe the Vatican is defective.

Though

Though the general agreement among the learned, in rendering the words by *apes* and *peacocks*, may by looked upon as a ſtrong preſumption, that they have rendered them right; yet are there ſome conſiderations, which would lead one to imagine, that ſome other things might have been really meant: things of worth and value, ſerviceable to the ſtate; and conducive to private and public utility.

The value and importance of the three firſt articles, viz. gold, ſilver, and ivory, we all know; and we ſee, 1 Kings, x. 16, &c. to what excellent purpoſes they were applied. But of what utility were *apes* and *peacocks*, or, as others render it, *parrots?* Were *theſe* fit to be made a conſtant part of a ſtated cargo, imported for the ſervice and benefit of the ſtate? Could it be either prudent or politic in Solomon to croud his ſhip (τολοῖον γέμον, 2 Chron.) with ſuch uſeleſs animals, when the place afforded various articles, which his people daily wanted, and without which they could not live? Of theſe neceſſary articles I ſhall mention only ſpices; for which they had peculiar demand both on a civil and religious account. What vaſt quantities of ſpices were expended in the temple-ſervice, in making the holy oil, and the perfume, Exod. xxx. 23, 34. and in various other ways (ſee Joſephus de B. J. c. viii. § 3.), is well known.

Might we not therefore expect to find that great quantities of them were ſtatedly imported by this royal navy (beſides what were brought by the ſpice-merchants, 1 Kings, x. 15.), as well for public as for private uſe? And if we examine the text narrowly, we may perhaps have ſome reaſon to conclude, that this was really the caſe.

Let us then minutely conſider it. It was before obſerved, that the words are not properly Hebrew. They were in their origin, moſt probably, Egyptian: and from thence, by means of commerce, adopted afterwards by the Syrians and Chaldeans, &c.

Now in Syriac, the word ܟܘܦܝ, *kuphi*, ſignifies *a compound perfume*, or *incenſe*, which they offered in their temples to the Gods. And Plutarch tells us, that the incenſe which the Egyptians offered in the evening, and which was a mixture compoſed of ſixteen aromatic ingredients, was likewiſe called κῦφι. De Iſid. & Oſirid. § 81. ed. Squire. Let this word then reſt on theſe authorities.

As to the other, viz. תוכים or טוסין, it may be explained thus, though perhaps not ſo fully and authoritatively as the former.

The Chaldaic and Syriac word טוס or טוש (from whence comes the Latin *thus*, as the Greek Λίβανος from the Hebrew לבנה) ſeems to be a generick term (like the Hebrew בשם), comprehending under it the various ſorts of volatile aromatic gums; ſuch as frankincenſe, myrrh, galbanum, ſtacte, olibanum, &c. which enter into the compoſition of perfumes and ointments. Vid. Caſtelli Lex. in voc. טוס & טוש. And when we reflect how many of theſe ſpices are required by the Moſaic law for the purpoſe of making the holy perfume and holy ointment, Exod. xxx. 23—38, not to mention other uſes, we cannot but think them a valuable and neceſſary article of importation: eſpecially as Judea could ſupply but little of them.

If there be any ſolidity in theſe obſervations, the text may be rendered thus: "Once in three years came the navy of Tharſhiſh, bringing gold and ſilver, ivory and *ſpices of different ſorts, both in a compound and a ſimple form.*"

The

The following little Diſquiſitions on a curious Biblical Subject, by Mr. COSTARD and Mr. BRYANT, being purchaſed at the Sale of the former's Library, may be deemed no improper Supplement to the Miſcellaneous Works of a common Friend of both.

GOSHEN ſeems to have been the Delta of the Greeks in general, at leaſt that part of it which was habitable in the time of Joſeph. It is called ſo from the form of it. The word جوش *Guſh*, ſignifies *cor, a heart*. And nothing is more common than the adding ن *n*, at the end of words in the Eaſtern languages, ſo that جوش and جوشن *Guſh* and *Guſhen*, or *Goſhen*, all mean the ſame thing, *a heart*. And this will give a better reaſon why a *heart*, placed over a burning altar, was made a ſymbol of Egypt than that given by Hierapollo, who indeed is a moſt egregious trifler.

The particular ſpot inhabited by the Iſraelites was called the Land of Rameſes (Gen. xlvii. 11.), from a city of that name which, probably, was the capital of that diſtrict. And it was from that city that the Iſraelites began their march (Exod. xii. 37.) Inſtead of the Land of Rameſes (Gen. xlvii. 11.) the Arabic verſion hath the Land of عين شمس *Ain Shems*. The Nubian geographer ſays, p. 98. "Ex parte meridionali Foſtat jacet "Oppidum Menf. Et ad plagam ejus ſeptentrionalem urbs *Ain Semes* dic- "ta. Sunt autem ambæ quaſi rura ſitæ in parte quæ reſpicit montem "*Mocattam*."

"Foſtat (ſays the ſame Nubian geographer, p. 97.) eſt ipſamet *Metzr*, "ſic dicta a Meſram filio Cam, filii Noe." "Valet autem hæc vox," (ſays Golius, Not. in Alfergan. p. 151. "tabernaculum, vicum, urbem." It was

* Pſ. lxxxvii. 4. lxxxix. 10. Iſa. li. 9. Egypt is called Rahab.

ſo called, ſays the Nubian geographer, p. 97. "quod volente Amro filio "Aas poſt captam Metzr proficiſci Alexandriam præceperit ut præcederet "eum Alfoſtat, & ſigeretur..... accidit ut columba deſcenderet, ovumque "in ejus vertice pareret ..... Itaque relicto tentorio manſit in Metzr uſ- "que ad ortum pulli columbæ, & tum profectus eſt."

Amrus Ebn Aas conquered Egypt, anno Hegirah 18, or anno Chriſti 640. Therefore Foſtat may be looked on as a modern place, but Metzr (or مصر), to which it joins, ſays the ſame Nubian geographer, p. 97, "vo- "cabatur etiam antea Ain Semes," i. e. عين شمس Ain Shems. Therefore Foſtat, Metzr, and Ain-Shems may be looked on as names of one and the ſame place. But the laſt of theſe is not true.

Not far from Metzr, or Fuſtat, is Cairo, as it is called by the Europeans. It was begun anno Hegirah 360, or anno Chriſti 970, by Gjeuhar (جوهر) general of the forces of Moez-lidin-illah. As this new town increaſed, Fuſtat, or Metzr, fell to decay, and at the ſame time became diſtinguiſhed by the name of القاهرة العتيقة the Old Kahirah, or Old Cairo, as it is ſtill called.

When Moez-lidin-illah, therefore, is ſaid, by Abulfaragius, Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 207, to have entered Al Kahirah without ſtriking a ſtroke, it muſt be underſtood of this Old Cairo, and not of the other which was not then built. And this obſervation is neceſſary in order to avoid confuſion.

Abulfedah, in his Geography, ſpeaking of منف Menph, or Memphis, adds, وهي مصر القديمة "this is Old Mitzr." He then adds, وهي من غربي النيل ولما فتحها بن العاصي وخربها وبني الفسطاط من البر الاخر "this was ſituated on the weſtern ſide of the "Nile, but when Amrou-Ebnol-Aaſi took it and demoliſhed it, he then "built Foſtat on the land on the other ſide." This is all that Golius, in his Notes on Alferganius, p. 152, quotes from Abulfedah. But Schultens, in his Geographical Index, at the end of his Life of Saladin, adds, وبمنف اثار عظيمة مذهلة من الصخور المنحوتة المصورة وعليها دهان اخضر وغيره باق الي يومنا هذا لم يتغير من الشمس

الشمس وغيره علي طول هذه المدة* "In Menph are vaſt re-
"mains, but neglected, of ſtones carved with a variety of figures and co-
"vered with a green ſurface. There are likewiſe remaining there other
"things, not at all altered by the ſun or other accidents, though for ſo
"many ages."

It appears then that Memphis was built on the weſtern ſide of the Nile, and was looked on as the capital of Egypt (Mitzr), and from thence had itſelf the name of Mitzr مصر. That it retained that name till Amrou took it, and built Foſtat over againſt it on the eaſtern ſide of the river, when Foſtat took the name of Mitzr, مصر. That afterwards, when Geuhar, جوهار, built Kahirah or Cairo contiguous to it, Foſtat became not only Mitzr, but Old Cairo.

What Abulfedah means, as cited by Schultens above, when he adds, ومنف من مصر علي مرحلة قريبة Menph is diſtant from Mitzr about a ſtation, is hard to ſay. For, however uncertain that meaſure is, it cannot poſſibly agree with its diſtance from Foſtat, or Cairo, which was but juſt acroſs the river. It is poſſibly therefore nothing more than an interpolation.

The Nubian geographer, as obſerved before, makes Metzr to have been called at firſt Ain Shems. But it doth not appear that Memphis on the weſtern ſide of the Nile was ever called ſo, or that there ever was a place ſo called on the eaſtern ſide, where Foſtat, or Old Cairo, was afterwards built. Indeed Abulfedah particularly diſtinguiſhes Ain Shems from Cairo, and makes it be at the diſtance of half a ſtation from it. وعين شمس في زماننا رسم وليس بها ديار ويقال انها كانت مدينة فرعون وبها اثار قديمة عظيمة مذهلة من الصخور العظيمة وبها عمود عدسي مربع يسمي مسلة فرعون طوله نحو ثلثين ذراعا وهي عن القاهرة علي نصف مرحلة وعندها ضيعة تسمي مطريه وهي من القاهرة في جهة الشمال علي درب الشام*
"Ain Shems in our days is nothing but ruins without any houſes in it. It
"is ſaid to have been the city where Pharaoh reſided. There are many

" large and ancient, but neglected ruins of large ſtones. There is in it a " ſharp-pointed ſtone called Pharaoh's Needle, the length of it is about " thirty cubits. It is diſtant from Al-Kahirah near half a ſtation. Hard " by it is a ſmall village called Mataria. It lies to the north of Kahirah " in the road to Syria."

And with this agrees what we are told by another Arabian author cited by Schultens in the ſame place, عين شمس مدينة فرعون بمصر بينها وبين الفسطاط ثلاثة فراسخ من جهة بلبيس من لاحية الشام وهي قصبة كوره اريت بها اثار قديمة وعواميد سود طوال تسميها العامة مسال فرعون وبها عمودان طولهما في السماء خمسون ذراعا وعلي رؤسهما شبة الصومعتين من نحاس مبنيان علي وجه الارض بغير اساس وبها يزرع البلسان ويستخرج دهنة وبالصعيد قرية اخري اسمها عين شمس* " Ain Shems is the ſame with the city of Pharaoh in Egypt. " It is at the diſtance of three paraſangs from Foſtat on the ſide of the " river, where ſtands Balbeis, and in the road to Syria. It is the metro- " polis of the nome called Aphrodite. In it are ſome ancient ruins and " tall black pillars, called by the common people Pharoah's Needles. " There are two pillars whoſe height above ground is fifty cubits, the " tops of which are pointed. They reſt on the ſurface of the earth with- " out any foundation below it. At Ain Shems are planted balſam trees, " from whence iſſues the juice. In the Upper Egypt there is another " place of the ſame name Ain Shems."

The name Ain Shems, I ſuppoſe, is no older than the time when the Mohammedans made themſelves maſters of Egypt. It was deſigned by them to expreſs what the Greeks called Heliopolis, which ſeems to have been the ſame that is called, Jerem. xliii. 13. בית שמש *Beth Shemeſh, the Houſe of the Sun*; and in Iſaiah xix. עיר החרס, *Ait Haheres, the City of the Sun.* For what is Job, ix. vii. האמר להרס is, by the Vulgate, rendered *qui præcepit Soli*; and by the LXX. Ο λεγων τω Ηλιω. So likewiſe the word חרס *heres*, is rendered *ſun* by the Syriac and Arabic verſions there, as well as by the Targum.

3 When

When Gideon is ſaid to have returned from the battle before the ſun was up, Judges viii. 13. the word for ſun there is חרס *heres*. And it is ſo rendered there, both by the Vulgate and the Targum, though neither the LXX. nor the Syriac, nor the Arabic verſioniſts, ſeem to have underſtood the meaning of the word by their retaining it. And this, among many other inſtances, offers a convincing proof, that theſe verſions were not made each of them at once, and by the ſame perſons.

The word שמש, *ſhamaſh*, ſignifies *to miniſter*, and the word חרס, in the Arabic language, is, among other things, *obſervavit, ſpeculatus eſt*, according to Schindler. As therefore the *ſun* was termed שמש, *ſhemeſh*, among the Hebrews, from his *adminiſtring* light and heat, ſo he might be called חרס, *heres*, by the Arabians, and, perhaps, the Canaanites, from his *ſeeing* and *obſerving* every thing. There is no doubt, therefore, but עיר החרס, *air haheres*, is properly tranſlated *the city of the ſun*, and in Greek Ηλιουπολις. By the former of theſe names the place was known to the Canaanites, as by the latter to the Greeks when they became acquainted with Egypt.

Among the native Egyptians it ſeems to have been called *On*. At leaſt, *vice verſa*, wherever *On* occurs it is rendered by the LXX. Ηλιουπόλις. Pharaoh, it is ſaid, Gen. xli. 45. married Joſeph to Aſenath the daughter of Potiphera (כהן אן) prieſt of On. LXX. ιερεως Ηλιουπολεως, *ſacerdotis* Heliopoleos, ſays the Vulgate. And ſo again, ver. 50, and chap. xlvi. 20.

Jablonſki, in his Pantheon, vol. I. p. 137, ſeems to think that On was known in Egypt to have been the old name of Heliopolis as late as the fourth century, when the Coptic verſion was made. For thoſe interpreters, ſays he, were intirely ignorant of the Hebrew language, and tranſlated only the Greek of the LXX. And yet, wherever the LXX have Ηλιουπολις, they render it by *On*. How far this is a fact I cannot pretend to ſay, but it would not be very ſurprizing if it could be made appear that Cyril ſaid true, as he is quoted by Jablonſki there, "*On*, Ægyptiorum lingua, "dici *Solem*."

Cyril was Patriarch of Alexandria, and a Greek. But there ſeems to have been ſomething particularly harſh in the Egyptian language, and diſagreeable to Grecian ears, ſo that they ſeem not to have troubled themſelves at all about it, nor endeavoured to make themſelves acquainted with

it.

it. This betrays itſelf upon a variety of occaſions. Obſerving, therefore, that wherever the name *On* occurred in the Hebrew, it was conſtantly tranſlated by the LXX Ηλιεπολις, and knowing well enough what πολις ſignified, he might take it for granted that Ηλιος was the exact tranſlation of *On*, and therefore aſſert that *On* in the Egyptian language was the ſame with Ηλιος in the Greek.

In the Coptic language, according to Jablonſki, *ut ſupra*, the name of the Sun is *Phre*; and therefore, had thoſe verſioniſts tranſlated only the Greek, without knowing any thing of the Hebrew, they would probably have tranſlated Ηλιουπολις by *Phre* and ſome other Coptic word that ſignifies *city*. But they might be enough acquainted with Hebrew to know that in the text *On* conſtantly anſwered to the Greek Ηλιουπολις, and therefore choſe to retain it, as other verſions before theirs had done.

That Ain Shems is Heliopolis, ſays Golius, Not. in Al-fergan. p. 157, "& nomen & rudera nec non conſentientis geographorum deſcriptiones "evincunt." But whether this was مدينة فرعون *Pharaoh's City*, or the place where Pharaoh lived, may admit of ſome doubt. For we have it only from Arabian hiſtorians, who are come full late, and are not to be too far relied on in matters of ſuch great antiquity.

Golius, in his Notes on Alferganius, p. 149, ſpeaking of Damiat, adds, "cumque hujus & vicinæ Tanis regio paſcuis in Ægypto alias raris læta "vireat, merito pro Terra Goſhen aut ejus ſaltem parte cenſeri poteſt. "Etſi ea ad Bilbeis Mari Rubro propinquiorem, de qua ante dictum, re- "ferat Macrizius, diligens rerum Ægyptiarum ſcriptor; attamen opinio- "ni eidem hoc magnopere obeſt, quod arenoſa hæc terra eſt non niſi ex- "undante Nilo aut ex piſcinis irrigua, ac proinde rei pecuariæ minus "idonea."

Wherever Goſhen is to be placed, it could not be at a very great diſtance from the Red Sea, and the nearer the better; for the Iſraelites croſſed it in the night of the third day from their ſetting out from Rameſes. And Rameſes is expreſſly ſaid, Gen. xlvii. 6. to be in or belong to that diſtrict. For though Goſhen, from the name, ſeems as if it lay between the branches of the Nile, yet the territory might extend without it to the eaſt, where I conjecture Rameſes was ſituated.

Inſtead

Inſtead of Goſhen, Gen. xlv. 10. the Arabic verſion hath السدير *Al-Sadeir*. The LXX. εν γη Γεσεμ Αραβιας. And farther, wherever this was it was not far from the capital at that time: for Joſeph expreſſly adds immediately after, "and thou ſhalt be near me." And chap. xlvi. 28. what is Goſhen in the Hebrew is in the Arabic verſion بلد سدير the Land of Sadîr; but in the LXX. Κατ' Ηρωων Πολιν εις γην Ραμεσση. Joſeph met his father and brethren before they came to the capital; for he tells them, ver. 31. "I will go up to Pharaoh." And when Joſeph informs Pharaoh, chap. xlvii. 1. that "they ſtopped ſhort in the Land of Goſhen," the Arabic has في بلد السدير "in the Land of Sadir." And Pharaoh calls it the *beſt* of the land, ver. 6. It is called, ver. 12. the Land of Rameſes, which in the Arabic is tranſlated عين شمس *Ain Shems*. Rameſes, therefore, was a part, and the beſt part of the Land of Goſhen."

They left their little ones, &c. في بلد سدير Gen. l. 8.

The reign of the Paſtor Kings in Egypt is a ſubject of great embarraſſment. Who were they—when did they reign—and where—whence came they—and what became of them?

JACOB

JACOB BRYANT*, Esq. to Mr. COSTARD.

Dear Sir, *Cypenham, 17th September*, 1767.

GIVE me leave to return you many thanks for the kind notice which you have taken both of me and my work, and at the ſame time for thoſe learned reflections and obſervations which you have been pleaſed to tranſmit to me in conſequence of it. I ſhould have been very glad if I had been acquainted with them before my treatiſe had been ſent to the preſs, as there is much Oriental evidence which I could not procure for myſelf, and ſeveral ſcriptural excerpta that I had not attended to, and which might very happily have been applied to my purpoſe. I am, however, ſorry to find, from ſome particular poſitions in the letter with which you favoured me, that you in ſome points differ from me in reſpect to Goſhen and Zoan. I think I may truſt to your goodneſs, and be aſſured of your candour and forgiveneſs, if I lay before you my doubts about your corollary, though drawn from ſome very curious premiſſes, viz. "that there ſeems but little doubt that Rahab, Goſhen, Delta, mean the "ſame country and diſtrict;" and in your fifth page, "we have now found, "I think, that Zoan, Goſhen, Rahab, and Delta, are only different names "given at different times to one and the ſame country." Permit me, with that freedom which your friendſhip and love of truth will warrant, to ſpeak to the firſt of theſe poſitions, "that Goſhen was Delta, or (as in another place you explain yourſelf) "at leaſt that part of it which was habitable in the time of Joſeph." In the firſt place, there is reaſon to think, that not a part only, but the whole of Delta was habitable in the time of Joſeph: for the Caphtorim had made their migration to Philiſtine before the days of Abraham: and their original eſtabliſhment is ſuppoſed by moſt learned men to have been about Peluſium and Sethron: and if the

* As this Letter was not originally intended for the preſs, it is neceſſary that the Editor ſhould obſerve, that the learned Writer of it, by whoſe obliging permiſſion it now appears, informs him that "it is a very imperfect ſketch of his notions upon the ſubject."

ſea

ſea coaſts were inhabited, we may readily admit that the higher lands were ſo likewiſe, for they muſt have been firſt occupied. Both this ſettlement in Egypt, and migration from it, are mentioned by the Prophets. "Have "I not brought up Iſrael out of the Land of Egypt or Mizraim, and the Phi- "liſtines from Caphtor?" Amos, ix. 7. "The Lord will ſpoil the Philiſtines, "the remnant of the country, or rather of the iſle, of Caphtor." Jeremiah, xlvii. 4. The Caphtorim, we find, are put in oppoſition to the Mizraim: the former inhabited one of the iſland provinces near the ſea, the latter were in poſſeſſion of the other parts of Delta. The region of the former being unwholſome and inconvenient for its marſhy and barren ſoil probably induced them to quit it very early; for before the time of Abraham's ſojournment in Canaan they had driven the Avim from their ſettlements in that country, and ſeized them to their own uſe. Geneſis xx. xxii. 33. 34. See Bochart, I. 293.

But, waving this, and allowing to Delta what extent you pleaſe, yet Goſhen and Delta can never be eſteemed ſynonymous, and the ſame, without perplexing the Moſaic account, and making it in many places inconſiſtent with itſelf. The wonders exhibited in Egypt are ſaid to have been diſplayed in Rahab and in Zoan. Pharaoh confeſſedly reſided in thoſe parts; and they muſt neceſſarily have been occupied by many of the Mizraim, and the Naphtuhim, as the upper regions of Egypt were poſſeſſed by the ſons of Pathros. Let us then, as Goſhen and Delta are to be eſteemed ſynonymous, uſe them in that manner, putting one for the other, as ſhall ſeem beſt to us, and attend the conſequence. In the plague of flies the cities and the houſes of the Mizraim were to be full of them, and alſo the ground on which they ſtood was to be covered: but, ſays the Lord, "I will ſever in that day the land of Goſhen, in which my "people dwell, that no ſwarms of flies ſhall be there," Exod. viii. 21, 22. The Land of Goſhen was to be ſevered: it is plain, therefore, that it was a detached province. If, inſtead of Goſhen, you put Rahab or Delta, every circumſtance will be contradictory. The land will, without any limitation, be ſaid to be affected, and at the ſame time not to be affected, with this curſe from heaven. Again, chap. ix. ver. 24, 25, 26, we read of the plague of hail, where fire was mingled with the hail: it is ſaid to have been grievous over all the Land of Egypt; there was none

like it in all the Land of Egypt or Mizraim ſince it became a nation: and the hail ſmote throughout all the Land of Egypt or Mizraim, &c. only in the Land of Goſhen there was no hail. If then the Land of Goſhen was Rahab and Delta, there could be no hail in Delta and Rahab, nor in Zoan; for they are by you ſuppoſed to be the ſame, yet they were the places of all others which were moſt afflicted by it. As then the Scripture plainly ſays, that in the Land of Goſhen, where the Children of Iſrael dwelt, none of theſe plagues were felt; it is manifeſt, that the Land of Goſhen was a particular and ſeparate diſtrict; and never could comprehend all Rahab or Delta, of whatever dimenſions they may be ſuppoſed to have conſiſted. So when Joſeph went up to meet Iſrael his father to Goſhen, Gen. xlvi. 28, the ſame difficulties will ariſe from your ſuppoſition. It is a circumſtance that could not happen. He could not go up to Goſhen, for he was in Goſhen before; Rahab and Goſhen being in your acceptation the ſame. And after this, ver. 31, 34, when Joſeph adviſes his brethren to tell Pharaoh, "that they were ſhepherds," "that they may dwell in "the Land of Goſhen;" for every ſhepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians: and when in the next chapter, ver. 5, they act in conſequence of this advice, and tell Pharaoh that they are, and have been *ab origine*, ſhepherds, and conclude, "now, therefore (for this reaſon, becauſe we are ſhepherds, and noxious), we pray thee, let thy ſervants dwell in the Land of Goſhen." If Goſhen was a ſeparate province, as I have endeavoured to prove that it was, every thing is plain and conſiſtent; but if it be taken for the whole of Lower Egypt, the method of reaſoning is unaccountable. "We are all ſhepherds, ſay the ſons of Iſrael, we are all odious in your ſight, and in the ſight of your people, therefore let us come and live among you." All the ſcope and force of what is ſaid is hereby ruined, and the grounds on which they found their petition rendered void and ineffectual. Why ſhould they, upon theſe principles, deſire particularly to dwell without any limitation in Lower Egypt, where Pharaoh dwelt and the chief of the Egyptians? To have been conſiſtent, they ſhould have requeſted to have been ſent far away, if there were no particularly vacant and detached diſtrict in Rahab. But it is very certain that there was a place of this nature, void and ſeparate, which was well adapted to their circumſtances. For this they petitioned, and to this they

they ſucceeded. It was a particular diſtrict, and called the Land of Goſhen. It was at the very point of Delta, above Heliopolis, and called the Arabian Nome by the Greeks; but originally termed Cuſha and Cuſhan, and by the Mizraim Guſhan. Its ſituation may be exactly defined, as it lay at the extreme point of Delta, nearly between Babylon and the Pyramids, which latter were a ſmall matter above; which Cuſha was in proceſs of time called by different nations Caſa, Kaïſa, Geeſha: and it is demonſtrable from its ſituation, that the modern Geeza is the very place; for it lies exactly in the ſame direction between the Hill of Arabia, where ſtood Babylon and the Pyramids before mentioned. Nor muſt it be wondered at, if the name of Guſhan, or Guſha, has been changed in ſo long a period of time to Geeſha. In other countries we find the ſame variations. The Abyſſinians, or Weſtern Ethiopians, are as much the deſcendants of Cuſh as thoſe were of the Eaſt; and we find among them many parallel circumſtances, and names exactly analogous. They ſay that they are of Chaldean original; which I wonder that Ludolphus ſhould at all controvert; they moreover ſay, that one and the principal language of their country is the antient Chaldaic; and what is very remarkable, they term it "Leſſena Gheeza," the language of Gheeza (for the country of Ethiopia is called Geezha); and Ludolphus confeſſes, that there is a ſimilitude between it and the antient languages of the Eaſt, but thinks it has the greateſt affinity to the Arabian; and, not knowing the purport of Gheeza, he gives not the preciſe meaning of the word. Ludolph. Æthiop. p. 76. In my treatiſe I have endeavoured to go methodically to work, and ſtep by ſtep to advance to the truth. I flattered myſelf, that what I had done would, in ſome degree, prove a regulator, and, as far as it went, determine both times and places. But I fear I have ſo clogged my machine with extraneous, yet neceſſary, matter, that my beſt friends cannot diſtinguiſh the ſprings, nor underſtand the meaning of the movements.

Permit me to make ſome obſervations on another part of your letter. You take notice of Zoan, צען, or Tſaan, which you ſuppoſe to have been built under the adminiſtration of Joſeph, and named from ſome of the emigrants when he removed the Egyptians from one city to another through all the land. In anſwer to this, it muſt be conſidered, that it was a place

of royal reſidence; and it is ſcarce credible that a metropolis could take its name from ſuch a circumſtance; צעה, Tzaah, *ivit de loco—in locum migravit*: nor is there any reaſon to think it was ſo recent. Indeed I cannot conceive that ſuch an event could give name to any place, it being too common and general, and what every city in Egypt had equal pretenſion to be named from. But, ſetting this aſide, with ſubmiſſion, I think it cannot be, as you ſuppoſe it, built in the time of Joſeph, not even upon your own premiſes. You quote Joſhua, but it ſhould be Numbers, xiii. 22. to ſhew that Kirjath-Arba, called afterwards Hebron, was built ſeven years before Zoan in Egypt: and from thence you would aſcertain the building of Zoan, and make it coincide with the time of Joſeph. The words of Moſes are theſe, "And they aſcended by the ſouth, and came to Hebron, "where Ahiman, Sheſhai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were." Now Hebron was built ſeven years before Zoan in Egypt. And we are farther told in Joſhua, xiv. 15. "The name of Hebron before was Kirjath-Arba;" which city you ſuppoſe from 1 Chron. ii. 42. to have received the latter name from Hebron the ſon of Mareſhah, who was the great grandſon of Caleb. This laſt fact I very much doubt on many accounts, there being nothing in the Scriptures to authoriſe the notion, but the very contrary. Indeed it is pretty certain, that the place was long before called Hebron in the time of Moſes, as appears from the chapter above appealed to, Numb. xiii. 22. The ſon of Mareſhah therefore did not give name to the city, but received his name from it. But if we were to allow that Hebron rebuilt, and gave name to it, and that the place had two founders, in which ſtate do you think it may be ſaid to be built ſeven years before Zoan? and how can it either way be made to correſpond with the life of Joſeph? If Hebron be the place you mean, and it was named from the perſon you ſuppoſe, it muſt have been built three centuries *after* the æra which you would bring it to; and Zoan was ſtill later. If Kirjath Arba be the place alluded to, which undoubtedly is the truth, that city muſt have been built ſome centuries *before* Joſeph; for Sarah died in Kirjath-Arba; ſo that it was a city before the days of Abraham, at leaſt before his ſojournment in Canaan (ſee Gen. xxiii. 2.); conſequently long before the birth of Joſeph; and Zoan was within ſeven years as ancient. Zoan, therefore, could never take its name from צעה, Tzaah, *ivit de loco, in locum migravit*,

vit, &c. nor be founded by thoſe emigrants, nor be denominated from them.

I know nothing more fallacious than etymological proofs. And I have made it a rule, never to admit them ſingly and unſupported; on the contrary, to make etymology dependant upon hiſtory, and not to render hiſtory blindly ſubſervient to etymology. I conſidered in my treatiſe that there was a portion of Egypt which had been occupied by ſhepherds; that one part of it was named Goſhen; that it was the beſt part of the land, and particularly adapted to flocks and herds. It was called Tzoan or Tzaan; from whence I concluded, that it was derived from צאן, צנה, Tzon, Tzan, and Tzanah, which ſignify flocks, ſheep, and cattle. As to a place in Egypt not being ſpelt exactly according to the Hebrew method, it amounts to nothing: the ſound is the ſame, and the ſenſe, meaning, and analogy, ſeem to authenticate my poſition. If it be found otherwiſe, eraſe it at once; it will not affect any thing that I am there proving, for I build not the leaſt upon it.

One obſervation more. You join with me in ſuppoſing that Zoan and Memphis were not far aſunder; but you go farther, and from ſome ſimilitude of ſound between Hanes (one of the names of Zoan) and Tahpanhes, you imagine the latter to have been Zoan. It was undoubtedly one out of many places where the kings of Egypt ſometimes reſided, but it could not be Zoan; Tahpanhes, Taphanes, or however it may be expreſſed, was the Daphnæ of the Greeks, Δαφναι Πηλουσιαι of Herodotus, the Ταφνας of the Seventy; joined by the Prophet Jeremiah with Migdol, which was a fort of tower near Peluſium, but ſtood in Arabia upon the ſea coaſt. Taphanes was 16 miles from Peluſium; conſequently far removed from Memphis, which was 123 miles above that place, and 107 from Taphanes. See Ant. Itin.

You ſee, my good and learned Friend, how much I preſume upon your candour, in venturing to ſubmit to yourſelf theſe doubts and ſtrictures upon your own performance, which abounds with much excellent learning, but, in the points which I have been canvaſſing, is not ſo ſatisfactory as I could wiſh. I am, after all, with due eſteem of your parts and learning,

Dear Sir, Your moſt obliged humble ſervant,

JACOB BRYANT.

The

The two following Letters, from the pious Mr. NELSON, to his young Couſins GEORGE and GABRIEL HANGER, having been preſerved with great care by Mr. BOWYER, to be printed whenever a proper opportunity ſhould occur; they are now offered to the reader as the concluding articles of theſe Miſcellaneous Tracts.

To GEORGE HANGER, Eſq.

DEAR COUSIN,

YOUR father having deſigned to ſend you for Turkey by the next ſhips bound to thoſe parts, and intending thereby to breed you to buſineſs; that you may be enabled to advance your own fortune in the world, and to aſſiſt your brothers, when they ſhall be fit to receive the advantages of your kindneſs; I cannot forbear commending that readineſs of mind you have ſhewn on this occaſion, to comply with that ſcheme which your father, on mature deliberation, with the advice of your beſt friends, has formed for the employment of your youth. So near a relation can never want kindneſs to deſign that which is beſt for you; and the advantages of his good ſenſe, and great experience, enable him to judge right in this matter. So that, being governed by the dictates of ſo kind and wiſe a father, you ſteer by a much ſurer compaſs, than by following the ſuggeſtions of your own thoughts, which muſt want due ripeneſs in that path of life you now tread. I look upon this firſt ſtep of your conduct, to be a happy preſage of your future wiſdom and ſteadineſs; and a good omen that your voyage of life will be proſperous and ſucceſsful; for the miſcarriage of many a youth has been owing to his own willfullneſs and obſtinacy, refuſing the advice and guidance of his beſt friends when he ſtood moſt in want of it.

Being therefore, Sir, determined to travel, by your father's appointment, and by your own prudent conſent, I thought myſelf obliged to give you ſome advice in relation to your future conduct; and you ought to bear with me the rather in this matter, becauſe I have had ſome ſhare in the care of your education; beſides, the character of a godfather entitles me to ſome to preſcribe to you: but whether any of theſe reaſons would have prevailed upon me, if I had not felt a particular love and kindneſs for you, I know not. I am ſure, the liberty I am now about to take, proceeds from a ſincere and hearty concern for your future welfare; and upon that ground, therefore, I hope, it will be agreeable and acceptable to you.

I. In the firſt place, I muſt beg you often to reflect upon the great end for which you were ſent into the world, which was not to ſport away your time in pleaſure, nor only to get a fair eſtate; but to fit and prepare yourſelf for a happy eternity, in the enjoyment of God, by a conſtant and univerſal obedience to all his holy laws; in compariſon with which, all the labours of life are meer trifles. My reaſon for giving you this hint, is, that, by having your chief buſineſs always in your view, you may be continually upon your guard; ſo that neither the pleaſures nor buſineſs of life, nor the deſires of growing rich, may ever cauſe you to forget that you are a ſtranger upon earth, and that your days are as a ſhadow which will ſoon paſs away.

II. In the ſecond place, you muſt endeavour that this great end be proſecuted ſteadily and vigorouſly, by all thoſe ways and means which God has eſtabliſhed for the working out your ſalvation. You muſt reſolve upon a holy and virtuous life, if ever you pretend to attain that happineſs which God has promiſed: all other ways of getting to heaven are fallacious, and will in the end deceive you, if ever you are ſo unhappy as to truſt to them; for without holineſs, no man ſhall ſee the Lord. Now the virtue and holineſs I mean, are of a large extent, and comprehend your duty to God, your neighbour, and yourſelf, and is what the apoſtle calls living righteouſly, ſoberly, and godly in this preſent world. In order to this purpoſe, God has given us his holy word to inſtruct us in the particulars of our duty, which therefore you muſt frequently peruſe with great application of mind; he has moreover encouraged our addreſſes to him, by promiſing

promiſing to hear our prayers, which we muſt therefore offer to him in our cloſets, and in the public congregations, that we may receive ſtrength and power from above, to perform our duty. He has further inſtituted the holy ſacrament, to be a continual memorial of the ſacrifice of Chriſt's death, to convey to us the benefits of his ſufferings: therefore, if you ſincerely deſire the pardon of your ſins, grace and aſſiſtance to conquer them, and to make a progreſs in all virtue, you muſt frequently approach the altar, where theſe bleſſings are to be found; and indeed a man muſt have but very ſlight notions of the benefits of Chriſt's death, that refuſes to give this eaſy teſtimony of a thankful heart. You muſt frequently examine your ſelf, that you may exerciſe repentance where you may fall ſhort of your duty, and that you may thank God where you have been enabled to perform it; you muſt accuſtom yourſelf to meditate upon ſuch divine ſubjects as occur in the courſe of your reading, that you may ſtir up all the faculties of your ſoul to a vigorous proſecution of them. The aforementioned means of grace are not to be reſted in as the ſubſtance of religion, but are to be uſed as neceſſary to beget in us true piety and virtue; and except we aim at that in the uſe of them, they will not be acceptable to God: a man may be a bad man and frequent them, and yet there is no being good without them when the providence of God gives us the opportunity to enjoy them.

III. In the third place, I muſt deſire you, as much as you can, to live by rule and method; to divide the day into ſuch proportions, that a proper time may be aſſigned for all your actions; that the hours of your devotion, of your buſineſs, and your diverſions, may all be ſtated; thus time will not lie upon your hands, nor ſting you with regret when paſt. While you are ſubject to the commands of others, you muſt be content to have your hours of buſineſs regulated by them; theſe you will quickly be acquainted with; and what are left to your own diſpoſal, muſt be employed partly in your prayers, in reading good books, and ſuch as are otherwiſe commendable, both French and Latin, that you may not loſe thoſe languages you have taken ſo much pains to acquire.

IV. In the fourth place, I muſt adviſe you to diligence and induſtry in your buſineſs, which is the beſt method to make it ſucceed. Seeſt thou a man, ſays Solomon, diligent in his buſineſs, he ſhall ſtand before princes; the

the wiſdom of man, is diſtinguiſhed by uſing proper and fit means to attain his end; therefore, as you are concerned to ſupport that character, and deſire to bring to perfection what you project, you muſt never be careleſs and negligent in thoſe things committed to your truſt and management; for this is even to offend againſt the duties of religion.

V. In the fifth place, ſince trade and commerce are pitched upon for your employments, never deviate from exact juſtice and uprightneſs in all your dealings; every particular circumſtance of life has its particular temptation, and a man that ſincerely deſigns his duty, will put his guard on that place where the greateſt danger is apprehended; frequent dealings with others preſent to us as frequent opportunities of over-reaching them; and the more a man is truſted, the better he is able to play the knave. Now, though I think as to this world, that honeſty is the beſt method of thriving, becauſe it ſecures credit and reputation, which are the main inſtruments of trade and commerce; yet there are ſome opportunities of unrighteous gain, that require good principles of religion to keep a man right. Remember always that no repentance will make our peace with God for ill-gotten goods without reſtitution, which makes that neceſſary work difficult and irkſome. That whatever varniſh we are able to put upon our injuſtice before men, yet God ſees through the whole deceit, and will one day judge us for it: and it contradicts the great rule laid down by our Saviour, of doing to others as we would they ſhould do unto us.

VI. In the ſixth place, I muſt not forget to enjoin you to take care to beware of covetouſneſs, becauſe the love of money is the root of all evil, and it is a ſecret poiſon which deſtroys the ſouls of ſuch men who otherwiſe appear ſober and virtuous. Beſides, this is a vice particularly incident to thoſe that get eſtates by their own induſtry, and therefore it is the more neceſſary to give you warning of it; be not therefore over eager in the purſuit of riches; and when they increaſe, ſet not your heart upon them. To acquire them by unjuſt means, is the perfection of covetouſneſs; but this vice lurks in many other actions leſs notorious; as when a man purſues the world to the neglect of the duties of religion, even of prayer in his cloſet and family, when his mind is always anxious about the ſucceſs of his projects, when the poor have no ſhare of his gains,

when he is ſordid and cannot find in his heart to enjoy moderately what he poſſeſſes, or, if he does, ſpends it upon his luſts, and when he makes riches his truſt and confidence. Now the love of this world is enmity againſt God, and does as effectually debar us from heaven, as all the extravagances of lewdneſs and debauchery.

VII. In the ſeventh place, I muſt put you in mind of keeping good company, by which I mean chiefly men of pious and virtuous diſpoſitions, though, with theſe qualifications, it may be extended to thoſe of the beſt rank and quality where you reſide; from whom you will be able to learn more than from thoſe of an inferior education. And it is often ſeen that a young gentleman, newly come into the world, is more frequently ruined by mean and inferior company, than by converſing with his ſuperiors, for whom having a deference, he becomes more modeſt and humble in his behaviour; whereas when he finds himſelf the top of the company, it diſpoſes him to pride and vanity. It is difficult for thoſe whoſe circumſtances throw them into a great deal of company, always to avoid that which is bad; and charity may ſometimes oblige men to converſe with ſuch, in order to their reformation, were there any probable hopes of making bad men better. But it is in every man's power to chuſe what perſons he deſigns for friendſhip and frequent converſation; a matter of that importance, that it requires time and ſerious deliberation before you engage. Men of no principles of religion are not to be relied upon, having no foundation to ſupport friendſhip; beſides, they may be apt to infect you with ſcepticiſm; and men who believe religion, and act contrary to their principles, give but a ſcurvy proof of their ſincerity, and by their bad example may inſenſibly corrupt your morals. Thoſe we love have a mighty influence over us, therefore let not a wicked man become your intimate.

VIII. In the eighth place, I muſt adviſe you to obſtinate temperance in drinking, the beſt method to preſerve health, and a virtue ſtrictly enjoined by the Chriſtian religion. There is no young man that converſes in the world, but who is more or leſs expoſed to this temptation; but your particular ſituation of Smyrna, by reaſon of the frequent arrival of ſhips, will make it difficult for you not to exceed the Chriſtian meaſure, except you arm yourſelf with great reſolution. Never think it a piece of manhood to be drunk yourſelf, or to make others ſo; for this is to diſtinguiſh yourſelf by

by what is the deprivation of manhood, extinguiſhing at once both your ſenſe and reaſon: beſides, it will make you liable to many unfortunate accidents; a debauch has brought many a fever, which has ended in death, has occaſioned the breaking of many a limb, which is not recovered without pain and charge; and how many have broke their necks on ſuch occaſions, and ſo gone out of the world without repenting of ſo great a crime! Sometimes it creates quarrels, which have coſt the life of one or both the diſputants. But if you eſcape theſe dangers that affect the body, your beſt part, your ſoul, muſt ſuffer by ſo plain a breach of your duty, till you reconcile yourſelf to God by unfeigned repentance; never reckon an exceſs in drinking a ſmall fault, a *peccadiglio*, for this may prevail upon you to comply with the importunity of others; it is certainly a breach of God's laws, and you muſt count nothing inconſiderable that offends Him. Be free to own your weakneſs as to drinking, that it prejudices your health, and that you are not able to bear ſo much as others, and then, if the company have any good-manners, they will not preſs you; when you entertain friends yourſelf, introduce coffee and tea after dinner, and propoſe ſome diverſion that drinking may be hindered; ſeveral little arts a man will call to his aſſiſtance, that deſigns to keep himſelf and the company ſober. But then, if you are at any time ſurpriſed, immediately next day teſtify your repentance, profeſs your ſorrow to God, and reſolve on more firmneſs for the time to come; if your companions ſhould make a jeſt of it, let them know, it is no jeſting matter. And I think you would do well, if you puniſhed yourſelf for ſo unfortunate an accident, by impoſing upon yourſelf a day of faſting, or by abſtaining from the uſe of wine for two or three days.

IX. In the ninth place, I muſt caution you againſt uncleannèſs, ſo frequent a failure in youth, and which, when once indulged, will corrupt the beſt principles, and has carried many a man to ſcepticiſm and infidelity; becauſe, when a man cannot reconcile his conſtant practice to the laws of religion, he caſts about how to get rid of the obligation of ſuch laws, which bear ſo hard upon him, and give him ſo much uneaſineſs. Now the beſt rule in this caſe is, never to indulge the leaſt appearance of this vice, to diſcourage all looſe and wanton thoughts which may ariſe in your mind, to forbear all obſcene and filthy diſcourſe, to avoid all familiarity with the

fair ſex, not to ſeem pleaſed when others attempt to divert the company by lewd jeſts, to be modeſt towards yourſelf, and to treat yourſelf with reverence and reſpect. For chaſtity conſiſts in a due government of thoſe appetites which God has placed in us for the propagating of mankind; which are never to be gratified, but in the ſtate of matrimony; ſo that any thing that pretends to provoke theſe appetites out of that ſtate, by our own voluntary conſent, has a ſhare of the guilt of the laſt act, and is what we muſt be accountable for, and therefore ought carefully to be watched againſt. If you ever give yourſelf up to this vice, you will expoſe your conſtitution to great ſhocks, make your body the ſink of many noiſome diſeaſes, conſume your eſtate, neglect your buſineſs, and bring contempt upon you from all ſober people; it will harden you againſt all good advice, provoke the wrath of God, and infallibly draw upon you in the next world the miſeries of a ſad eternity.

X. In the tenth place, guard yourſelf from the bane of converſation, which is evil-ſpeaking; this leſſening the reputation of others by expoſing their faults is grown ſo common, that, more or leſs, even good people ſplit upon this rock; ſo that, if you have not a particular watch over yourſelf, you will be carried down the ſtream, and become involved in this common calamity. Some people never examine the truth of what they report, provided it was told them; but this is calumny and ſlander; and if they know what they ſay to be true, yet, if neither juſtice nor charity require the diſcovery, it is the vice of evil-ſpeaking, forbid by the Chriſtian religion: for, when there is no juſtifiable reaſon to the contrary, we ought to throw a veil over the faults of our neighbour, for this is the treatment we deſire from them; we are not willing what is true of ourſelves ſhould be expoſed to publick view: beſides, it is contrary to that love which is due to our neighbour; which, when ſincere, will diſpoſe us to cover thoſe defects that may tend to the impairing of his reputation. Now the more you mortify the evil paſſions of pride, envy, and revenge, the leſs you will be ſubject to diſtraction, which very often proceeds from them. An over buſy meddling temper will expoſe you to the ſame temptation; but if you would entirely ſecure yourſelf, reſolve never to ſpeak evil of any one; do not ſuffer yourſelf to repeat ſtories to the diſadvantage of others, though never ſo public; for though this on ſome occaſions might be innocently done, yet by degrees it may inſenſibly betray you to real defamation.

XI. In the eleventh place, I muſt give you a great charge, not to ſuffer yourſelf to be infected with the common vice of ſwearing; you will find yourſelf tempted to this unreaſonable ſin, by the practice of all nations, who agree in no evil more univerſally than this. But remember, that an honeſt man's word ſhould be eſteemed ſo ſacred, that he ſhould have no occaſion to confirm what he ſays by an oath; beſides, the reverence of a ſolemn appeal to God, being diminiſhed by common ſwearing, leads a man to perjury, a moſt confirmed piece of iniquity. It is plainly and directly forbid by the Chriſtian religion, and the corruption of our nature ſuggeſts the feweſt temptations to it of any vice whatever; which makes the practice of cuſtomary ſwearing more inexcuſable. Avoid the company of common ſwearers, for converſing frequently with them will abate that horror we have at firſt for the raſh and common uſe of oaths. If I miſtake not, you have been preſerved hitherto from this corruption; and let not the greatneſs or genteelneſs of thoſe that practice it ever betray you to any good opinion of it. You muſt not imitate the beſt bred men by their vices, which are no part of their good breeding.

XII. In the twelfth place, remember to be courteous and affable towards all men; they who exclude civility out of the catalogue of virtues ſeem to me not thoroughly to underſtand the nature of Chriſtianity. By this method you will preſerve the good will of thoſe you converſe with, which will make them the readier to ſerve you upon all occaſions, and by degrees give you power to do them good in matters of the greateſt importance. In time it will bring you to a habit of ſelf-denial, for this affability will often make you forego what you like beſt, in indifferent things, in order to pleaſe and oblige others; and it is no inconſiderable talent to be ready upon all occaſions to contradict our own wills; beſides, it is a part of that charity we owe to our neighbours, to whom we are obliged to do good by all the means that lie in our power; and certainly every man is delighted and pleaſed in being well uſed.

XIII. In the thirteenth place, I muſt particularly recommend to you the practice of charity; by which I mean doing good to the ſouls and bodies of men. It is true, God has ſet apart a particular order of men to be uſeful and ſerviceable to others in the great affair of their ſalvation, and there are ſeveral holy actions which are peculiar to the prieſts of the Lord;

Lord; which for a layman to invade, would be ſacrilege; but there are ſome others which are common to both: every man may inſtruct his children and ſervants in the principles of religion, and reprove others when they tranſgreſs, and upon fit occaſions inſinuate exhortations to piety; nay, I think it their duty ſo to do. But if my children or ſervants want baptiſm, I muſt call for a miniſter; if I would have them confirmed, I muſt carry them to a biſhop, to lay his hands on them and bleſs them; if they would receive the holy ſacrament, or abſolution for any ſin that troubles their conſciences, I muſt apply to the prieſts that wait at the altar; if I would conſecrate a child to the ſervice of the church, I muſt deſire a biſhop to ordain him, becauſe they only are intruſted with that power. But when you have ſervants, endeavour to inſtruct them in neceſſary Chriſtian knowledge, lead them by your repeated advice as well as example in the practice of religion; comfort your friends that mourn and are afflicted with ſeaſonable diſcourſes of piety; and reprove prudently and gently all your companions, when you find they tranſgreſs God's laws; but never unneceſſarily vex or grieve any man's mind, for thereby you hurt his ſoul. As to their bodies, you muſt, according to your abilities, relieve their wants, and ſupply their neceſſities; and, in order to this purpoſe, I muſt ſuggeſt to you what I take to be a prudent management, which is to dedicate and lay apart a proportion of your gains or your income, when it is certain, for alms-deeds; which will make the work eaſy and delightful, and you moreover ready to embrace any opportunity that offers for doing good, becauſe you are before-hand provided with the means. The ways of exerciſing this ſort of charity are as various as thoſe wants the body labours under; as, feeding the hungry, cloathing the naked, viſiting the ſick, and thoſe in priſon; redeeming thoſe in ſlavery and captivity, and comforting ſuch as are under any oppreſſion. Theſe good works, according to your ability, the Chriſtian religion obliges you to; you are farther provoked to them by the example of our Lord and Saviour, who went about doing good; and at the day of judgement, the particular enquiry will run upon theſe heads which I have mentioned, as you may ſee in the XXVth of St. Matthew, and the reward and puniſhment will then be aſſigned according to thoſe rules.

XIV. In the fourteenth place, I muſt caution you againſt Gaming, hoping it will never make any conſiderable part of your diverſion; when once

once it is loved, it conſumes a great deal of time, which is too precious to be thrown away at that rate; the night by this means is turned into day, and the day into night; when men play deep, they venture the ruining of themſelves, or at leaſt win from others what ſhould maintain their families; which cannot be juſtified. This has ſo inverted the order of the world, that it hath brought footmen into coaches, and has made them walk on foot that before kept them. It raiſes all thoſe paſſions which it is the buſineſs of Chriſtians to ſubdue, and often creates ſuch quarrels as end in murder. If you ſhould ſometimes divert yourſelf this way, avoid games of chance, for they are the moſt bewitching, and the leaſt under government; and when you play at games of ſkill, never ſit too long at them, nor venture much money, nor engage with ſuch as are violently paſſionate. I wiſh in your diverſions you would aim at health as well as pleaſure, which you may reap from walking, riding, ſhooting, or bowling, always remembering that diverſions are for refreſhment, not for an employment.

XV. In the fifteenth place, I muſt preſs upon you the conſtant uſe of the means of grace; ſuch as are prayer, reading the Holy Scriptures, receiving the bleſſed ſacrament, ſelf-examination, meditation, obſervation of the Lord's day, and other feaſts and faſts of the church. Some men deceive themſelves, indeed, by placing all religion in theſe performances, and ſome on the other hand deceive themſelves by thinking they are above them: but if you really deſign the end, which is piety, and virtue, and holineſs in all your converſation, you muſt make uſe of thoſe means, and that frequently, which God has preſcribed for that purpoſe. You may as well pretend to grow rich without diligence and induſtry, as to be truly good without praying and receiving the ſacrament, &c.

The grace of God is neceſſary to enable us to do every thing that is good, and to ſtrengthen us in reſiſting every thing that is evil; and how can we ever hope for ſuch neceſſary and powerful aſſiſtance, except we ſeek for it in the ways of God's appointment? I muſt therefore intreat you to be conſtant to your morning and evening devotions in your cloſet, to perform them with great ſerioufneſs and application of mind, remembering always that Great Majeſty to whom you addreſs; and at ſuch times it will be very uſeful to read ſome portions of the Scriptures, eſpecially if you conſult ſome good paraphraſe or comment upon it. Take all opportunities

that

that are conſiſtent with your buſineſs, of attending the public prayers, which are moſt acceptable to God, as tending moſt to his glory; and always upon ſuch occaſions behave yourſelf with great reverence and devotion, conſidering, that you are after a particular manner in the preſence of God; ſtand, ſit, or kneel as the church directs in her rubricks; never talk nor gaze about in the church, as it is too common, to the great ſcandal of Chriſtians; endeavour to correct this ill cuſtom by a contrary carriage, that your example may rebuke and reprove ſuch careleſs and negligent worſhipers. Never turn your back upon the holy communion; when all things are prepared for the celebration of the holy myſteries, let no pretence of your own unpreparedneſs excuſe your attendance. If you live, and I hope you will, as it becomes a Chriſtian, you can very ſeldom have a juſt reaſon for your abſence; draw near, therefore, to the holy table with great humility and devotion, and take the holy ſacrament to your comfort. The opportunities of receiving abroad offer but rarely; which makes it very inexcuſable, if ever you omit any that preſent themſelves. Pay a particular regard to the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday; diſtinguiſh it as much by your practice, as it is by divine inſtitution; attend the ſolemnities of religion in public at ſuch times: this I look upon as of indiſpenſable obligation, and not to be omitted but in caſes of great neceſſity; let the reſt of the day be dedicated to pious and devout employments. This ſeems peculiarly neceſſary to men of buſineſs and traffick; becauſe, being intent all the week long upon their worldly concerns, they really ſtand in need of recollection and retirement for the improvement of their minds, which the circumſtances of Sunday are very proper to promote. Not that I would have you ſuperſtitious in the obſervation of it, making that abſolutely neceſſary which is neceſſary only as a means; and therefore, when you are accidentally by company prevented in your method, grow not ſullen and moroſe; rather endeavour to ſeaſon the converſation with hints of piety; and dextrouſly introduce ſuch topicks of diſcourſe as may make the converſation ſuitable to the day; but, if poſſible, let not company deprive you of thoſe advantages you may receive from retirement at ſuch times. You muſt needs think that I reckon the obſervation of the feſtivals and faſts of the church of great advantage to the Chriſtian life, or elſe I ſhould not have troubled the world with ſo large a book upon

Nov. 8, 1736.

"I AM much obliged to you for letting me know what paſſes in your Society, eſpecially when you contribute to their entertainment *; and you may be ſure of having my thoughts upon any occaſion, when you are ſo good as to let me have your own in exchange. I have no book of inſcriptions but an old roaſted Reineſius, which is more a ruin than any of the marbles it repreſents; you muſt therefore excuſe me, if I only review your materials, without ſupplying any of my own. I ſhall only tell you how far I am convinced by your arguments, where I differ in opinion, or what conſequences we agree or diſagree in. Take it thus; the form and materials being yours †.

"There is only one inſcription, that I have obſerved, where Curator is uſed in a military ſenſe; and that is in Reineſ. Claſ. II. n. 77.

L. AMELIVS L. F. LATINVS. AR. PRISCVS. EQVIT. ROM. CVI.

But as this inſcription was communicated to the editor by the late moſt learned Mr. Spanheim, I think it is a ſufficient authority for reading CR. in the Bath inſcription *Curator*, and EQ. *Equitum* (not Eques), as it plainly is upon that marble. Both of them imply the ſame ſort of office.

Equit. Rom. Cur. Equit. Ala Vettônum Cur.

Is it not *providetore*—perhaps paymaſter, or a purveyor, or both?

"Reineſius indeed, in his notes upon this inſcription, refers us to another in Gruter, p. DXLVIII. 8. DIS. MANIBUS. M. JUNIO CURIONE EQ. R. Leg. XXII. Whence he concludes, that Curator and Curio were the ſame office; but, I think, without any grounds. Curio, in this inſcription, is the cognomen of the family, as it was of ſeveral others. C. Scribonius Curio, who was conſul A. U. 678, Cœlius Secundus Curio, and here M. Junius Curio, which I wonder Reineſius ſhould not obſerve, ſo well ſkilled in Roman families. Nor can we think that there was a diſtinct Curator for the horſe belonging to every legion. Amelius appears to have been Curator of all the Roman cavalry: and, in that ſenſe, the lapidary would more naturally have written EQ. R. CURIO, not Curio Eq. R. Beſides, in that great variety of places where Curator is mentioned as a civil office, Curio never once occurs, as it moſt probably would, if the words had been ſynonymous. Curio, in the Roman ſenſe, is either Præco, or Magiſter Sacrorum Curiæ; and hence in the lower Latin Curio, *une Curé*, Sacerdos.

"Mr. Horſley has lately reprinted another inſcription found at Bath, where we have C. EQ. MILES ‡. And whatever C. EQ. ſignifies, there

* See the Letter to Mr. Gale above, p. 133. † See above, p. 144.

‡ I obſerve that you write it in the margin, CEQ. Mr. Camden, who firſt copied it, writes C. EQ. diſtinct: whence comes this difference? As to Grævius, I neither underſtand

is no ambiguity; the cognomen is expreſſed before it. But I cannot agree with Mr. Horſley in reading Centurio, Eques, Miles, making Valerius to be mentioned under all theſe capacities. Theſe are not gradations, as he would obſerve, but rather degradations; and as to their frequency in this manner, I am a ſtranger to it. Reineſius, who has quoted this inſcription, p. 16, reads more eligibly, Centurio Equitum. But why ſhould Mr. Camden's reading be rejected, who firſt copied and publiſhed this marble? Cohortis Equeſtris Miles, Camd. p. 172. The marbles juſtify this form, as Reineſius in the page abovementioned, MILES PRAET. COHORTIS VIII. EQUESTRIS.

"I cannot have ſuch a low opinion of the Roman military diſcipline, as to imagine that the ſame perſon was an officer of horſe, and a foot-ſoldier. It ſeems to expreſs no more than being one of the horſe belonging to the XXth legion *. But I ſubmit this to better judges.

"Upon the word CURIESIS our worthy Vice-preſident † was pleaſed to obſerve, that the Romans probably dropped the ſound of N before S, which is the reaſon N is ſo frequently omitted in inſcriptions. I ſhould think that the old Romans, in the infancy of the language, preſerved the ſound of N before S, becauſe it occurs in ſuch a great number of nouns, verbs of the perfect tenſe, and participles. But that afterwards, as they grew more acquainted with the Greek language and pronunciation, they began to drop or ſoften the ſound of that letter: and that the ſeveral nations, which at laſt compoſed the Roman empire, fell more or leſs into this practice. We might obſerve, that the gentleman whoſe memory is preſerved on this marble was a Spaniard, among whom dropping the ſound of N before S was probably familiar. For thus the preſent Spaniards, ſenſus, *ſeſo*; ſenſatus, *ſeſado*; ſponſa, *eſpoſa*; ſponſare, *deſpoſer*; tranſlatio, *traſlado*; tranſponere, *traſponer*; menſis, *meſe*; and in many other inſtances.

"The Germans ſeem to have preſerved the old Roman way of keeping the ſound of N the moſt of any Europeans, anſer, χήν, ἠνὸς, *gans*, Ger. *gooſe*, *gwydd*, Wallice. The N before S is frequent in words of Ger-

derſtand you nor him; what he means, or why you preſs a doubtful perſon into the ſervice without occaſion. I think you had better have nothing to ſay to him at preſent. *Turmæ* are often mentioned in inſcriptions, as well as hiſtory. The legions had their quota of horſe, and perhaps the word *turmæ* was confined to them, and never uſed of the auxiliaries.—Be that how it will, I don't ſee that it helps to clear up any thing. W. C.

* Ex harum cohortium [equeſtrium] inſtituto ortum duxit quod etiam in legione ſingulis cohortibus *equites ſui* attribuerentur; ut apud Vegetium cohorti primæ quæ habet ped. 1105. eq. 132.—cæteris cohortibus quæ habent ped. 511. eq. 66. nam etſi ab antiquo, idem in legione numerus turmarum & cohortium eſſet; turmæ tamen illæ per cohortes non diſtribuebantur, ſed erant totius legionis equitatus. Schel. p. 1092. W. B.

† Dr. Taylor.

man original, and therefore they were leſs inclined to omit it in what was borrowed from the Latin. I am ſenſible that we have already ſeen a full proof of the practice of omitting N among the Romans, in what our Vice-preſident has favoured us with. But I hope, ſince it has been accidentally mentioned, I ſhall not be thought too officious if I offer a few obſervations as further evidence. The Greeks, who were maſters of ſpeech to the Romans, had ſuch a diſlike to the ſound of N before s, that they leave it out, I had almoſt ſaid, univerſally. This appears, firſt, from proper names where the Romans inſerted N, as Ὁρτήσιος, Hortenſius, Κλήμης, Clemens, &c. Secondly, in the termination of many words, whoſe nominative originally ended in ντς, and ὀδὰς dens, ὀδόντος. See Mr. Ainſworth's Prolegomena to the Articles under N in his Dictionary.

"I writ ſo far only to ſort your proper names under one head, as a diſtinct article, to make appellatives and adjectives the ſecond, oblique caſes the third, tenſes the fourth, as you have done.

Dec. 5, 1736.

"THESE inſcriptions will clear up by degrees; I ſeem at leaſt to make ſome progreſs by every one of your letters. Mr. Horſley's Bath inſcription is, by the reading which you mention from his Preface, ſufficiently explained, *Decurio Equitum ex Milite Leg.* XX. A more correct lapidary would have expreſſed it in that manner; but we muſt make conſiderable allowances, in point of exactneſs, both to the compoſers and cutters of inſcriptions. Now the main difficulty that remains is, how to interpret the few inſcriptions in Gruter that give us *Eques Leg.* or *Eques Rom. Leg.* To this I can ſay little. I am ſatisfied that there was no ſuch thing as a body of horſe that had a conſtant relation to any one particular legion: nor does your laſt conjecture help us out. There were ſeveral legions in their armies, and only two alæ. How could theſe alæ bear a particular relation to each of the intermediate legions? Reineſius puzzles in the place you refer to, becauſe he has there found *Eques Legionis* again. But he tells us, that the alæ were ſometimes denominated from the general who commanded them. I have only this to conjecture, that the ten legions were often placed upon the frontiers of the Roman empire in ſeparate bodies, and at proper diſtances, to ſecure them from incurſions. There was, moſt probably, with each legion ſo quartered a body of horſe, more or leſs (not always the ſame body, or the ſame number), for their further ſecurity.—And poſſibly *Equites*, ſo diſpoſed upon the frontiers, might ſtyle themſelves as Equites of this or that Legion, *i. e.* Equites ſtationed along with them, and ſent for the ſame purpoſe. This conjecture meets with no difficulties

from

from Schelius's ſcheme, and muſt be perhaps what Reineſius means in the place quoted.

" But as to your deſign, why ſhould you drop it? You may contract your triumphs, but ſhould not intirely give them up. You may confirm Mr. Ward's reading of the laſt Bath inſcription c. R. and may explain that to be the ſame office which they afterwards in the Greek taſte called *Optio*. You may take occaſion to ſay that Mr. Horſley ſhould have read his Bath inſcription on Valerius, *Decurio, ex milite*; and then there will be nothing of the gradations or degradations he talks of; and you may conclude with your etymology, which needs no great improvements. But I deſire, for my own information, an *hiſtorical account* of the alterations, improvements, &c. in the Roman armies, as they now appear to you from theſe inquiries. That I may have a better notion of them, your beſt way to know what to do with *Eques in Legione*, is to bring all the places together, ſee where the inſcriptions were found, and who tranſmitted them. This, in Reineſius, Cl. VIII. 57, favours my conjecture, found on the banks of the Rhine. Theſe horſe were not alæ legionis, but only a brigade, or rather ſquadron, ſent with ſuch a legion."

Dec. 14, 1736.

Camden, p. 172. *Dis manibus. M. Valerius M. Pol. Eatinus.* * C. EQ. miles. Leg. Aug. An. XXX. ſtipen. X. H. S. E. Thus he gives us Mr. Horſley's Bath inſcription, with an aſteriſm at * C. EQ. & Cohortis Equitum at length in the margin. Mr. Camden therefore muſt be read, Cohortis Equitum miles legione Aug. In this manner Bp. Gibſon's firſt edition truly repreſents it, but without the *Cohortis Equitum* in the margin. In the additions to Somerſetſhire, Mr. Camden's reading of this inſcription is corrected rightly in ſeveral places, as *Fil. Latinus* for *Pol. Eatinus*; but takes no notice how C. EQ. was written, and leaves the blunder of *legione Auguſta*; though the annotator obſerves, that upon the ſtone it was thus written A V. A. but never thought of reading it *viceſima*. So much for Camden, and I hope it is particular enough: how it is in the ſecond edition of Bp. Gibſon's I know not. Now am I at great loſs to underſtand the next thing you are upon. You ſay, 'I want *Caurus* [the place] 'to be called ſo from the ſouth-weſt called Caurus or Corus blowing over 'it [that Quarter']. Now what that quarter means I cannot gueſs. You know there is a diſpute whether Caurus ſignifies the *South-weſt*, or *North-weſt*. Voſſius ſays, that Vegetius reckons it the *South-weſt*; Favorinus, Vitruvius, Pliny, the *North-weſt*. Whom the paſſage in Lucan, and that in Feſtus, *Cauris nimium vicina Britannis*, declare for, I cannot ſay."

upon that ſubject; to which I refer you for my thoughts in that matter: deſiring you to read a chapter in it, as the particular days occur throughout the whole year. As to ſelf-examination, the oftener you perform it, the leſs trouble and time it will take up; ſo that, if you would accuſtom yourſelf to recollection every evening before you ſay your prayers, you would eaſily know the ſtate of your mind, by running over the actions of the day paſt; which would diſcover any falſe ſtep that you had made, and which required a particular repentance.

Never delay this work beyond once a week: you may chooſe Sunday for that purpoſe, as the time you are ſureſt to command; keeping accounts fair and clear has as great efficacy in our ſpiritual affairs, as in our temporal and worldly concerns. When you read any book upon a religious ſubject, accuſtom yourſelf to reflect upon what you have read, that you may perceive whether it enlightens your underſtanding, or influences your will, or warms your affections; for the buſineſs of meditation is to digeſt that ſpiritual nouriſhment we take in by reading; without this practice, much learning and reading turns to little account. I have provided you with a collection of books, from which I am ſure you may be thoroughly inſtructed in all neceſſary Chriſtian knowledge; excited to the practice of all Chriſtian graces and inſtitutions; and furniſhed for the exerciſe of that devotion that is neceſſary for you, in private and in publick, upon moſt of the occurrences in life; but I muſt freely tell you, that theſe books will not work as charms; if they ſerve but for the ornament of your cloſet, they will only adminiſter to vanity. They muſt be read attentively, and ſeriouſly conſidered, if you deſign that advantage I have aimed at in making the collection. There is one thing I muſt obſerve to you before I conclude this head, that, by reading Archbiſhop Tillotſon's works with care and obſervation, you will not only learn true notions of religion, but alſo the way and manner of writing Engliſh correctly and purely; his ſtyle I take to be the beſt ſtandard of the Engliſh language; therefore, if you would perfect yourſelf in what is ſo neceſſary for a gentleman, and a man of buſineſs, I mean writing well, obſerve his phraſes, and the propriety with which he uſes words, and the clearneſs with which he expreſſes himſelf on all ſubjects.

XVI. In the ſixteenth place, I cannot conclude theſe particular heads without putting you in mind of being conſtant to the communion of the church of England. Abroad you may meet with ſolicitations to Popery: but the church of Rome very falſly pretends to be the catholic church; at beſt ſhe can only arrive to be a very corrupt part of it. At home you may be tempted to countenance the ſeparation, but you cannot communicate with the Diſſenters without incurring the guilt of ſchiſm. The Church of England not only believes the Scriptures to be the rule of faith, but profeſſes her faith in all thoſe ancient forms of words, called Creeds, which the primitive church made uſe of; to which the church of Rome has made great additions, and requires her novelties to be believed, as neceſſary articles of faith; though the ſcriptures and primitive antiquity are ſilent concerning them, and in ſome points expreſſly againſt them. Their errors in doctrine are aggravated by conſiderable corruptions in her public offices; which are not only in an unknown tongue, and conſequently no way edifying to the people; but are in ſome parts addreſſed to Saints and Angels, contrary to Scripture and the practice of the primitive church; and yet farther ſhe has eſtabliſhed an abſolute monarchy in the church, by cloathing the biſhop of Rome, commonly called the Pope, with ſuch prerogatives as are inconſiſtent with the rights of other biſhops, which are eſtabliſhed by divine right. The Church of England, moreover, preſerves the three orders of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, in a due ſubordination, as inſtituted by our Saviour and his apoſtles; whereby ſhe is ſecured of a right and truly canonical miniſtry, and conſequently her people furniſhed with valid ſacraments. Now, the Diſſenters have rejected this divine ſubordination of church officers; and by throwing off epiſcopacy, as their miniſters have no lawful commiſſion, ſo their people cannot be aſſured of the validity of ordinances adminiſtered by ſuch teachers. So that you ſee, in one communion, errors in faith corrupt the doctrine of the Church; and, in the other communion, errors in polity and government deſtroy the unity of it, both which endanger ſalvation; and therefore I recommend to you the Church of England with greater earneſtneſs, becauſe free from both theſe fatal inconveniences. There is another thing wherein the Church of England has gloried, as her particular characteriſtick; that ſhe teaches ſincere obedience and uncorrupted loyalty to princes; that we ought to pay them that obedience

obedience our conſtitution requires; and upon no pretence whatever to reſiſt them by taking up arms againſt them, which is what is called rebellion. This her Homilies teach, which contain good and wholeſome doctrine; and this the laws of the land bind firmly upon us; for they place the power of the ſword in the king, and no man can draw it but by commiſſion from him (ſee the militia act of Charles II.) And if ſubjects have never ſo good reaſons to take up arms againſt the crown, if for want of ſucceſs they ever come to a fair trial, according to the Laws, they muſt be found guilty of high treaſon, their own friends being upon their jury. The Laws are ſo plain in this caſe, that they have afforded no manner of remedy to the ſubject in thoſe extraordinary caſes that are urged. So that non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience is the doctrine of the Church and State. I am ſure the primitive Chriſtians profeſſed it, even when they felt the bad effects of it, in this world, by ſuffering wrongfully, contrary to the laws of the ſtate, and even to the rights of human nature. The Papiſts and Preſbyterians have been both tardy in this point; and I wiſh the practice of ſome in the Church of England had been more blameleſs; but, as long as her Homilies and her Laws continue unaltered, it cannot be ſaid that either Church or State avows ſuch doctrines. But theſe differences between the Church of England, Roman Catholics, and Diſſenters, and the other ſubjects I have hinted to you in this letter, are largely explained in thoſe books I have recommended to your peruſal, and therefore I ſhall add no more concerning them.

I muſt only put you in mind, that by converſing with thoſe that are ſtrangers to the name of Chriſt, you are under a more particular obligation of living according to the maxims and rules of the Goſpel; for otherwiſe you will bring a ſcandal upon the Chriſtian religion, and expoſe the doctrine, as well as the perſon, of the bleſſed Jeſus, to the ſcorn and contempt of Mahometans and Heathens; and woe be to that man by whom offences come!

As to the particular rules that relate to travelling, you will have no occaſion for them at preſent; becauſe you are to go by ſea to Smyrna, where you are like to reſide for ſome time. It is very probable, your return may be through Italy and France, or at leaſt I wiſh you may take thoſe countries in your way home, and by that time your own good underſtanding

will be ſo ripened by experience, that you will be ſufficiently able to guide and direct yourſelf; I will, however, ſuggeſt to you a few thoughts on that matter before I conclude.

I. Firſt, never ſet yourſelf to find fault with the different cuſtoms of other countries. This certainly proves you to be a novice, and is the ſureſt method to diſoblige the natives, whoſe friendſhip and kindneſs you ſtand in need of. It is your buſineſs indeed, among other things, to obſerve their cuſtoms, that you may compare them with your own, in order to conſider, on which ſide the advantage lies; but, if you have reaſon to prefer your own, never treat theirs with ſcorn and contempt, for this reflects upon thoſe that uſe them, and will certainly provoke their indignation againſt you; it will make them deſpiſe you, ſhun your company, and deprive you of the advantages you might receive from their converſation. And, notwithſtanding the unreaſonableneſs of this practice, nothing more common among young travellers, and therefore fit to be hinted at.

II. Secondly, I muſt carry you a ſtep farther, which is, to conform yourſelf as much as you can to the cuſtoms of thoſe with whom you reſide. All mankind are fond of their own ways and methods of living; and as they think themſelves wiſer than others, ſo conſequently they determine their own cuſtoms to be beſt: now, your giving into their ways and manners flatters their ſelf-love, and will incline them to be deſirous to oblige you; beſides, they will have a better opinion of your underſtanding, when you approve what they have eſtabliſhed. This will raiſe your character; and according as they value and eſteem you, ſo in proportion you will receive the teſtimonies of their kindneſs and reſpect: beſides, I cannot tell but that in this method you may beſt preſerve your health, for different climates require different managements; and it is to be ſuppoſed, that the long experience of the natives muſt have found out that regimen which beſt ſecures health. I am very ſure, gentlemen have deſtroyed themſelves by eating fleſh and drinking wine with the ſame freedom in hot countries as they have been accuſtomed to in their own colder climes; and therefore could not forbear giving you this direction.

III. Thirdly, endeavour to be acquainted with men of the beſt character, in all the countries through which you paſs. By which I chiefly mean, men diſtinguiſhed for learning, wiſdom, and virtue; from whoſe converſa-

tion your mind will receive the greateſt improvement, and from whom you will learn what is fitteſt to be ſeen, and what is moſt proper in that place, to entertain the curioſity of a ſtranger. Beſides, their acquaintance will procure you reſpect from others; for, being obſerved to frequent ſuch men, it will be imagined that you have ſome of thoſe good qualities yourſelf which you admire in others. But this advice does not only refer to wiſe and learned men, but alſo to thoſe of the beſt rank and quality, who in all countries are moſt poliſhed in their manners and behaviour; ſo that you will never be able to make a true judgement of any country, if you do not know how people of quality live, as well as thoſe of the middle and inferior rank. Strangers generally employ themſelves more in ſeeing ſights and rarities, than in knowing men; but as the firſt ſhould not be neglected, ſo in travelling the greateſt ſtreſs ſhould be laid upon the latter; which the want of knowing the language of the place often prevents; and therefore a traveller ſhould make it his buſineſs to be perfect in the language of the place, without which, it is impoſſible he can make any great improvements.

But, be ſure, while you are intent upon acquiring ornaments of good breeding; never forget nor forfeit thoſe qualifications that conſtitute the good Chriſtian. Firſt, take care to be a good man, and then you cannot be too fine a gentleman; when you have ſecured the pearl of great price, you will do very well to ſet it to the beſt advantage. And becauſe I am ſenſible of the great weakneſs of human nature, and of the ſtrength of thoſe temptations you may meet with, to the advice I have given you, I ſhall add my hearty prayers to God:

That his grace may conſtantly accompany you, that by his holy inſpiration you may think thoſe things that are good, and that by his merciful guiding you may perform the ſame; that your life may be long and happy; that proſperity may never corrupt you, and that affliction may always make you better; and that all your ways may be diſpoſed towards the attainment of everlaſting ſalvation; that, among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, you may ever be defended by God's moſt gracious and ready help, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; to which well-weighed petitions of the Church a moſt hearty Amen is affixed by,

Dear Couſin, your moſt faithful friend, and humble ſervant,

27th July, 1708. ROBERT NELSON.

To

To Mr. GABRIEL HANGER.

DEAR COUSIN,

THE beſt method I can contrive of ſhewing my concern for you at preſent, is to furniſh you with a copy of that letter which I wrote to your eldeſt brother upon his leaving England, becauſe it contains ſome rules which may be of uſe to you in the conduct of a Chriſtian life: your caſe and his are ſo far alike, that you both leave your own country, and are, by the deſignation of your beſt friend, your father, ſettled in a way of merchandize, whereby, with God's bleſſing upon your own induſtry, you may both very probably raiſe a conſiderable fortune, prove uſeful members of the commonwealth, and make others happy in ſharing in your plenty and abundance. From this ſimilitude of circumſtances will ariſe an agreement in thoſe temptations which it is likely may attack you both, and therefore what I thought proper to ſay to him you may very well apply to yourſelf; and thus far I may anſwer, that, if you take care to practiſe what is there ſuggeſted, you will not fail of recommending yourſelf to all thoſe in whoſe power it is to advance your intereſt; but, what is more conſiderable, you will thereby ſecure the favour of Almighty God, whoſe bleſſing is neceſſary to ſucceed all your undertakings, and who alone can beſtow upon you a happineſs that is laſting and durable, which he has reſerved in heaven for all thoſe who truly love and fear him. You muſt needs be ſenſible what care and expence your father has been at in your education, to fit you for the employment you engage in; you know very well what charge he has beſtowed to equip you for this voyage; and how ready he has been to gratify you in every thing you could either aſk or deſire of him, in order to your pleaſure and profit. Now, all this adds freſh obligations to your duty; and what returns can you make for ſo much kindneſs, which will pleaſe him better than your ſteady ſobriety and your conſtant application to your buſineſs? Theſe are ſuch injunctions as are neceſſary to your own welfare, and yet he will eſteem them a full compenſation for that paternal affection which he has ſhewed towards you. And how much more pleaſant

and

and commendable is it to be the joy of your parents by your prudent and Chriſtian behaviour, than to increaſe thoſe cares you have already neceſſarily given them? for you cannot indulge any extravagant and diſorderly courſe without oppreſſing their minds with ſorrow and grief, in a time of life when they are leaſt able to bear it.

This argument of pleaſing your beſt friends ſhould have a great influence upon an ingenuous mind; and I am willing to think you have a great ſenſe of gratitude; and that, by conſidering what has been done for you, may excite a great ardor and fervency in your mind, to anſwer the expectations of thoſe to whom you are ſo dear.

But, Sir, I muſt tell you one thing more, that, by governing yourſelf according to the ſcheme of the foregoing letter, you moſt truly conſult your own intereſt, which influences every man that is not corrupted by preſent pleaſure to forfeit a future good. So that, if any regard to your happineſs, as well as that of your parents, can prevail upon you, we ſhall certainly hear that you are upright and diligent in your buſineſs, ſober and temperate in your enjoyments, and pious and religious in your whole converſation.

I am very glad you have been confirmed, whereby your Chriſtianity is become your own deliberate choice; the care of your godfathers and godmother is diſcharged; and you have, before God and man, engaged to perform your part of the baptiſmal covenant.

In order to diſcharge this more effectually; you have been admitted to the holy table, where God diſpenſes larger meaſures of his grace to thoſe who approach with ſincere intentions of doing their duty; and therefore, I hope, now you have been initiated into the Chriſtian myſteries, you will never neglect ſuch opportunities which Providence may ſupply you with for the celebration of them.

I have nothing more to add, but my hearty prayers to God, that he would be pleaſed to proſper your voyage, and bring you in ſafety to your deſired port, ſince in all your ways you acknowledge him; that he would direct your paths, and teach you to guide your affairs with diſcretion; that he would never leave you nor forſake you, but conduct you ſafely by his counſel through all the buſineſſes and enjoyments, through all the tempta-

tions

tions and troubles, of this life, to that bleſſed place where our Lord Jeſus liveth and reigneth for evermore.

I am, with great ſincerity, Dear Couſin,

Your very faithful humble ſervant,

The Epiphany, 1713. ROBERT NELSON.

Remember to be that in health, which you will wiſh to have been when you come to die.

FINIS.

[illegible]

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